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FOREWORD

Ildus Zagidullin

Russia's power and might increased greatly in the 19th century, which was an important stage in the transformation of the multicultural state's territory, economy, and ideology. Apart from the consistent development in the state, new trends appeared in Russian society that set the stage for the modernisation processes. However, vestiges of feudalism survived in Russia even after serfdom was abolished in 1861 despite the positive changes. There was no civil society.

The empire's formation was completed in the 19th century. As the empire's territory expanded, the ethnic composition of its population changed qualitatively. The titular ethnic group accounted for less than half of the country's total population in the post-reform period. The First General Census of 1897 estimated the percentage at 44.31%. The so-called ethno-religious minorities with their indigenous cultural traditions and varying levels and rates of socio-economic, social, and cultural development were numerically the majority. After the Ukrainians (17.8%), the Turkic peoples were the largest group of Russian subjects numbering 13.6 million people (10.8%). Qualitative changes in the religious topography of the Eurasian empire were another important outcome of Russian expansion. Muslims became the second largest group of subjects (11.1%) after Orthodox Christians (69.4%) [Rossiya, 2002, pp. 88–89].

The Tatars were the first Muslim people to become part of Russia. It took them a long time to adjust to the new political and legal conditions. According to written sources, the relations between the titular ethnic groups and the ethnic groups of the Volga-Ural Region took the form of 'us-them.' Starting in the late 18th century the imperial government applied the umbrella term 'inorodets' (non-Russian) to the peoples of the Volga-Ural Region, the east and south of Russia. This became well-established in the mid-19th century. At first, the concept of 'non-Russians' referred to a

lifestyle. However, origin was later added as a criterion. This term had fundamentalist potential and was consistent with the political and religious movements in Russian society of the latter half of the 19th century [Kappeler, 2012, pp. 32–33].

The specific Tatar economic lifestyle was shaped by their dispersion across the vast Eurasian territory covering areas with different natural and climatic conditions. Before the reforms most local migration flows and Tatar enclave establishment were directed south-east towards Russia's periphery, where stable areas of contact with the Kazakhs and Middle Asian peoples formed. However, the high urbanisation in Tatar diasporas on the south-eastern margin of the country caused no qualitative changes in their sociocultural development. The steppe areas were peripheral to Russia in economic and cultural terms. The cities were relatively small by Russian standards. Modernisation ideas came from the Middle Volga Region. At the turn of the 20th century Tatar urbanisation was directed towards Russian industrial areas, Central Russian cities, where migrants, predominantly poor ones, moved from densely populated areas in search of jobs. In the Volga-Ural Region and in Siberia (traditional Tatar areas) the percentage of Tatars in the urban population was much lower than the Russian average.

The social and legal status of Russian subjects was determined by their class affiliation at that time. When Peter I destroyed the Muslim feudal elite, the Tatar community turned into a group of peasants who were in an economically unenviable position and legally discriminated against within the Empire's social class hierarchy. Sources report no material changes to the local administration even after 'Lapotnik murzas' were permitted to be registered as noblemen at the end of the 18th century. It was still controlled by Russian noblemen and public officials. Even though most of them ran peasant households, representatives of the Tatar nobil-

ity were the sector of the Tatar population that showed the greatest inclination to obtain a Russian education. Their high social status enabled them to get jobs as public officials, usually low-ranking. They contributed to the development of Tatar culture and education as alumni of Russian educational institutions.

But the small size and economic weakness of the nobility had other consequences. The Islamic clergy became the only authoritative corporate group and acquired extended functions. The clergy gave preference to the 'religious aspect of culture,' which caused the Tatar community to develop culturally in a lop-sided manner, with the secular part stunted [Usmanov, 2010, p. 7]. Autocratic policies largely determined that religious discourse would dominate in the cultural development of the Tatars. The policies consisted of derailing Tatar initiatives to found secular schools or publish periodicals in their native language.

Due to the regimentation of their functions and the number of administrative duties that the government gave them, the Tatar clerical intellectual elite were able to form a corporate group that enjoyed great authority and a high social status in the congregations, even though the parish clergy of the OMSA region were not formally recognised as a privileged class.

When the merchant class was introduced in 1775, Tatar traders and industrialists, enterprising peasants, and burghers were able to enter the new semi-privileged corporate group, which came after the nobility and the Orthodox clergy within the new Russian hierarchy of classes, thus improving their social and legal status. However, guild merchants had to confirm their financial standings annually to preserve their status.

Thus, the social development of the Tatar community had a number of characteristic features. It contained very few public officials as Tatars were poorly represented in zemsky institutions and city dumas. Their opportunities were essentially limited to peasant self-government bodies.

It was largely due to the position and activities of the higher social classes that the Tatar community adopted certain reformist ideas during the modernisation of Russia and the

development of capitalistic relations. Depending on the specific historical and local situation, these social groups began to act as local and all-Tatar ethnic elites.

Due to the state of affairs in the country and the central governments' ambition to economically and politically integrate the Kazakh steppe and Middle Asia in the latter half of the 18–former half of the 19th centuries, the Tatars became involved in establishing and reinforcing diplomatic contacts, mediation, and commercial and economic relations between Russia and Eastern Muslim peoples and countries. In the south-east of the country Tatar entrepreneurs controlled all of Russia's trade with the Kazakh Zhuzes and largely Middle Asia. They succeeded in engaging the vast nomadic region in the whole Russian market, turning exchange houses and bazaars into markets for selling domestic industrial products. These new phenomena, which had long-term effects on the social development of the Tatars, helped to create ethnic capital, brought merchants into industrial production, and brought about the emergence of the merchant class as the modern ethnic elite, which was both open to transformations and pro-active.

The large-scale establishment of Muslim educational institutions, in which scholastic principles were paramount (they were to become centres of the Tatar renaissance) by Tatar merchants in the pre-reform period, when capitalistic relations were developing in the Volga-Ural Region, and mass publishing of religious and prayer books are largely attributable to economic interests of entrepreneurs, which were highly determined by the Oriental market [Gubaydullin, 2002, pp. 171, 175, 176].

In order to raise funds for trade and industrial development, Muslim merchants received loans from Russian entrepreneurs and each other, used borrowed cash and promissory notes, and often traded on credit [Gobäydullin, 1989, p. 255; Gaziz, 1994, p. 178]. As a system of governmentally funded, public, and private credit institutions formed in the Empire, it became more common for large-scale Tatar entrepreneurs to obtain loans [Istoriya Kazani, Book 1, pp. 382–399]. Tatar land communities, farmer groups, burghers, and

peasants engaged in business took loans when necessary [Istoriya Kazani, Book 1, pp. 459, 460, 478, 489].

Tatar peasants and burghers traditionally did petty trade with their coreligionists and local peoples of the region, which gave them a different lifestyle than the peasant farmers [Alishev, 2005, pp. 333–334].

Economic development patterns in specific regions of European Russia had a major influence on social processes. In the 1860s most of Russia's industrial output was attributable to the Central Non-Black Soil (43.9%) and North-Western Regions (25.4%), though they accounted for as little as 14.6% and 4.7% of the population, respectively. The Middle Volga Region (7.1% of the population) produced only 3.9% of the industrial output, and the Cisural Region (7% of the population), 4.4%. The Volga Region harvested 9.9%, and the Cisural Region, 12%, of the total crops produced in the European part of the country [Smykov, 1984,¹Table 6, p. 46].

The development of agricultural and industrial production, new means of transport (steamboats and trains), the governmental situation, and other factors favoured the development of bourgeois relations in Tatar society.

Soon after Russia's conquest of Middle Asia, the Tatar bourgeoisie lost the Middle Asian market that it had been selflessly trying to create for over a century. The Russian bourgeoisie supported the Russian government in order to fully control the economic sphere. After the Governorate-General of Turkestan was established, non-Christians were forbidden to own real estate on its territory (from 1886). When the market dwindled, entrepreneurs had to become more active on the Kazakh Steppe to keep existing markets and win new ones inside Russia. The Tatar dry goods industry had in fact dropped out of the competition by the mid-20th century due to the cheaper and better products of capitalistic Central Russian plants.

¹ Data for 7 out of 12 regions of European Russia is used, namely North-Western, Central Black Soil, Central Non-Black Soil, Middle Volga, Western, Southern Steppe, and Cisural. The data on industrial production does not cover mining, alcohol distillation, and tobacco industries.

Following the reforms, the government began to suppress Tatar schools in order to gain control over the key institution that ensured the ethno-confessional identity of the younger generation of Tatars, which raised the issue of resisting assimilation. This new situation required brand new ideas, secular knowledge, and well-trained ethnic professionals to meet the modern requirements. Advocating for a renewed social life, the ethnic bourgeoisie also protected its corporate interests. People who possessed basic secular knowledge and could manage businesses and develop capitalistic production were sought after. For the ethnic bourgeoisie, making Tatar trade and industry competitive would not only help them to survive in the tough Russian market but also to preserve their high social status among Muslim Tatars.

The renewal of the Tatar social life largely depended on the position of the Tatar bourgeoisie. The fact that Tatars relied on Tatars to ensure is characteristic of the ethnic nature of Jadidism. They had to invest in an undertaking that was expected to produce more material wealth for the people, thus increasing their capacity to buy commodities from the ethnic bourgeoisie and to change their attitude to West European luxuries. It was also expected to produce well-trained employees in commerce, industry, economy, education, science, and culture. This would require great expenditures, perseverance, and effort because nearly all spheres had to be reformed amidst domination of the scholastic Muslim world view and opposition of the traditionalists.

The seasonal work of the Tatars, which was dependent on economic principles and the developing capitalistic relations, caused non-privileged social strata to integrate into Russian society, sparking new trends in the Tatar economy, migration, and settlement.

The liberal laws that determined the development of Russian society also affected social processes in Tatar communities. Of particular importance was the introduction of universal military service for all classes in 1847. Young Tatars returned from the army after five to seven years of living in a Russian environment, familiar with the country's economic progress and Russian language, often having learned

to write, which created favourable conditions for entrepreneurial and economic activities in the multi-cultural environment. Compulsory military service for men aged 21 put an end to traditional long-term studies at traditional educational institutions. Shakirds left the madrasas for the army. When retired, soldiers became clergymen, their opinion on new phenomena in the Muslim lives differed greatly from the older clergy. They largely constituted the social platform for spreading reformist ideas. At the same time, as the peasant workforce dwindled due to universal conscription, this reduced not only the number of shakirds in madrasas but also the number of girls taught by the abystai, the mullah's wife [Fäxretdin, 2012, No. 2/3, p. 89].

The autocratic government was the primary exploiter of Tatars, as it financially and ethnically oppressed them through the local administration represented by Russian Orthodox bureaucrats. The famous Soviet historian N. Druzhinin introduced the concept of 'state feudalism,' the emergence of which he attributed to a number of laws instituted by Peter the Great that levied a poll tax and obrok on chernososhny (peasants that farmed state-owned land) and small land holders. N. Druzhinin highlighted the following legal restrictions on state peasants: joint responsibility, local authorities' custody over them, impeded migration, and transition between classes. In the 19th century the autocratic regime maintained the domestic policy of 'state feudalism,' characterised by heavy fiscal oppression and restricted rights of peasants, which was inconsistent with the liberal reforms of the 1860–1870s.

Given the class restrictions and traditionalism in land communities, the Tatar population was isolated from the sociopolitical processes taking place in the country. The experience of the Tatars in city and zemsky self-government bodies as well as volost administrations gave them useful contacts with other cultures and unified them to protect local interests.

It must be noted that Russian society was pre-industrial. As Gellner said: 'The agrarian society with its relatively well-established division of labour and clear division into regional, clan, occupational, and class groups has a

distinct social structure. It is well-ordered and not random. Its subcultures enhance and reinforce the structural division. It does not impede the functioning of the whole society by creating or accentuating cultural differences within it. On the contrary, the society does not regard such cultural differences as offensive but views their emergence and manifestations as appropriate and decent. Recognising them is in essence observing moral and etiquette standards [Gellner, 1991, p. 141].

In the 19th century Russia's various ethnic groups began to build national identities, the Tatars in particular. The term 'Tatars' was not yet well established in the Volga-Ural Tatar community during this time because the people were highly dispersed, the military and service class had privileges, and the mindset was predominantly Islamic. This is why Tatars commonly referred to themselves as 'Muslims' [Ibrahimov, Vol. 7, p. 5] as well as 'Turks,' 'Teptyars,' 'Meshcheryaks,' and 'Bashkirs' [Rodnov, 2011, pp. 81–86]. The absence of any profound social contradictions, the influence of the social class status—which guaranteed economic privileges in the Cisural Region—on ethnic self-identification, and the foreign cultural environment had all helped to create a 'Muslim nation' of Tatar and Bashkirs in the OMSA region.

Ş. Märcani was one of the first to mention the need to identify themselves as Tatars. K. Nasyri played a major part in building the Tatar nation. He formulated the first definition of the Tatar nation. The scholar singled out the following criteria of the Tatar people: origin ('Tatars living in Siberia and in the Orenburg, Kazan, and other Guberniyas on the right side of the Volga and in the Astrakhan Guberniya), common state ('living in Russia'), culture ('have their own literature'), and language ('we usually define the Tatar language as the Middle or Tatar vernacular spoken by peoples of the Turkic tribe'). After 1905 most of national newspapers were published in a Tatar language that was understandable for all population groups (concept by K. Nasyri) [Yuzeev, 2002, pp. 27–28].

Apart from the 'Muslim nation' of the Volga-Ural Region and Siberia, the so-called Russian Ummah arose as a result of the common political, legal, economic, cultural, and informa-

tion space. It covered several historico-cultural regions populated by Turkic peoples with centuries-old distinctive traditions, whose legal status was usually determined by regional regulations. The Muslims formed common ideas and interests due to Sunni Islam, their historical memory, linguistic and cultural affinity, as well as similar mindsets. This took on a new meaning due to the fact that they lived in an Orthodox state.

The uniform system of religious education and network of Islamic institutions created the general Tatar religious mindset and unique everyday culture, which was a synthesis of Islamic laws and folk traditions.

The fundamental principles of 'Disciplining of Islam' established by Catherine II brought about a confessional state that controlled and legally regulated the conditions, under which religious requirements were satisfied, as well as the observance of the religious rights of ethno-confessional minorities whose religions were officially recognised as 'tolerable.' To quote Crews, 'tolerance in Russian was a structure to integrate non-Orthodox Christian subjects, the number of which had been growing constantly as the empire expanded.' The practice hinged on the belief developed by enlighteners across Europe that different religions always share some characteristics. As well-developed systems of disciplining, tolerable religions could be valuable to 'enlightened' rulers. In places where violence would be too crude, appealing to a religious authority could help to turn people, who would not listen to their rulers but could be persuaded to obey God, into loyal and disciplined subjects' [quoted by: Dolbilov, 2010, p. 43]. As a result, a legal framework was created for Islamic religious institutions to function in the OMSA Region.

While Alexander I took some steps that could be interpreted as attempts to create a united Russian nation, Nicholas I and his successors were guided by 'Orthodox Christianity, autocracy, and national spirit' and deliberately broke with the imperial tradition [Tsimbayev, 2004, pp. 30, 32]. Riding on the wave of the liberal reforms of the 1860–1870s, the government began to construct a 'national state' in European Russia, which attached little, if any, importance

to ethno-confessional minorities' interests and needs. At the same time, the autocratic regime increased pressure on the borderlands to transform along the lines of the whole empire.

Neither the Tatar elite nor common people were subject to Russification in this period. However, the government's domestic policy aimed at increasing control over the Islamic educational system and the missionary activities of the Russian Orthodox Church caused most Tatars to develop an ambivalent attitude towards Russian educational institutions and distance themselves from them.

The colonisation of new territories, the growth of Russia's Muslim population, and modernisation in the Tatar community brought the 'Muslim issue' to the imperial level at the end of the century. Representatives of ethnic elites came to view the regional autocratic policies towards the Turkic peoples as part of a common domestic policy for the 'Russian Ummah.' As the government took measures to increase control over religious and cultural autonomies, they responded by trying to enforce their legally guaranteed rights. The cultural renaissance that Tatar Jadids advocated was in fact a challenge to their oppression by the autocratic regime. Language and religion became something of a Europeanisation marker for them. The development of Russian culture and the activities of Kazan University and Orientalists, the Kazan Tatar Teachers' School, government-founded Muslim educational institutions, book printing, etc., all created the conditions and helped to Europeanise Tatar society.

Tatars had established close economic and cultural contacts primarily with Kazakhs and Middle Asians throughout the 19th century. However, as Jadidism developed, the Tatar model for developing a modern 'Muslim nation' began to attract the local elites of the Northern Caucasus as well as Shi'ite Azerbaijanis. 'At the turn of the 20th century the Tatar diaspora, with its modernist mindset and economic resources that enabled it to fund a wide range of printing, educational, religious, economic, linguistic, and social reforms, represented a development model that many Turks, facing the question of whether they should preserve the old modes of existence or develop into a new

modern society, found attractive' [Lazzerini, 2011, p. 22].

The formation of new Tatar elites at the turn of the 19th century, who were incorporated into the class hierarchy (merchants and nobility) and enjoyed a high social status among their coreligionists (Muslim clergy), brought about qualitative changes in the people's sociocultural development, primarily in Muslim reformist movements, enlightenment, and Europeanisation of national education. By the early 20th century Tatar society had brought up a group of educated young people with knowledge of Russian and European languages that were eager to develop their culture to the average European level, while preserving traditional values. They set themselves the goal of reforming Tatar society, its socio-philosophical, aesthetic, and scientific approaches and practices. Scholars educated at foreign and Russian educational institutions were at the helm of the social modernisation.

Jadidism was initially an urban phenomenon as it emerged in the foreign cultural environment of the city. However, the large maktab network, high Tatar literacy rates, the large coreligionist group willing to absorb new ideas from printed materials, financial support from entrepreneurs who helped to secure employment for innovative teachers and founded innovative schools in villages, as well as secular book publishing transformed Jadidism into a sociocultural phenomenon in the early 20th century.

The processes left their mark on Tatar literature, which was guided by the Renaissance in its development, and had secular culture and anthropocentrism (primarily interested in humans and their actions) as its cornerstones. In the first half of the 19th century Tatar literature represented a complex picture, some elements of which were preparing for the transition from the medieval religious concept of man to that of the Enlightenment. In the post-reform period it developed into a powerful enlightenment movement expressed as a gradual realisation of the inherent value and civic purpose of man. The next stage was the High Renaissance of the early 20th century, known as the Golden Age of Tatar culture. The explosive development of Tatar print media and publishing industry,

the new course towards secular education, and change of cultural focus from East to West all gave momentum to the formation of new cultural tendencies.

In the early 20th century Tatar social activists founded Ittifaq al-Muslimin all-Russia Muslim party, thus marking a new stage in the development of the Tatar nation and in the national movements of the Turkic peoples of Russia.

Due to the missionary educational system of N. Ilminsky, non-Russian Christian peoples in the Middle Volga Region developed a national intelligentsia at the end of the century that became a 'national driver' and ensured, along with Russian ethnographers and linguists, the peoples' transition to the national movement cultural phase ('A') [Kappeler, 2000, pp. 189–190]. Christian Tatars developed a Cyrillic alphabet (an alternative to the Arabic script) and primary schools that provided instruction in the native language, and religious intelligentsia were educated that were, however, prone to Russification (which was typical for the intelligentsia of the region's Christian non-Russian peoples). New phenomena caused Christian Tatars to distance themselves from Muslim Tatars for religious reasons. However, they did not bring about any national movement.

What happened to the Tatars of Russia? What part did they play in the development of the Turkic peoples and the Muslim world? What was their contribution to the consolidation and development of the Motherland? These and many other questions are explored in this Volume 6 of the 'History of the Tatars since Ancient Times.'

* * *

The authors of Volume 6 of the 'History of the Tatars since Ancient Times' were guided by the principles of historicism, objectivity, and social approach.

Historical processes are described within the framework of the civilisation approach, which is based on respect for all peoples and countries without exception. Of particular importance were studying the social and cultural processes of the Tatars as an integral part of Russia's polyethnic and multi-confessional society and determining the distinctive features

of the national culture and mutual interactions with other peoples.

This balanced scientific approach to historical events was aimed at tracing the connection between the history of the Tatar people and that of the Russian state. National history was used to illustrate the sociocultural ideological paradigms of a number of Muslim and Turkic peoples in Russia.

Territorially, the book covers the Russian Empire and the states in which the Tatars were destined to live and form diasporas. The approach was taken because of the way the Tatars opened up new lands in multiple directions. It shed light not only on the historic demographic processes, basic directions of migration, diaspora formations, and contact areas in which interaction with other peoples took place but also—within a comparative framework—the dynamic social and economic development of regional compact Tatar groups.

Separate sections deal with the history of the Crimean and Lithuanian-Polish Tatars due to the specific nature of the Turkic cultural development of the particular periods when religious self-identification was crucial to ethno-confessional minorities.

The book's chronological span (from the 19th century to 1905) was chosen due to general trends in the development of the Tatar-Muslim community and key changes in its life brought about by Russia's capitalistic development and autocratic domestic policy. A number of governmental legislative initiatives marked the last quarter of the 18th century. For example, merchant guilds were established, which became 'social elevators' for entrepreneurial burghers and peasants. 'Lapotnik murzas,' descendants of the medieval Turko-Tatar elite in the Volga-Ural Region, were allowed to enter the Russian nobility, and the Muslim clergy were recognised as leaders of a 'tolerable' religion, thus enshrining the high social status of the parish clergy.

A landmark for the Muslim population of the Cisural Region was the introduction of the canton administration system, within which Bashkirs and Meshcheryaks enjoyed the status of military service people and privileges as compared to the rural tax-paying population.

New governmental and public Tatar institutions were founded in the late 18th century. The new canton system brought about canton heads and officials, who were the first Tatar officials of a new age that did not last long (cantons were abolished in 1865). Self-government went through dramatic changes. While earlier Tatar self-government had been concentrated in rural agrarian communities, the cantons established in 1789 formed vast territories controlled by Muslim officials. The Law of 7 August 1797 established state peasant volosts, extending the rights of elected delegates of the tax-paying peasantry. Where the Tatar population was compact, village heads (of Tatar origin) formed a larger percentage of volost administrations. Volost administrations that invited in clergymen 'for governmental issues' also favoured closer contacts with the local imams. Positive changes took place in urban self-government. As the number of Tatar merchants and burghers increased, so did Tatar percentage in local merchant self-government bodies. Tatar burgher communities or administrations emerged in a number of cities. The Tatar City Halls of Kazan and Seitov posad were established in the 1780s.

The establishment of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly (OMSA) in 1789 was of special importance in terms of enhancing consolidation and Islamisation in Tatar society. It covered the main Tatar-inhabited territories. As the population grew, the network of Islamic parishes expanded, and Islamic religious institutions became more numerous.

The emergence of new elites, whose status was enshrined in the Russian law, as well as the development of capitalistic relations laid a foundation for unprecedented social changes in Tatar society. It was representatives of the elite who had the most contact with the authorities and were the most integrated into the Russian cultural environment. The groups shaped the people's further progress. Their activities in a number of fields were of national importance, largely determining the rate and specific features of Tatar nation building.

The book's upper chronological limit (1905) was determined by the dramatic changes in Russia's social and political life brought about by the First Russian Revolution. The events of

1905–1907 catalysed the development of Tatar culture, pushing it towards its golden age. Unprecedented democratic freedoms for Tatars, democratic transformations in Russian society, and the liberal atmosphere favoured high levels of civil activity, with the idea of Tatar national development acting as the centrepiece. The Tatars and Muslims of Russia found their niche in party construction and the country's political development. This was the beginning of a new stage, marked by large-scale Europeanisation in Tatar society. However, all these changes were set in motion by the social processes that took place in the Tatar community in the 19th century.

It should be noted that the desire to present the events as a cohesive historical process motivated the authors to offer short side trips into the 18th century or even earlier within some sections.

In order to estimate the extent to which certain phenomena and events affected Tatar society in the period in question as well as to identify the places and significance of the processes at the turn of the century that continued in the following decade, the authors sometimes extended their narrative beyond the chronological limits, up to the fall of the autocracy.

The absence of landowners and serfs in the Tatar social hierarchy, the fact that most Tatar farmers were state peasants and other free groups, and the low social status of the Muslim population and, consequently, its isolation from essential Russian sociopolitical processes made it unnecessary to divide the book into pre-reform and post-reform periods, which is of fundamental importance in presenting the history of the Russian Empire and the Russian people.

* * *

Leading experts from Kazan and other academic centres in Russia and abroad co-authored the present volume. The editors wanted to ensure the collective work was cohesive and written in a seamless style. Some facts are mentioned several times to ensure each section is as cohesive as possible.

The authors used the Turkic tradition for spelling anthroponyms, toponyms, terms, and personal names.

The following persons made as much of a contribution to some of the sections as the edi-

tors did: *A. Kappeler* (Section VII), Candidate of Historical Sciences *M. Farkhshatov* (Literature Review).

Translation of the articles by M. Kemper and M. Tuna from English by *I. Salakhov*, the article, by E. Lazzereni, by *L. Almazova*, the article by Alper Alp from Turkish, by B. Nogmanov.

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Indices by *R. Iskhakov*, *B. Khismatullin* and *R. Zalyaletdinova*.

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REIVEW OF SOURCES AND LITERATURE

1. SOURCES ON THE HISTORY OF THE TATARS IN THE 19–EARLY 20th CENTURY

Liliya Baibulatova, Radik Iskhakov

There is a wide range of sources on the history and culture of Modern Tatars, which can be divided into three main groups—written, material and graphic.

In the 19th century, growth in the quantity and types of written sources can be attributed to the changes that had been taking place in Russian society and in the individual consciousness. In any study into the history of the Tatars, it is necessary to use the following types of written sources: 1) legislation and regulations, normative materials; 2) acts; 3) clerical materials; 4) fiscal accounting materials; 5) statistics; 6) periodical press articles; 7) sources of personal origin; 8) historical narratives; and 9) folk material.

Among the rich variety of legislative acts, crucial importance is given to the absolute highest ordinances, statutes and regulations, which make it possible to more fully trace the policy of the autocracy in relation to the Tatar people. In the 'Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire'¹ and 'Code of Laws of the Russian Empire', there are laws governing the relations of the sovereignty and Tatar population on land use, trade, taxation and duties, relocation, military service and the status of class groups and use of Islamic law in everyday life. The legal status of the various social classes, including Muslims, can be found in the 'Code of Laws of the Fortunes' [Zakony' o sostoyaniyax], 'Regulations on the Agricultural Condition' [Polozhenie o sel'skom, 1903], 'Regulations on the Provincial and Zemstvo State Institutions' [Polozhenie o gubernskix, 1892], 'City Conditions' [Gorodovoe polozhe-

nie, 1892], 'Civil Law' [Zakony' grazhdanskie, 1900], 'Code on Criminal and Correctional Penalties' [Ulozhenie o nakazaniyax, 1885], 'Charter of Criminal Proceedings' [Ustav ugovnogo, 1892], 'Statutes of Religious Affairs of Foreign Confessions' [Svod uchrezhdenij, 1857; Ustavy' duxovny'x, 1896], and other documents. The legal status of Muslim soldiers was regulated by the 'Code of Military Regulations' [Svod voenny'x, 1838, Part 2, Book 1; Part 3, Book 2; Svod voenny'x, 1869, vol. 16, edition 4; Svod voenny'x, 1869, part 4, Book 17, etc.].

Government rules, regulations, orders and precepts were all endowed with legislative power from the following departments: Ministry of Internal Affairs [Sbornik, 1894; Sbornik czirkulyarov Ministerstva vnutrennix del, etc.], Ministry of National Education [Svod glavnejshix, 1882; Sbornik postanovlenij po Ministerstvu narodnogo prosveshheniya, etc.], War Ministry [Spravochnik, 1911, etc.], Chief Directorate of Jail Facilities [Sbornik czirkulyarny'x, 1880], Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Facility [Sbornik czirkulyarov, 1902; Sbornik czirkulyarov, 1905], Department of Orthodox Confession [Rukovodstvenny'e, 1879, etc.] and others that nullified or amended the existing regulations, clarified the procedure for applying active legislation (including anything related to the military, service and tribute-paying Tatar classes), carried out the religious policy, etc.

The application of Sharia norms in the regulation of family relations, the division of property and issues of inheritance among Tatars led us to distinguish Muslim law as a separate subgroup of legislative acts, i.e. norms of Sharia [Shariatny'e, 1910; Nofal, 1886; Efendiev, 1911; Marginani, 2008].

A thorough selection of legislative actions related to Muslims and their classes has been compiled in a number of documents and materials [Sbornik, 1899; Inorodcheskie, 1903;

¹ The Complete Code of Laws was published in three collections. The first was published in 1830. It contained decrees dated 1649–1825. The second code followed from 1830–1884 and contained those pertaining to the period from 1825 to 1881. The third code of decrees dated 1881–1913 was published from 1885 to 1916.

Islam, 1998; Zakony', 1999; Islam, 2001; Nacional'ny'j, 2009], which greatly simplifies the search for this particular set of historical sources.

The sources of acts played a major role in the study of legal relations, as their active expansion in the New Time was thanks to prominent growth in the scope of contractual relation regulations and the development of the law of obligation [Istochnikovedenie, 1998, p. 385]. Private acts that contain information on the legal status of separate classes in the sphere of contractual and obligation relations are particularly informative for researchers. As a result, Tatar private acts assume great importance as legally arranged contractual (buy and sell, endowment, will, division of property), family (marriage, divorce) and public (conflict regulation, selecting of spiritual, election agents, etc) relations. Despite the fact that these documents were kept in Tatar and often in the absence of a unified format, they were legally valid, the fact of which was officially established in various government institutions [Minnullin, 1988, p. 7–10].

A large portion of sources on the history of Tatars in the 19–beginning of the 20th century are made up of managerial and record keeping documents that highlight the public and economic processes in the lives of Tatars. In the 19th century collegiums were replaced by ministries with documentary activities regulated by law, and new types of unified documents were created for all social institutions [Shepelev, 1968, p. 119].

Among all the diversity of the published managerial documents, the documents most crucial for the study of Tatar history are the reports of governors containing information on their activities as an element of the state structure and their relations with the population. In the 19th century the format of the report was changed. Its textual part consisted of sections containing information on life in the governorates, including productivity, forms of taxation, the population, social amenities, public health, education, administrative operations, legal proceedings, and others. Appendices with registers contained the figures to corroborate the textual part of the report. The most reliable data is in the characterisation of the admin-

istration's direct functions, as any distortion would have held legal ramifications. The study of governors' reports from different governorates where Tatar communities were present paints a numeric picture of the Tatar population based on religion, the number of confessional schools, birth rate, and other factors [Litvak, 1979, p. 154–155, 185].

The most humble annual reports of the Attorney General of the Synod published first in 1837 are of great importance in the history of missionary politics among the Tatar people [Iz vlecheniya iz vsepoddanejshix, 1837–1885; Vsepoddanejshie otchety', 1886–1914]. They contain information on the state of the church's authority, certain diocese and parishes, the operations of missionary organisations and successes in the Christianisation of non-Orthodox populations in national regions of the empire. This group of documents is our greatest resource on the developmental history of Orthodox institutions by christened Tatars, and it makes it possible to highlight their function and influence on the religiosity of this confessional group. The church statistics in the reports are also of great value, as they clearly depict the number of Orthodox parishes, churches, monasteries and religious educational establishments, as well as the number of clergy and parishioners, and the number of converts to the Orthodoxy of neophytes from other confessions. Another important source on the history of the Christianisation of Tatars are the annual reports of missionary organisations: Brotherhood of Saint Gury (1867–1914) [Otchety' Bratstva svyatogo Guriya, 1867–1914], Translation Committee of the Orthodox missionary community (1892–1915) [Otchety' Perevodcheskoj komissii, 1892–1915], Orthodox Missionary Community (1871–1905) [Otchet Pravoslavnogo missionerskogo obshchestva, 1871–1906] and its Volga region committees (1870–1905) [Otchety' Vyatskogo komiteta, 1872–1906]. In addition to just information on the operations of these missionary establishments and their methods, they also contain information on the development of schools among the Tatars-Kryashens, and ethnographic data on the dynamics of their religious beliefs and way of life. Much atten-

tion in these documents is paid towards the 'anti-Muslim' activity of the Russian Orthodox Church, along with ways of combating the cultural influence of Tatar Muslims in the region.

A thorough study of the social life and social activity of Tatars from a regional perspective is only made possible by the indubitable value of the published and non-published materials on class and city [Protokoly', 1884; Postanovleniya, 1896; Zhurnal, 1895; 1895a; Zhurnal, 1896, etc.] and zemsky [Sbornik, 1899; Protokol, etc.] institutions, and also reports of Tatar social organisations [Otchet, 1901; 1903, etc.]. For example, the record management documents of Kazan Tatar City Hall (1781–1855), or the self-regulatory body of merchants and petty bourgeois [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f.22] both used registers, which make it possible to outline the range of issues handled by this establishment, its work flow and regular personnel. Cases handled in this matter were put on record, and city hall also had books to register the incoming decrees and orders of higher-ranking provincial authorities. Their study helps determine city hall's place in the system of state institutions [Izmaylov, 2009, p. 26–30].

Regional archives contain diverse data on land communities and Muslim debtors. The socio-economic status of different classes of Tatars can be observed in the funds of the offices of the Orenburg governor general (State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 6), the administrators of governorates and regions, governorate authorities, treasury chambers, governorate statistical committees, and others. This is mostly present in the reports of local authorities and administrative officials. The decrees and orders of governors concerning the local administration or peasant self-government bodies and communities characterises the relations inside the administrative apparatus and are evidence of a certain dialogue between the population and social organisations on the one side, and governmental bodies on the other.

Violations of the law by both the population and administrative officials were considered in court hearings. Here the data on circuit courts and public prosecutors of circuit courts, courts of justice, etc. is important.

Materials from the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly fund [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–295], which used to be a government entity that supervised the activities of parish clergy and the religious life of communities, are a very valuable resource for the study of state-Islamic relationships and religious institutions. The everyday operations of the Assembly were registered in journals with the surnames of those present, advance notice on the issues under discussion, and delivered judgments. There are also documents on the examinations of individuals applying for clerical and scholastic positions, permits for the construction and repair of mosques, marriage, family and contractual relations, etc. in the Spiritual Assembly archive.

The record management documents of central government entities are also of the utmost importance, as they show both the interrelation of the government and institutions, along with the institutions and the population. A large volume of source material on the history of the Tatars has been discovered in the record stores of central government authorities. Materials from the Department of Religious Affairs of Foreign Faiths (DRAFF) [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821], the central government body responsible for approving issues of its capacity with other departments and administrations, the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly, the heads of governorates and regions, prepared export reports and draft laws all shed light on the religious life of the Muslim population of the Russian Empire. They cover mechanisms of regulation and control over various aspects of Russian Islam by imperial authorities, including the administration of spiritual affairs, parishes, clergy, institutions of divine service, metrics, the administration of oaths for Muslims, the property of religious institutions, and so on.

The main source of information on the history of the cultural and religious life of christened Tatars are materials from the bodies of the central (Synod office and its attorney-general [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 796, 797]) and local (spiritual consistories) administration of the Spiritual Department. This collec-

tion contains various records and managerial documents which reflect the issues of government and church regulation, and the completion of a course focused on the Christian education of christened Tatars, building Orthodox churches, opening parishes, the appointment of clergy and the overall functioning of a system of religious educational institutions, etc. It also includes materials that aid in the analysis of the evolution of religious ideas and beliefs of christened Tatars, and the process of forming a religious syncretism among them.

Various aspects of the development and implementation of the government's school policy in regard to the Tatars can be observed in the record-keeping documents of the Department of National Education [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733], which was the supreme deliberative body of the Ministry of National Education, and fulfilled administrative and executive functions, as well as acted as the chancellery of trustees of Kazan [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92] and Orenburg [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. 109] school districts, principal of public schools, etc. The notes and reports of officials, decrees, correspondences between the structures and other internal and external documentation illuminates the purpose and objectives of the Ministry of National Education, and relations between the central and regional authorities on matters of education among the Tatar population of the Volga-Ural region.

The socio-economic and legal status of various groups in the rural tax-paying Tatar population, and their execution of duties entrusted by the government and tax payments before the reforms are reflected in the reports of the provincial chambers of the Ministry of State Property and appanage offices of the Appanage Department.

The applications and complaints of officials and authorised persons of rural communities and city communes, parishes, separate groups of Tatars and individuals were in fact a method of informing the authorities of their attitude towards the reforms and the political course of imperial authority. A major portion of this source group of is made up of complaints on the unsanctioned application of laws by offi-

cials, policemen, mullahs, etc. They are important for studying the national character of the population, its prejudices and the level of trust of Russian citizens towards the imperial authorities throughout different historic periods.

Applications and petitions were addressed to the administration of supreme, central and local public authorities according to their competences in implementing the internal course of the autocracy. Although the Applications Accepting Chancellery of His Imperial Majesty received applications from the Tatars addressed to His Imperial Majesty [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1412] on various aspects of life in hopes of justice, most applications concerning spiritual and educational issues were sent to the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly, the Department of Religious Affairs of Foreign Faiths, the Ministry of National Education, and other institutions. Applications concerning domestic and zemsky issues were sent to the Economic Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1287] and the Department of General Affairs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1284]. Applications concerning the public administration, domestic system or military service of the peasantry were addressed to the Zemsky Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1291], etc. Written initiatives of Tatars regarding the creation of a national periodical press were preserved in the fund of the General Directorate for the Press of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 776]. These funds preserved the correspondence between the departments and administration, and their correspondence with the spiritual department, governors, etc.

Materials collected in the funds of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Chancellery [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1282], the Department of Police of the Executive Ministry of Internal Affairs [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1286], the Ministry of Internal Affairs Police Department [State Archive of the Russian Federation, f. 102], the Third Department of His Imperial Majesty [State Archive of the Russian Federation, f. 109] and the Governorate

Gendarme Administrations make it possible to trace the general picture of anti-government strikes among the rural Tatar population as part of the Russian peasant movement, the Islamic social movement, modernisation processes of the national social life of the Tatars on the scale of the Russian Empire under the influence of European ideas.

Another large group of sources consists of fiscal accounting materials, census records being one type. In the 19th century census was taken five times (in 1811, 1815, 1833, 1850 and 1857), and its aim was auditing the taxable population for tax purposes and military service. Its data served as the basis for the definition of classes, showed the number and composition of the population (in 1811–1812 only the male population), and in some cases the place of birth and nationality were indicated. As a source, census records are rather limited, as families hid males for the purpose of avoiding taxes and increased the number of females, as they are not taxable [Gozulov, 1972, p. 47–48]. These census materials help trace the changes in the location and class composition of the pre-reform period population [Kabuzan, 1959, p. 128].

Parish registers that contained records of acts of civil status (birth, marriage, death) form a special group of accounting and fiscal sources. From the second quarter of the 18th century up to 1829, before this duty was placed on Muslim clergy as well, parish registers² 'were kept only for christened Tatars' [Antonov, 2006, pp. 17]. Two copies were kept of Muslim parish registers, and at the end of the year one was sent to the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly. This source also contains some information on the economic status of specific Tatar Muslim families (a column on marriage contained information on mahar sizes) and on the status of women (a column on divorces).

² The Register of Births, Marriages, and Deaths consisted of the following three basic sections: 1) 'On Births,' giving the birth number, date, and place; the father's class affiliation, name and patronymic; and the baby's sex and name. 2) 'On Marriages,' giving the wedding number, date, and the newlyweds' ages. 3) 'On Deaths,' giving the date of death, place of residence, class affiliation, name, age, and cause of death.

Exclusive material can be found in the statistics used for the preparation of managerial decisions. Therefore, the general materials of the First General Census of the Russian Empire of 1897 contain data on the quantity of Muslims in regions of the Empire [Raspredeleynie, 1901; Kratkie, 1905], provincial notebooks [Pervaya vseobshhaya] contain numerical data on the number of Tatars in cities and districts, on their sex and age, marital and kinship relations, class, occupation, religion, native language, literacy, etc.

Statistical compilations are also important historical sources. The first such case dates to 1830 with the publishing of the 'Overview of the Situation in Cities of the Russian Empire for the Year 1825' [Panin, 1960, p. 179–192]. As such, this data was included in the military and statistical reviews of the Russian Empire by the General Staff [Voenno-statisticheskoe, 1848; Voenno-statisticheskoe, 1852, Vol. 14, etc.].³ From 1859 up to 1868, 'Materials for Geography and Russian Statistics Collected by Officers of the General Staff' was published in Saint Petersburg [Laptev, 1861; Lipinsky, 1868, etc.], which contained detailed statistical data, geographical descriptions, maps and plans gathered from across 25 governorates and regions of the Russian Empire⁴.

Owing to the efforts of P. Kappen and K. Arsenyev, who developed the system of statistical and geographical descriptions for the Russian Empire, the Central Statistical Committee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (established in 1863) published 43 editions of the provincial 'List of Localities' [Spisok naselennyx

³ The edition contains a topographical description; information on natural conditions, communication channels, population size, population location and migration, and folk customs; the condition of agriculture, trades, handicrafts, industry, and trade (with a list of factories, plants, and trading establishments); uyezd centre data; and a description of the spiritual, educational, and charity institutions and historical places of interest.

⁴ At the beginning of each volume there is an overview of the history of the region and ethnographic information on the local peoples. In addition, educational and religious issues are analysed. The history of city construction and population is presented. The district's administration, economy, spiritual life, geography, and demography are described. Land and forest statistics as well as data on prices and price setting were presented.

mest, Vol. 14; Spicok naseleenny'x mest, Vol. 31, etc.] from 1860–1885. This work utilised data on the demographic, social and economic development of the population, the geographic location of settlements, etc. to the fullest extent possible at that time. Along with the Central Statistical Committee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, work on the drafting of these specific 'Lists' in the second half of the 19th century—beginning of the 20th century rest in the hands of the statistical authorities of the Ministry of National Education, the spiritual department and the local zemstvos.

The 'Provincial History' published by the local (provincial) executive authorities is similar to the reference and statistical sources in terms of its subject-matter and structure. Information on the administrative divisions, settlements, government, cultural, public and ceremonial centres of the governorate, methods of communication, statistical data on the state sector of industry, trade, agriculture, national education and other aspects can also be found in this book.

In the latter quarter of the 19th century, zemsky institutions carried out complex inspections (according to special programmes) of the domestic way of life of the local population by uyezd [*Materialy' dlya sravnitel'noj*, Ed. 1; *Sbornik statisticheskix svedenij po Samarskoj*, Vol. 5, etc.] and governorates [*Svodny'j sbornik*, Ed. 1; *Obshhij svod*, 1896; *Krest'yanskoe zemlevladienie*, Ed. 13]. Household investigations were also carried out [*Trudy*, 1884; Belkovich, 1887; Palitsyn, 1890]. Said sources contain information on peasant households, including those of the Tatars, on the number and composition of the family according to the sex, age, size of land ownership, beasts of burden, cattle, craft, etc. There are stories explaining the reasons for the poor quality of life among Tatar peasant households, details of the everyday life of Muslims, and other writings.

The study of the economic state and way of life of the Tatar peasants of Kazan guberniya recorded by N. Vecheslav, the Secretary of Local Provincial Statistical Committee who published a number of research studies on the economic structure of rural communities, enjoys

a special importance [Vecheslav, 1871; 1879; 1879a].

The periodical press is important for the analysis of socio-cultural processes. The materials of Russian periodicals can be nominally divided into two groups according to their orientation. The first group includes governmental department publications, such as those from spiritual departments (periodicals of the diocese, the 'Orthodox observer', 'Orthodox interlocutor', 'Orthodox Blessed Messenger', etc.) that addressed the inter-religious situation; from the department of education (*Journal of the Ministry of National Education*, *Central Committee of Education Management*, *Central District Department of Education*) with materials concerning the implementation of school policies relating to the Tatar Muslims and christened 'foreigners'; from power structures (*Journal of the Ministry of Internal Affairs*), etc. The second group consists of other secular publications where notes on the charity of Tatars, their national and religious holidays and everyday life were published ('*Bulletin of Guberniya*', '*Kazan News*', '*The Kazan Stock List*', '*Newsletter*', '*Samara Newspaper*', etc.).

In I. Gasprinsky's '*Tärjeman*' ('Translator') newspaper, published since 1883 in Bakhchysaray in both Tatar and Russian, numerous different facts and events concerning modernising processes in the cultural and public life of Muslims were discussed.

In 1900 in Saint Petersburg the '*Miryat*' ('Mirror') almanac by G. Ibragimov was first published. Up to 1909, 23 editions were published, 18 of which had already been published by 1903 (inclusive). Up to 1905 both '*Miryat*' and '*Tärjeman*' were the only periodicals where Tatars actively voiced their opinions on trending topics of modernity, which makes this source important in the study of their education level and definition of their public position on how to resolve social and religious issues.

Materials on the history of the education and culture of the Tatars in the 19th century can be found in the '*Şura*' ('Advise') magazine, which was published in Orenburg from 1908–1918. Articles on social, financial, philosophical, religious and historical topics, along with

works of fiction, flooded the pages of the magazine [Gosmanov, 2000].

The national periodical press can also nominally be said to include Tatar calendars, as they include two main features of this source type. Firstly, they influenced the formation of public opinion among the Tatars [Zayni, 2004; Minulina, 2006a, p. 25, 27], which was aided by the inclusion of social, political and historical notes; secondly, calendars were intended for replication and circulation⁵.

Sources of private origin relating to the history and culture of the Tatars may be considered as both materials embodying the stages of development of a consciousness of their own personality, and as unique written evidence of the events in which the author took part. Autobiographical sources are mainly composed of diaries kept by well-known missionaries, such as E. Malov [Malov, 1872; 1892; Bayrash, 1999], V. Timofeev [Timofeev, 1887] and S. Bagin [Bagin, 1909]. They reflect the details of missionary activity in the Middle Volga region, and contain ethnographic data on the way of life and religious life of christened Tatars and Muslims with whom these missionaries had to communicate. It is especially important to emphasise the travel diaries, notes, and correspondence of N. Ilminsky, the founder of the religious and educational system of christened non-Russian peoples of Eastern Russia. His correspondence with numerous persons, which have been published in part [Ilminsky, 1883a; 1895] and partly preserved in the National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan (f.968), the Manuscripts Department of the Russian National Library (f.573), the Manuscripts Department of the Russian State Library (f. 424) and in the Russian State Historical Archive (f. 796), is very important for the study of the culture and religiosity of christened Tatars, the national politics of imperial administration and inter-religious relationships in the Volga-Ural region.

Sources of interpersonal communication (private correspondences, memoirs) do an excellent job of fully transporting modern read-

ers to the time and circumstances in which they were created. The social and moral state of society at that time, manners, customs and many aspects of the everyday life of Tatars are recorded in such sources. Therefore, a large number of epistolary sources from religious clerics (private and official letters of muftis, the correspondence of Sh. Marjani) and shakirds was preserved in the 'Asar' collection by R. Fahretdin, who to the fullest extent possible quoted them fully, while preserving the style and orthography of the author. Among the memoirs is 'Tärçemäi xälem' ('My Biography') by Gabderashit Ibragimov [Ibrahimov, 2001] and Rizaetdin Fakhretdin [Rizaeddin, 1999].

Historical narratives on the history of the Tatars can be found first and foremost among private Tatar historical literature, which appeared as a genre at the end of the 18th century and served as a premise for the appearance of regional ethnography. The authors of such works were lovers of the history of native places who used the sources available when recording the history of a certain settlement, and often resorted to the historical memory of the local population by collecting all the necessary information through surveys. Such works described the history of the origin of a village, the origins of its population, the history of separate clans, their way of life and festive culture. Depending on the object of study, national regional works can be divided into several groups: 1) On the history of villages⁶, information on the participation of the local population in unrest and the deeds of certain people is of great interest. 2) On the history of clans and specific people. This group includes the biographical essays of R. Fakhretdin devoted to outstanding Tatars. Such essays were published in the 'Şura' magazine [Fakhretdin, 1915; 1913; 1914; 1917] or in separate books [Fakhretdin, 1910; 1917a].

⁵ The first printed Tatar calendar, titled 'Gorränamä' (published by R. Amirkhanov) appeared in 1841. There were over 20 calendar publishers in the second half of the 19th to early 20th centuries [Alishev, 2006, p. 112].

⁶ Those included 'Bäräñge tarixı' ('The History of Baranga') by A. Barangivi, 'Yaña Tinçäle tarixı' ('The History of Novye Tinchali') by K. Bikkulov, 'Tarixe karya-i Ämin' ('The History of the Amin Village') by I. Dinmukhamedov, 'Tarixe Sterlibaşı' ('The History of Sterlibash') by M. Tukayev, 'Tüntär avılı tarixı' ('The History of the Tyunter Village') by M. Tyuntari, and more.

The works of historians Sh. Marjani and R. Fakhretdin have a special place among historical narratives. In the second book by Sh. Marjani, *'Möstäfadäl-äxbar fi äxvali Kazan vä Bolğar'* ('Accounts on the History of Kazan and Bolğar'), published in Kazan in 1900, information can be found on the history of the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly, the Tatar city hall, on the mosques of Kazan, and also biographical essays detailing the lives of outstanding individuals, such as Tatar merchants and clergymen [Märcani, 1900; 1989].

'Asar' by R. Fakhretdin is a collection of bibliographical data on the most well-known people from the Tatar and other Turkic nations, including khans, clergymen, poets, *mudaris*es, and others. Apart from traditional biographical data, this work also contains epistolary, epigraphic sources and poetic works [Fakhretdin, 1900–1908; 2006; 2009; 2010].

The works of Sh. Marjani and R. Fakhretdin differ from local folk historical essays in their use of historical methods for the selection of sources and materials, which can be observed in their critical approach, analysis of the available data and sufficiently objective narrative. They are written using a broad source base, and in addition to historical works the authors also used 'non-traditional' sources for historical studies (such as epitaphic texts, *shejere*, *colophons*).

The hand-written and published works of Tatar theologians and religious figures are a most valuable source for the study of Sufism traditions and religiosity, as well as the Muslim reformation among the Tatars. The heritage of G. Kursavi, G. Utyz Imyani, M. Bigiev, relating to the Muslim reformation is published in the series *'Anthology of Tatar Theological Thought'* [Kursavi, 2005; Utyz Imyani, 2007; Bigiev, Vol. 1; Vol. 2].

In this case, 'non-traditional' sources include writings such as *shejere* (genealogies) and epigraphic documents. According to M. Ahmetzyanov, genealogies contain the ethnic history of the Tatars, and at the same time are a source for the history of the Tatar language and literature, as well as for onomatology [Ahmetzyanov, 1991, p. 7]. But the usage of these sources requires a multi-faceted approach in-

tegrating an analysis of the *shejere* with other official acts, epigraphic and historical documents⁷ [Ahmetzyanov, 1991, p. 31].

Another special group of narrative sources are Russian-language ethnographic materials. The revival of ethnographic research on the way of life, religion, everyday life and culture of the non-Russian peoples of Eastern Russia occurred in the 1830–1840s. The formation of professional Russian ethnography was promoted by the formation of a positivist methodology in scientific research, which expanded the range of socio-anthropological and geographical research related to an increase in public and state interest in the ethnographic landscape of the empire [Nayt, 2005, p. 147].

In the 19th century, Kazan University became a centre for ethnographic studies in the Volga-Ural region. The staff of this institution stood at the very foreground of all future studies of the ethnography of this region's peoples. A particularly noteworthy role was played by the famous naturalist, ethnographer and professor of medicine K. Fuchs (1776–1846). In 1844 his classic work *'The Kazan Tatars in Terms of Statistics and Ethnography'* was published, in which the Tatars are presented not as a united community, but as a complex social structure. Through his descriptions on every social group, especially that of the Kazan merchants, the author emphasises their interconnectedness and relationships [Busygin, 2005, p. 357–361]. New momentum for the ethnographic study of the Tatars and other peoples of the region found steam in 1877 with the establishment of the Society of Archaeology, History and Ethnography of Kazan University (SAHE). In its press organ, the *'Reports of SAHE'* on their operations, including those written by Tatar authors, were published and dedicated to other Tatars. The articles published included *'Wedding traditions of Kazan Tatars'* by M. Pinegin [Pinegin, 1891], *'Wedding Customs and Ceremonies of Christened Tatars of Ufa Governorate'* by S.

⁷ The Manuscript Department of the Galimdzhan Ibragimov Institute of Language, Literature, and Art of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan has a rich collection of *shejeres* dating back to the 18th to 19th centuries (Collection 99).

Matveev [Matveev, 1896], 'Examples of Folk Literature of the Kazan Tatars' by K. Nasyri [Nasyri, 1896], 'Historical Songs of the Kazan Tatars' by N. Katanov [Katanov, 1896], 'On the language and Nationality of the Mishars' by G. Akhmarov [Akhmarov, 1903], and others.

Another large scientific and educational centre that studied the life and culture of the people of Eastern Russia was the Kazan Spiritual Academy (KSA). With the creation of classes on Oriental languages (1844) and missionary departments (1854), its staff and students began focusing more attention on the religious beliefs of the region's peoples. As a result of the special missionary tasks faced by the Kazan Spiritual Academy, research in the spheres of comparative ethnography and the study of religion were actively developing. Much attention was given to the beliefs of christened Tatars and the study of the ethno-cultural processes among them. The ethnographic essays of M. Mashanov [Mashanov, 1875], I. Sofiysky [Sofiysky, 1878; 1891], N. Odigitriyevsky [Odigitriyevsky, 1895] and other authors take this issue as a focus.

Some works of historians (ethnographers) are devoted to the Tatar classes, first and foremost the peasant class [Nevzorov, 1803; Sboev, 1856; Cheremshansky, 1859; Shino, Vol. 81; Rittich, 1870; Ovsyannikov, 1878; Shile, 1879a; 1879, Nechaev, 1891; Pirogov, 1881; Dudkin, 1890; Sultanov, 1901; Krukovsky, 1909; Korolev, 1912; Speransky, 1914] and officials [Grigoryev, 1876, Guryich, 1879; Yuzefovich, 1883; Steinfeld, 1894; 1894a; Sbornik, 1896; Rybakov, 1895; 1897; 1899; 1917; 1913; Zorin, 1912]. They also described the way of life of the Tatars, their economic practices, everyday life and religious institutions.

Starting in the 1870s, representatives of the christened Tatars [Gavrilov, 1874; 1877; Apakov, 1877; Dauley, 1903a; Filippov, 1915] started to play a significant role in the materials related to the history of the traditional religious, mythological, festive and ceremonial culture of this confessional group. Their works contain information based on their lives, recollections and other materials unavailable to outside ob-

servers, and they reveal little-known facts on the socio-cultural life of these communities.

The historical narratives of missionaries are interesting in their approach to determining the influence of Tatar clergymen and confessional schools on the Muslim population. In most cases, their works exposed a system of confessional Muslim education that did not correspond to modern requirements. At the same time, in the writings of famous church publicists there was a wealth of factual data, including descriptions of the structure and particularities of the madrasah and mektebe, teaching methodology and key teaching materials [Malov, 1910; Koblov, 1906; 1908; 1916; Znamensky, 1910]. Issues of the school education of christened Tatars were reflected in the works of Orthodox missionary figures [Kazanskaya Czentral'naya Kreshcheno-tatarskaya shkola, 1887; Ilminsky, 1890; 1892; 1901; 1904; 1913, etc.; Ostroumov, 1872; Iznoskov, 1893; 1901; 1904; 1909; Mashanov, 1892; Bobrovnikov, 1899; 1900; Prokopiev, 1905, etc.]. The authors placed great focus on the implementation of the Christianisation policy for christened Tatars through elementary religious [Orthodox] education, and studied the influence of educational institutions upon their confessional identity. One special group of publications devoted to the educational and school affairs of Tatar Muslims are the works of the officials of local and central bodies of the executive branch of the Imperial Russian government [Anastasiev, 1893; 1904; Cherevansky, 1901; Miropiev, 1901; Krasnodubovskiy, 1903; Zorin, 1914; Lyubimov, 1914]. Due to the specific nature of their activity, they looked over the arrangement of classes and the educational programme in Tatar confessional schools, and supported qualitative changes that took place in the educational system of the Tatar Muslims at the end of the 19–beginning of the 20th century, which were caused by improvements in their socio-cultural life under the influence of jadidism.

Works of folklore and oral folk traditions [Zhyen, 1884; Törek, 1991; Tatar Folk Arts, 1977–1978; Tatar Folk Arts, 1981; 1980; 1988; 1983; 1984; 1987, etc.] also contain

valuable information on spiritual culture and social relations. These include sayings and proverbs, tales about folk holidays and wars the Tatars were involved in, the hard life of recruits, soldiers, captives and prisoners, as well as historic, toponymic traditions, legends, myths, etc.

Architectural landmarks are likewise among the material sources of great interest. The stone and wooden public and private buildings of the Tatars preserved mostly in cities are an example of the architectural styles that dominated during that period of time, and are a reflection of the Tatar people's everyday lives.

The everyday culture of Tatars in the 19th century is featured in exhibits in central, republican, urban and rural museums of local history (household items, clothing, jewellery, printed media, etc.).

Among pictorial sources, one should make note of an increased focus on photographs, which are often used as illustrative material, moreover, they, as well as the written sources, capture past events. Photographs objectively reflect the facts and may be used as additional material to reconstruct the complete picture of historical events. The only photo-publication of mosques in the European part of Russia and Siberia during the imperial era was an album published in 1911. Photographs in the album are accompanied by brief summaries with information about the philanthropist, the time of construction and reconstruction of places of worship [Yubilej, 1911].

Photo albums issued in the post-Soviet period are of informative value, since they show mainly historic mosques [Mecheti, 2001; Mecheti, 2001a; Kابدulvahidov, 2006].

Photo-funds of central [The Institute of History of Material Culture of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Russian State Historical Archive], regional archives [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, etc.], Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences [Kunstkamera], Russian Ethnographic Museum and regional museums [National Museum of the Republic of Bashkortostan, National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan, Museum of the Millennium of Kazan at the National Cultural Centre 'Kazan',

etc.] store photographs depicting Muslim places of worship, townspeople and villager types, the celebration of folk and religious holidays, the daily life of Tatar peasants, etc.

Another set of graphic materials that captured everyday culture of the Tatars are paintings, reproductions, engravings and other works of art [Tatarskij, 2009; Kazan', 2005 and others]. In particular, the pictures from the 'Collection of Costumes' by E. Korneev [Sobranie, 1808] and paintings by K. Hun [Eglit, 1955] make it possible to reconstruct the appearance, clothing and costumes of the Tatars at the time. The works by E. Turnerelli [Turnerelli, 1839] and V. Turin [Turin, 1834] captured picturesque views of pre-reform Kazan, including its Tatar part, presented the lost beauties of pre-revolutionary architecture and building art of the Tatars.

Graphic sources (maps, plans, drawings) allow us to determine the location, exterior and interior of the residential buildings and liturgical buildings of the Tatars, the construction of which, by law, had to be agreed with the Ministry of Internal Affairs. These documents provide an idea of the buildings lost in the present, land planning and where the construction was supposed to start⁸.

A large bulk of sources is presented in the fundamental collections of documents and materials of the 1930s [Materialy', 1936; Istoriya, 1937], which were the first to provide a systematic publication of the sources on different aspects of national history in the period under review.

Anti-government protests of the Tatar peasants as part of the Russian peasant movement against the autocracy were recorded in the collections of documents on the peasant movement in Russia in the second half of the

⁸ Maps, drawings, and plans of Muslim Tatar places of worship and residential buildings can be found in the following collections: Russian State Historical Archive Collection 821, 1293, 1488, 1399; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts: Collection 248, List 160; State Archive of the Orenburg Region: Collection 41, National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan: Collection 2, 98, 408, 409; Central Historical Archive of the Republic of Bashkortostan: Collection I-144, I-428.

19th—the early 20th century [Krestyanskoe Dvizhenie, 1959; 1960; 1968; 1998].

The tradition has been set to prepare and publish collections of documents and materials on specific problems, including on Muslim topics [Imperatorskaya, 2006; Osoboe Soveshhanie, 2011; Xristianskoe Prosveshchenie, 2012], on educational institutions [Kazanskaya, 2005; Medrese, 2007; 2012], the history of Kazan

of the 19th century [Istoriya Kazani, Book 1; Book 2; Book 3], etc.

Thus, the study of the history of the Tatar people in the 19th—the early 20th century is based on a broad source basis, which, nevertheless, should be treated differently, since each source has a different degree of reliability due to the conditions of its creation.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Russian Historiography

Ildus Zagidullin, Liliya Baibulatova, Lyudmila Sverdlova

Currently a large amount of Russian historiography has been accumulated on the history and culture of the Tatars of the 19– early 20th century. Due to the significant amount of historical literature on this subject, the review is conducted under the problem-chronological principle, which, in our opinion, can more accurately determine research priorities on certain stages, and trace the evolution of scientific views on historical events and phenomena.

The legal and socio-economic situation of different groups of the Tatar population. Basic research in this area began in the Soviet period, as pre-revolutionary works are often treated as source material, since they are mostly presented by statistical data or ethnographic descriptions.

Merchants and entrepreneurs. Although the works on the history of the Tatar people which appeared in the early years of the given period carried the background of the new socialist interpretation of the role of the Tatar merchants and entrepreneurs in the history of the Tatar people of the second half of the 19–early 20th century, they still preserved a positive evaluation of their role in transforming the life of Tatar society. This aspect is clearly manifested in the work by G. Ibragimov ‘Tatars in the Revolution of 1905’ [Ibragimov, 1926]. G. Gubaydullin was close to these evaluations, who, above all, considered the effort of the Tatar bourgeoisie to raise the national-religious consciousness of Muslim Tatars in Russia as a

desire to ensure the modernisation of almost all sectors of life of the Tatar people [Gubaydullin, 1925].

The essay by G. Gubaydullin became a significant contribution to the study of Tatar merchants. The author emphasised that ‘the Tatars of the Kazan guberniya came into the 19th century with a deep class differentiation’ [Gubaydullin, 1925, p. 99], the cause of which he had seen in the growth of capitalism. He singled out the ‘Tatar bourgeois class’ [Gubaydullin, 1925, p. 105], but did not define its basic constituent elements. And with respect to the end of the 17–the beginning of the 19th century, he emphasises the flight of the Tatar murzas and serving men to the merchant class. He considered the merchant class to be the bourgeoisie. His work reflects the specific feature of publications of the 1920s, when, in considering this issue, the authors were forced to solve not so much scientific as political problems, and their conclusions were openly politicised. The work by F. Saifi enhanced the conclusions of G. Gubaydullin concerning the class differentiation of the Tatars, and concerning the formation of special classes of large-scale manufacturers, large-scale merchants, landowners, small farmers, workers and rural labourers [Saifi, 1930, p. 3]. Unlike his predecessor, he described the situation as merchant capitalism [Saifi, 1930, p. 17].

J. Validi, arguing about the nature of the Tatar enlightenment and Jadidism, also posi-

tively evaluated the role of Tatar merchants and defined the significant cultural development of the Tatar people in the second half of the 19–early 20th century as a result of their successful charitable activities. Moreover, being a graduate and later a teacher at the madrasah ‘Husainia’, J. Validi paid special attention to the Khusainov brothers, briefly covering their life and personal qualities, and he highly appreciated the importance of the charitable and educational activities of each of them [Validi, 1923].

But the positive reviews had no long-term perspective within the specified period. Soon, the analysis of the Tatar merchants and entrepreneurs gradually established very different tendencies. Therefore, the work by A. Arsharuni and K. Gabidullin attributes such qualities as political indecision and uncertainty to the Tatar bourgeoisie, although it does not deny its merits in the fight against conservatism in Tatar society [Arsharuni, 1931].

Most historians of the 1920–1930s did not touch upon the subject of class group history. Peasant and worker issues became dominant research subjects for many decades. Later scientific and popular-scientific and journalistic works still examined this issue while relying on class ideology.

The first major work devoted to the Tatar bourgeoisie was the monograph by Kh. Khasanov ‘Formation of a Tatar Bourgeois Nation’. The author identifies three stages in the formation of the Tatar bourgeois nation: 1) The late 17–the late 18th century: the appearance of commodity production, creation of manufacturing industry, trade expansion, the emergence of new economic centres, an increase in commercial capital 2) The early 19th century—industrial revolution: a shift from manufacturing to machine industry 3) the late 19th century—the abolition of serfdom in the Kazan-Volga region resulted in the final establishment of capitalist relations, formation of the main classes of the Tatar capitalist society [Khasanov, 1977, p. 19–20].

In his works, K. Faseev is quite categorical about the Tatar national bourgeoisie, whose members ‘pursued their narrow-class, mercenary goals’, ‘developed a fight for seizing the eastern markets, seeking to keep Muslim na-

tions under their economic and political domination’ [Faseev, 1955; 1971]. R. Nafigov explained the main reasons for the weakness of the Tatar national bourgeoisie [Nafigov, 1964; 1989] with economic, political, industrial, and ideological characteristics. However, at the same time, he made attempts to define the constructive role of entrepreneurship as well, which brought him closer to those works by Ya. Abdullin and Kh. Khasanov. Thus, Ya. Abdullin [Abdullin, 1976], on the one hand, having positively described enlightenment in the history of the Tatar people, afforded a special place in its distribution exactly to the national bourgeoisie. But, on the other hand, he defined merchants and entrepreneurs exclusively as an exploitative class.

In the 1980s, later editions of collections of works by G. Ibragimov were published. However, they included only those works of his which contained explicit criticism of the Tatar national bourgeoisie. However, these years saw the appearance of works, in which authors show a slight deviation from the rigid framework of the socialist ideology. For example, the works by G. Gazizullin, A. Makhmutova, M. Gaynullin, A. Karimullin, R. Amirkhanov [Gazizullin, 1979; Makhmutova, 1982; Gaynullin, 1983; Karimullin, 1983; 1984; Amirkhanov, 1988] show a clear recognition of the positive role of the Tatar bourgeoisie in providing the material basis for the development of the Tatar culture, periodical press and book-printing and public education system.

The post-Soviet period becomes a qualitatively new stage in the examination of the socio-economic history of Russia. On the one hand, the scientific community increasingly recognises the need to revise the estimates and opinions that prevailed in the Soviet period, on the other, it begins to develop those issues that were almost untouched upon earlier [Sverdlova, 1991; 1998; 2011; 2008a, p. 151–159; Galeev, 1997, p. 6–9; Nigamedzinov, 2003; 2004; Salihov, 2006].

The history of the Tatar merchants is understood in many different ways, as there is no single view of the socio-economic roots of the merchant class formation. For example, the article of the ‘Tatar Encyclopaedic Diction-

ary' titled 'Tatar merchants' justifies the belief that 'the origins of the formation of the Tatar merchants date back to the trading traditions of Volga Bulgaria and the Golden Horde' [Tatarskij, 1999, p. 309]. Authors who consider the 'Tatar merchantry', the social layer of merchants, to be a merchant class, believed that 'in the 15–16th centuries, the favourable economic position of Kazan on the caravan tracks and waterways contributed to the rapid formation of the merchant class' [Tatarskij, 1999, p. 309]. They identify three stages in the formation of the 'Tatar merchantry': 1) 15–16th centuries 2) the late 18th century: trade liberalisation under Catherine II, when the 'Tatar merchantry' was officially entitled to be enrolled in the guild 3) the late 19th century: in the post-reform period, the 'Tatar merchantry' became one of the sources of the formation of the 'Tatar bourgeoisie' [Tatarskij, 1999, p. 309].

As you can see, the periodisation of the history of the formation of the merchant class is connected mainly to the ethnic history of the Tatars: from the point of view of ethnic history, the authors of the 'Tatar Encyclopaedic Dictionary' identify the common genealogy of the formation of the Tatar merchant class rooted in the trading traditions of Volga Bulgaria and the Golden Horde. The interpretation of history affects the understanding of the social nature of the Tatar merchant class—there is no differentiation of the merchant class—the interpretation of the history of the formation of the merchant class points to the domination of the traditional approach to defining the social image of the Tatar merchants: the social stratum of the Arab traders is represented as a collective image—the 'Tatar merchantry.'

At the present stage scientific literature is actively studying and covering the merchant dynasties known for their major trading, entrepreneurial, industrial, and charitable activities [Tairov, 2002; 2003; Esieva, 2004; Mukhamadeeva, 2008]. Particular attention is being paid by researchers to the history of the Tatar bourgeoisie, such as participation in the development of charitable activities by Muslim Tatars in Russia, specific features, main areas of focus, and results of some of its representatives in this area [Khayrullina, 1993; Gos-

manov, 2002; Minnullin, 2002; 2007; Milyukov, 2006; Akhmet, 1997; Gani, 1998].

The publication of the multivolume edition of the 'Tatar Encyclopaedia' was an important event in the scientific life of Tatarstan. This work includes articles on the large industrialists, traders, cultural figures, artists, and scientists of all nationalities who lived and worked in and beyond the Kazan Guberniya and the Republic of Tatarstan.

The work 'Golden Pages of merchants, industrialists, and entrepreneurs of Tatarstan,' which is dedicated to the Russian and Tatar merchant class from ancient times to the late 19th century, has recently become a historiographical landmark. This two-volume work is a kind of encyclopaedia and information and reference guide, which presents the biography and genealogy of the major merchant families—the merchant dynasties—on the basis of archival documents. Illustrated by archival photographic documents, this edition was the first major contribution to the historiography of the topic under research [Zoloty'e, 2001].

So today the main focus of the research of the Tatar merchants and entrepreneurs is the study of the charitable and social activities of the merchant class, family histories, and social portraits of individuals. Beyond the coverage of historians are topics such as the accumulation of national capital, the determination of the proportion, and contribution of the Tatar merchants and entrepreneurs to the development of the regional economy, the study of the merchant class as a social phenomenon, not limited by a certain governorate, and as an integral part of the Russian entrepreneurship; an analysis of their cooperation with entrepreneurs of the neighbouring regions, including with Russian merchants, the daily life of the merchant class.

Peasants. Great importance in the study of the social and legal status of the rural population of the Tatar and non-Russian peoples in the Volga-Ural Region, mostly village residents of the state, is attached to the works of agricultural historians. The seminal work in this area of historical knowledge is represented by the two-volume monograph by N. Druzhinin 'State Peasants and the Reform of P. Kiselev' (Moscow—Leningrad, 1948; Moscow, 1965),

which analysed the socio-economic, legal, and other aspects of the life of state peasants. The main provisions of the thesis of N. Druzhinin on the leading role of the state in determining the social position of the peasantry were clarified and confirmed in the following decades by the regional studies of the reforms held in governorates and the impact of the supreme power on the socio-economic situation at the farms of the village ploughmen of the state, on the social and legal position of peasants in the Middle Volga Guberniyas [Sofronov, 1952; Gritsenko, 1959; Kleyankin, 1978; Tereshkina, 1978; Kazimov, 1980, etc.].

I. Morozov was the first to thoroughly research into the Tatar post-reform village in terms of socio-economic matters. He managed to identify a number of specific features of the national village. Based on the study of zemsky publications of Kazan, Vyatka, and Samara guberniyas of the 1880s, the author found that the Tatar ploughmen had the lowest level of 'economic prosperity' among the former peasants of the state—they had the smallest number of allotments, work animals, and cattle but the highest proportion of horseless households. I. Morozov also noted that the rich Tatar peasants were engaged mainly in trade, combining agricultural and hunting activities, with the former prevailing over the latter. At the same time, due to the low proportion of ploughmen leasing out and renting land plots, as compared to Russian ploughmen, and the low percentage of Tatars working their land plots, as compared to the Russians, the author came to the conclusion that the Tatar village in the Middle Volga Region was comparatively backward in terms of capitalist development. 'Specific features of class differentiation' of national peasantry were determined in view of the relative backwardness of the capitalist development of the Tatar village [Morozov, 1936 p. XLV]. The author did not cover all aspect of economic activity of the Tatar peasants. His article was written as an introduction to the collection of documents.

In the following periods of Soviet historiography, studies of Tatar peasant history were 'merged' with the agrarian history of the post-reform Kazan governorate or the Middle Volga

Region, and the Tatar ploughmen were considered only within the study of multi-ethnic peasants in the area.

The research carried out by Yu. Smykov [Smykov, 1965; 1984] involved a comprehensive analysis and integrated approach to the study of the socio-economic history of the Middle Volga peasantry. He analysed the results of the agrarian reforms of the 1860s in a multi-ethnic village, revealed the evolution of land ownership and land relations, studied important components of peasant economy, such as agricultural machinery, grain production, and livestock. In particular, the scientist demonstrated the property stratification of the Tatar community, the proportion of Tatars in the peasant economy, and the social division of labour among the Tatar population of the Kazan governorate.

Yu. Smykov provided a comparative analysis of paramount importance, contrasting the level of development and depth of penetration of capitalist relations in the multi-ethnic peasant environment of the area. However, the historian studied the socio-economic situation of the peasantry as a whole and did not set the goal to carry out a specialised study of the post-reform Tatar village.

The 1950–1980s saw the dominance of studies on the socio-economic development of various peasant categories from the perspective of the development of capitalist relations and economic development in the agricultural sector [Daishev, 1955; Usmanov, 1981; Clein, 1981; Kabytov, 1982; Smykov, 1984; Goncharenko 1984, et al.]. It should be noted that these works were written on the basis of Lenin's legacy on agrarian history and confirmed Lenin's conclusions of the significant influence of capitalism on agriculture in the late 19th century.

At the present stage, the subject of study is the social and legal status of state peasants and ploughmen of the Volga-Ural Region in the post-reform period [Shaykhislamov, 1998; 2006; Khayrutdinov, 2002; Mariskin, 2004, et al.]. New studies, based on local materials, provide a clear understanding of the important role of the state in regulating the social and legal status of the village residents of the state as a whole.

V. Khaziakhmetova attempted to identify the specifics of land tenure and peasant farm ownership in the Volga-Kama Region before the abolition of serfdom [Khaziakhmetova, 1978].

At the present stage, it is important to set broader and more important issues in the study of the economic structure of the Tatar village, the socio-economic situation of the farmers and ploughmen; however, most researchers are limited to the territory of the Kazan Guberniya [Zagidullin, 1992; Zaynullina, 2008], which undoubtedly is due to the fact that this guberniya is the historic homeland of the Tatars, where they lived most densely.

The monographs on various aspects of the history of the Bashkortostan and Orenburg areas are of great help when studying the socio-economic processes of the peoples inhabiting the Ural Region [Rodnov, 2002; Asfandiyarov, 2005; 2006; Denisov, 2006a].

In works on the Tatar peasantry there are no historical anthropology studies, and they poorly cover the specifics of social life, manufacturing and peasant agriculture of peasants of the state in terms of ethnicity. In this regard it is important to study the implementation of differential fiscal policy of local authorities on the distribution of taxes and duties among the various ethnic groups of the rural population and during land audits in a multi-ethnic village.

Cossacks, Meshcheryaks, Teptyars, and landless peasants. The first Soviet historian to study the number, settlement, and legal status of the Meshcheryak, Bashkir, and Teptyar classes in the Ural Region in the late 18–beginning of the 19th centuries was F. Tukhvatullin, who described the history of the area in the form of a chronicle [Tukhvatullin, 1928]. Later Meshcheryak history was covered mainly in the context of the study of the canton system. A certain consistency to the study of the class and ethnic groups of the Tatar population in the region was provided by the publication of 'Essays on the History of the Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic' (1959) [Ocherki po istorii, Vol. 1, Part 2], which gave a negative assessment of the canton era for many years. In the 1960s A. Asfandiyarov studied in detail the reasons for the introduction of the canton

system, the impact of that era on the socio-economic development of the Bashkir and Meshcheryak societies, described the duties of the Bashkirs and the Meshcheryaks, their participation in the military campaigns of the early 19th century, the causes and abolition of the militarised administrative system [Asfandiyarov, 1969]. Ufa historians also prioritised the participation of Muslim irregulars troops in the Russian-French war of 1812–1814 and in other military campaigns and expeditions [Raimov, 1943; Matvievsky, 1912; Usmanov, 1964; Rakhimov, 2008, et al.].

In general, the focus was on issues of socio-economic development and land policy of the government in the Ural Region. In the context of covering domestic autocratic policy against the Bashkirs and the assignment of land plots to various groups of the population, the socio-economic situation of class and ethnic groups was considered. A. Chuloshnikov identified the main signs of the division of pripushchenniks into Teptyars and landless peasants: the former drew up leases with the Bashkirs on the basis of written agreements, the latter confined, themselves to oral agreements [Chuloshnikov 1936, pp. 15–40]. In subsequent years significant attention was paid to the economic structure, land use issues [Usmanov, 1973; Davletbayev, 1986], the socio-economic status of Teptyars [Rakhimov, 1993], and their impact on inter-ethnic processes with the Bashkirs [Vasilyev, 1950; Rakhmatullin, 1974, pp. 4–13]. At the present stage, the tone in the study of this class and ethnic group has been set by the Ufa [Yakupov, 2001] and Kazan [Iskhakov, 1980; Priural'skie, 1990] ethnographers. A tradition of the 'parallel' study of Teptyars by historians, ethnographers, and linguists [Yuldashev, 1949; Ramazanova, 1984] has been set. However, historians do not take into account the findings of the representatives of related humanitarian subjects to the right degree, and there is no comprehensive approach. Multi-authored monographs on the history of Bashkortostan are a kind of generalisation of the accumulated material, they present a consideration of the number and location of cantons, the conditions of military service and duties of Meshcheryaks, the social status of other social groups, etc. [Is-

toriya Bashkortostana, 1996; Istoriya Bashkortostana, 2004, Vols. 1, 2].

As a rule, analyses of socio-economic aspects of the Bashkir activities identified various aspects of the economic life, socio-legal status of other class and ethnic groups, and ethno-demographic processes in the Ural Region [Nigmatullin, 1959, pp. 169–193; Kuzeev, 1968, 1968a; Shaykhislamov, 1994; Tagirova, 2011, et al.]. The study of state agricultural policy in the region also allowed new materials to be introduced on the subject [Akmanov, 2000; 2007; Kulsharipov, 2004, et al.].

We are inclined to explain the absence of historical studies on the Tatar-Cossacks, Meshcheryaks, and state Tatar-peasants by the fact that in Tatarstan a new concept of study of the modern history Tatars is currently being formed. Traditionally, the study of the peoples of the Ural Region has been the prerogative of Ufa historians and ethnographers, who focus on the history and culture of the Bashkir people.

Nobility. In recent years the previously forbidden topic of the Tatar nobility and murzas has become quite popular. Representatives of Tatar noble families have started to study the history of their families [Tatarskie, 2010], professional historians joined in on the study of the role and place of the Tatar murzas and noble people as part of the Russian nobility. However, the historiography of this topic is limited to a few works [Enikeev, 1999; Gabdullin, 2006; Azamatova, 2008], which cover the formation of the Tatar nobility and its socio-economic state. The monographs by S. Enikeev and I. Gabdullin examine the history of the Tatar princes, murzas, and the serving Tatars from the period of the Golden Horde up to the present time: settlement, land ownership, service, deprivation, and reinstatement of the nobility. They also present the history of individual noble families. In her work G. Azamatova discloses the social, economic, and political foundations of the Tatar nobility on the example of a comprehensive study of the Tevkelev family.

Working class. The topic of the Tatar working class, relevant in Soviet times [Gritsenko, 1950; Rabochy, 1981; Kruglikov, 1981] has somewhat lost its scientific value today, which, in our view, is not due to ideological reasons

but primarily because of the concentration of the national proletariat outside the area traditionally inhabited by the Tatars—in Baku, Donbass, in the Lena goldmines, etc. Currently the Tatar diaspora has only been outlined in studies.

As you can see, the history of the class and social groups of the Tatar population has been developed rather irregularly. In Soviet historiography the study of the socio-economic and legal status of the Tatars was practically dissolved in general works, and only from the 1960s onwards did ethnographic studies of individual Tatars groups begin to appear, which to some extent make up for this gap. Despite the new opportunities open to the researchers, in the post-Soviet period many issues on the subject were not studied comprehensively. Today the most studied topic is the history of the Tatar peasantry in the Kazan Guberniya. Also significant steps have been made in the study of merchantry. Until now the Tatar nobility, urban inhabitants, Muslim clergy, and working class have been poorly studied: their settlement, employment, psychological profiles, and their role in nation building, their daily life, the micro-history of representatives of various Tatar social groups.

The collective works of the 'History of the Tatar ASSR' [Istoriya, 1955; 1968; 1973; 1980] of the 1950–1980s defined the basic principles of writing national history in the Soviet Autonomous Republic. They replaced the study of the social history of the Tatars with a description of the sociocultural processes and economic development of the Kazan Guberniya, not taking into account regional and ethnic or religious aspects, or the class-social groups of the Tatar population in rural areas. As a result, 2/3 of the Tatar population settled in the Ural Region, in other guberniyas of the Volga-Kama Region, the Lower Volga Region, and in Western Siberia remained unstudied. The role of the nobility, merchantry, and the Muslim clergy in the social development of the Tatar people was assessed from class and atheistic perspectives.

Unfortunately, the multifaceted problem of the Tatar self-government remains understudied; this issue is often merged with more encompassing topics, where it is not paid enough

attention. At the present stage, the Soviet research traditions on the history of zemstvos have received a new meaning due to the new research topics [Azamatova, 2005; Salnikov, 2005; Starostin, 2002; Subbotina, 2010; Vladimirova, 2011, et al.]. However, the study of the interaction of zemstvos with ethno-religious groups of ploughmen and rural communities in the Volga-Ural Region and the determination of the degree of Tatar participation in the activities of zemstvos are still at the initial stage. The first steps are now being taken to study the history of the Tatar community of the Middle Volga Region and Western Siberia [Bakiyev, 2003; Mulla-galiev, 2011] and of the common law provisions that existed there [Bakiyev, 2011a], in the study of meshchanin societies [Kaplunovsky, 1998]. The most studied urban community is the ethno-religious community of Kazan due to the works on the activities of the Tatar City Hall [Izmaylov, 2009] and the Tatar members in the duma [Salikhov, 2005].

Life and customs of the Tatars. In Soviet times national culture, everyday and economic life were covered mainly in the works of ethnographers. The works of ethnographers, who due to their specific methodological approaches paid more attention to very specific features of the way of life of the Tatars from different regions, dominated the historical studies on the history of modern day Tatars, thereby blurring the general trends of sociocultural life of the Tatars and not taking into account the consolidation processes in nation building of the 19th century.

A great scientific achievement of the Tatarstani ethnographers is the collective historical-ethnographic study 'The Tatars of the Volga and Ural Regions' [Tatary', 1967], in which much attention is paid to the traditional culture of the Tatars in the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries. This important work has to a large extent made up for the gaps of Soviet historiography in the study of settlements and population, communities and dwellings, clothes and jewellery, eating habits, everyday life, and the festivities of the Tatars. It should be noted that the sections of this work devoted to social and kinship relations are of scientific significance to this day.

An achievement of the 1970–1980s was the new historical-ethnographic works on the family life of the Tatar peasants of the Kazan Guberniya [Zagidullin, 1966], social and family holidays of the Kazan Tatars [Kashafutdinov 1969], women's jewellery of the Kazan Tatars in the middle of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries [Suslova, 1980], demographic development of the Tatars in the 18–19th centuries [Iskhakov, 1980], traditional dwelling [Mukhametshin, 1985], etc. A significant contribution to the study of the economic life of Tatar peasants in the Volga-Ural Region was made by the works by N. Khalikov [Khalikov, 1981], who managed to reconstruct the picture of the economic structure and way of life of the Tatar ploughmen.

Another equally important area of research and expeditionary work by Kazan ethnographers was the study of the major ethnographic groups of the ethnicity: The Mishar Tatars [Mukhamedova, 1972] and the Kryashen Tatars [Mukhametshin, 1977].

In the 1970–1980s, during the process of drawing up the historical-cultural atlas, some expeditions were held to perform a comprehensive study of ethnographic Tatar groups, and new research on weaving [Safina, 1996], national costume [Suslov, 2000], the rites and holidays of the Tatars of the Volga-Ural Region [Urazmanova, 2001] were prepared.

In the 1980s there has been a new phenomenon—that is, more fractional historical-ethnographic studies of the Tatars in specific regions: the Perm Tatars [Permskie, 1983]; the Kasimov Tatars [Sharifullina, 1991], etc.

A comprehensive historical-ethnographic study of the Turkic population in Western Siberia in the period under review was performed by N. Tomilov, which resulted in the development of the ethnographic classification of the Turkic peoples, the drawing up of the ethnic history of the Siberian Tatars, the identification of ethnic processes and interethnic contacts of the population of Western Siberia [Tomilov, 1980; 1981; 1983; 1992].

The current development stage of historical ethnography has been marked by the publication of the collective works 'Tatars' [Tatary', 2001] and 'Tartarika. Ethnography' [Tartarika, 2008],

new historical-ethnographic works on the history of the Tatars in separate regions: Molkeev Kryashens [Molkeyevskiye, 1993], the Lower Volga Tatars [Arslanov, 1995; Azizova, 2009], on the ethnocultural zoning of the Middle Volga Tatars [E'tnokul'turnoe, 1991].

New monographs by N. Khalikov were focused on agricultural production methods in the Tatar peasant farms of the Volga-Ural Region and the main areas of seasonal work of ploughmen [Khalikov, 1995; 1998].

Historical research on sabantuy by D. Sharafutdinov has enabled it to be identified not as a ploughmen festivity but as a nomadic holiday transformed by the settled life over the course of centuries [Sharafutdinov, 2004].

Today ethnography actively studies specific aspects of the ethnocultural life of the Tatars: the religious syncretism of the Mishar Tatars of the Siberian Volga Region [Idiatullov, 2010]. One of the little known issues is the problem of ethnocultural ties and interaction of the Tatars with other peoples of the region. The first steps have been taken in this direction, [Yagafova, 2009; Nikolaev, 2010; Sadikov, 2010a; Istoricheskie, 2011].

Within this historiographical review we would like to draw attention to two issues directly related to historical-ethnographic research.

National historiography developed two main approaches on the issue of the ethnic background of the Muslim rural population in the Ural Region, which had a complex class structure. Having analysed ethnic and demographic processes among the Tatars and Bashkirs based on census documents, D. Iskhakov focused on the need for a clear delineation of concepts, such as ethnic Bashkirs and the Bashkir estate, which, like the Teptyars, was a multi-ethnic social formation [Iskhakov, 1980; 1993a, et al.]. The need to separate these concepts is indicated by the Ufa scientists R. Kuzeev, A. Asfandiyarov, who paid attention to the high rate of quantitative growth of the Bashkir population in the early 19th century and connected it not only with natural growth but also with the transition of persons of non-Bashkir descent (including Tatars) to the 'Bashkir estate' [Istoriya, 2011, p. 17].

Another important issue based on the results of scientific research by ethnographers is associated with the number of Tatar sub-ethnicities. Kazan ethnographers determined features such as class-religious affiliation, the remoteness of the Tatar settlement region from Kazan, dialect features, and the economic, commercial, and domestic way of life of the local population to be the dominant idea of defining independent ethno-territorial groups and sub-ethnicities of the Tatars. In the absence of generalising works on the national history of the Middle Ages and modern times, the poor knowledge of the sociocultural processes in the Tatar community in the 18–beginning of the 20th centuries from a historical point of view, the lack of a conceptual view of the identified processes, summing-up the collected ethnographic material led to an 'imbalance' in evaluating ethnic processes. The ethnic and cultural differentiation of the Tatars of the Volga-Ural Region by N. Vorobyev was grounded on linguistic and cultural and community differences, having existed within the Tatar population of the region; he defined two sub-ethnicities among the Tatars—the Kazan Tatars and the Mishar Tatars [Tatary', 1967, pp. 9, 39]. Despite the claims of Yu. Mukhametshin that baptised Tatars are 'one of the territorial groups of the Kazan Tatars' [Mukhametshin, 1977, p. 154], of R. Mukhamedova that the Mishar Tatars of the right bank of the Volga are an 'ethnographic group' of the Tatars of the Middle Volga and Ural Region [Mukhamedova, 1972, p. 5], of F. Sharifullina that the Kasimov Tatars are a 'group of the Tatars of the Volga Region' [Sharifullina 1991, p. 106], in the final volume of the series 'Historical-ethnographic atlas of the Tatar people' the Kazan and Kasimov Tatars and the Mishar Tatars were identified as sub-ethnicities, and the 'Kryashens,' as a sub-religious community [E'tnoterritorial'ny'e, 2002, pp. 55–60, 151], which is not confirmed by the historical sources of the 19th century. During this time a fundamental aspect of the ethnic identification

⁹ According to Yu. Bromley, sub-ethnoses identify themselves as a group. Their ethnic features are less pronounced as compared to ethnoses [E'tnoterritorial'ny'e, 2002, p. 53].

of the Tatars was their religious identity (the Muslim Tatars). In the Ural Region ethnic identity was also influenced by class characteristics and the form of land ownership related thereto (Bashkirs, Meshcheryaks, Teptyars). With the development of the missionary system of N. Ilminsky, from the late 1860s, Christianisation among the old-baptised Tatars and their opposition to the ecclesiastical authority of the Muslim Tatars began to grow. However, the term 'Kryashen Tatars'—'keräšen tatarları' (such as, for instance, 'mukşı keräşene' ('baptised Mordovian') [Säyaxätnämälär, 2011, b.10]) still meant nothing more but the baptised Tatars.

In our view, the fundamental problems of modern Tatar ethnography are: the limitation of the lower chronological framework of the 19th century, which does not allow the connection between ethnocultural processes in the Middle Ages and early modern times to be seen; the poor knowledge of published and unpublished sources on the historical periods under study and the traditional emphasis on the materials of ethnographic expeditions of the 1970–1980s, giving at best a picture of household life in the early 20th century or at the turn of the century; the limitation of research on the Volga-Ural Region, the inadequate record of the ethnocultural state of the Tatar diaspora in Russian border regions (in the former Soviet Republics of the USSR) and in central Russia.

History of the culture of the Tatar people.

The historiography of the culture of the Tatar people is considered in terms of the following: education (schools, school policies), enlightenment and educators, Tatar literature, book publishing.

Tatar school and education. In Soviet historiography the topic of education is one of the most well-studied. The history of Tatar schools and secular education is reflected in the numerous publications of Russian researchers, which cover the work of Tatar school [Khakimov, 1972], methods of teaching in pre-revolutionary schools [Berkutov, 1968; Baykueva, 1971], and female education issues [Rustyamova, 1958; 1967]. A great contribution to the study of the expansion of secular education among the Tatars was made by A. Makhmutova monograph [Makhmutova, 1982]. S. Mikhaylova

[Mikgaylova, 1979] looked at the Tatar component of secular education in the 19th century on the example of Kazan University by analysing projects to create European style Tatar schools, the training of public figures and secular intelligentsia [Enaliev, 1998a, p. 6].

In the post-Soviet period, with the formation of a secular society, the researchers started to pay more attention to the madrasah activities, including their centres to preserve education and religion of the Tatars and their mudarris-es—custodians of traditions [Rakhimov, 1991; Amirkhanov, 1992; Mädrlärdä, 1992; Farkhshatov, 1994; Gimazova, 2004; Role, 2006; Safiullina-Al Ansi, 2008; Madrasah, 2008; Makhmutova, 2009]. Female education was studied from a new perspective. For example, A. Makhmutova (in her monographs 'Serving only you, my nation! The history of the Tatar enlightenment through the destinies of the Nigmatullin-Bubi dynasty' and 'It is time for us to start the dawn of freedom (Jadidism and the feminist movement)' based on the extensive factual material) provided an analysis of the political and cultural processes, in which women's enlightenment developed, identified patterns and features of the Tatar female education development, and noted the most active representatives of this movement [Makhmutova, 2003; 2006]. Vivid portraits of the Tatar women on the path of enlightenment were also present in the work by T. Biktimirova [Biktimirova, 2002].

Soviet historiography did not leave unnoticed the role of Orthodox missionaries in educating the Tatars. At the same time missionaries and school policy was generally assessed in a positive way in terms of the Russification of non-Russian peoples and the positive impact of Russian teachers on the development of Tatar pedagogical thought [Efirov, 1948; Khanbikov, 1968]. Up to the 1980s the main study on the subject was the work by V. Gorokhov 'Reactionary school policy of tsarism against the Tatars in the Volga Region' [Gorokhov, 1941], which focuses mainly on the system of N. Ilminsky. The author analysed the importance of the work of missionary educational institutions for the baptised Tatars and traditional school education system of the Muslim Tatars. Hav-

ing highly rated the educational activities of N. Ilminsky, V. Gorokhov, however, believed that it was aimed primarily at the Russification and Christianisation of the indigenous population of the region. The works by N. Pruss [Pruss, 1979], T. Chekmeneva [Chekmeneva, 1985] continued this tradition. However, the authors referred to the missionary institutions without paying enough attention to their impact on the strengthening of the Orthodox religious traditions among the local population.

A new viewpoint on the development of Orthodox religious education in the Volga-Kama Region in the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries is seen in a number of works by contemporary authors. For example, in his thesis research devoted to the study of the history of the Kazan Theological Academy (KTA), A. Zhuravsky [Zhuravsky, 1999] touches on the issue of missionary personnel training, the scientific organisation of the Orthodox anti-Muslim mission. This work is of particular importance due to the fact that the KTA historical period under study (from the 1880s to the 1920s) remained unstudied by both pre-revolutionary and Soviet scientists due to a number of external reasons. The only modern work devoted to the Kazan Theological Seminary (KTS) is a monograph by Ye. Lipakov [Lipakov, 2007]. On the basis of new materials and documents, the author highlights the key milestones in the development of the KTS—one of the oldest Orthodox theological schools in Russia, which played an important role in the development of religious education in the Volga-Kama Region. The monograph by R. Iskhakova [Iskhakova, 2001] devoted to the pedagogical education in the Kazan Guberniya in the post-reform period considers the establishment of a network of educational institutions of Orthodox theological institutions and missionary 'brethren' schools, the formation and development of the missionary-pedagogical system of N. Ilminsky and evaluates its contribution to the development of the education of local people.

The development of Oriental and Islamic Studies at synodic educational institutions of Kazan was studied in depth. The first comprehensive study in this area was the work by R. Valeev [Valeev, 1999]. He stressed the impor-

tant role of the missionary school of Orientalism, formed within the KTA, in the development of scientific knowledge in the countries of the Arab East and the Islamic religion. A significant contribution to the objective analysis of the role of the Kazan missionary school of Islamic studies and to the definition of its place in the Russian tradition of Oriental studies was made by Ye. Kolesova [Kolesova, 2000], I. Alekseev [Alekseev, 2001, pp. 84–96], M. Khabibullin [Khabibullin, 2004].

Enlightenment and educators. In the Soviet times up to the 1930s there was a relatively objective evaluation of the activities of the Tatar pedagogues and educators, and later until the 1960s historiography was influenced by the policy line expressed in the negation of individuals and institutions that did not conform to the Stalinism ideology. In the 1920s Tatar enlightenment was seen from the class perspective, the work of educators from among the religious leaders underwent especially critical reinterpretation. Nevertheless, the works of scholars such as G. Ibragimov, G. Sägdı, J. Validi, G. Gubaydullin [Validov, 1923; Ibragimov, 1926; Sägdı, 1926; Gubaydullin, 1926] positively rated the contribution of Ş. Märcani, R. Fäxretdin, G. Barudi, Q. Nasırı, X. Fäezxanov, et al., in the development of the culture and sociopolitical thought of the Tatar people. It should be noted that G. Ibragimov paid special attention to the heritage of Q. Nasırı, due to which he published the collection 'Qayum Nasırı mäjmugası' in 1922. It included articles by Tatar literary scholars and historians, who laid the foundations for the scientific understanding of the educator's work [Zhestovskaya, 2004a, pp. 9, 10]. The study by J. Validi 'Essay on the history of education and literature of the Tatars' features an integrated approach to the study of the Tatar enlightenment: the author looked at the evolution of the traditional Tatar schools, the views of religious thinkers from different periods, and the formation of literature [Validi, 1923].

Starting from the 1930s, due to the subordination of history to the dominant political ideology, the study of Tatar enlightenment outlined other priorities. Ş. Märcani and R. Fäxretdin were classed as aristocratic and bour-

geois leaders, so their role in the development of the enlightenment was belittled; the work of Q. Nasri, which was not studied comprehensively, was highly rated: much attention was paid to his pedagogical and literary heritage [Faseev, 1955; Gaynullin, 1955].

The situation changed with the coming of the 'thaw' period of the 1960s. Researchers were gradually moving away from the existing moulds, and this subject was comprehensively studied [Nafigov, 1964; Mikhaylov, 1972; Abdullin, 1976; Usmanov, 1980; Yusupov, 1981, et al.]: researchers looked at the main features and nature of the Tatar enlightenment, its origins, the role of individual representatives in the development of the spiritual culture of the Tatars [Zhestovskaya, 2004a, p. 12]. For example, the monograph by Ya. Abdullin 'Tatar Educational Thought' analysed the religious and philosophical views of G. Qursawi, Ş. Märcani, and Sh. Kultasi and evaluated them, defining the role and place of religious reformation in the development of social thought. Interest remained in the personality of Q. Nasri as an outstanding representative of the enlightenment movement and teacher. The work of Q. Nasri was the most 'convenient' for research—it was quite consistent with the ideology of the Soviet times [Qayum, 1948; Gaynullin, 1955; 1975a].

Tatar literature. The study of certain issues related to 19th century Tatar literature history started after the democratic changes in 1905, when two simultaneously developing directions were determined. On the one hand, literary criticism started to assess the artistic heritage of the past and present. This was first done by F. Amirkhan in his article 'On Literature' (1908) [Ädäbiyatka, 1908], where he considered folkloric works and analysed the works of Z. Bigiev and the first Tatar playwrights G. Ilyasi and F. Khalidi. A historical approach to the national literature of the 19th century was presented in the studies by R. Fäxretdin [Fäxretdin, 1908a], F. Karimi [Kärimi, 1909] G. İsxayı [İsxayı, 1908] N. Gasrıy [Gasrıy, 1915] M. Akchurina [Akchurina, 1911], et al. But these publications were usually limited to a brief overview of historical and literary events.

On the other hand, starting from the 1910s, the history of Tatar literature was interpreted as an academic discipline, due to which a textbook for madrasahs 'Movement of the Tatar literature' [Validi, 1912] by J. Validi was published, which was the first independent study on the history of Tatar literature. Particular focus was given to the formation of new educational literature, separate sections were dedicated to the life and work of Q. Nasri, A. Kargaly, G. Kandaly, Aqmolla, and Sh. Zaki.

The understanding that the history of literature is a process occurred in the 1920s. In this respect, we should mention the studies by Gata İsxayı 'Ädäbiyat Yulları' ('Paths of Literature') [İsxayı, 1920], G. Rakhim and G. Gaziz 'Tatar ädäbiyatı tarikhı' ('The History of Tatar literature') [Gaziz, 1923; 1925], J. Validi 'Essays on the history of education and literature of the Tatars (until the revolution of 1917)' [Validi, 1923], G. Säğdi 'Tatar ädäbiyatı tarikhı' ('The History of Tatar literature') [Säğdi, 1926]. We should also mention the articles published in the periodical press by G. Ibragimov. Chronologically, the first researchers were considered to be G. Ibragimov, G. Raxim, G. Gaziz, and J. Validi, but the creator of an integrated system for studying the history of Tatar literature on a scientific basis was G. Säğdi.

'The History of Tatar literature' by G. Säğdi consists of two parts. The first (introductory) part provides a general description of Tatar society in the 17–second half of the 19th centuries in economic, social, and political terms. It provides an interpretation of the conditions and causes of the educational Jadidist movement of the Tatars. The second part covers the history of literature in the second half of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries, before the October Revolution. The author called it a period of 'Jadidism' and divided it into two stages: 1) from the second half of the 19th century until the revolution of 1905, 2) from 1905 until 1917. In approaches to the history of literature, the author continues the tradition of J. Validi. The book is a history of cultural and historical factors that influenced the development of literature. He considers the literary process in conjunction with the evolution of social thought, language, science, education,

and religion as part of the general cultural movement.

It was in the 1920–1930s that the periodisation problem of the history of literature was put on the agenda. In his book 'Essays on the History of Education and Literature of the Tatars (until the revolution of 1917)' and in his articles published in the newspapers 'Vakıt' ('Time'), 'Yıldız' ('Star'), in the magazine 'Bezneñ yul' ('Our way'), J. Validi considered the history of culture as a determining force and distinguished two stages in the history of Tatar literature: until the second half of the 19th century and the subsequent period of time.

Since the mid-1960s there has been a resurgence of researcher interest in the history of 19th century Tatar literature with the most complete anthology editions being published [Tatar, 1956; Tatar ädäbiyatı, 1968; Gaynullin, 1978; Tatar, 1979; Khafizov, 1979; Minnegulov, 1982]. The authors summarised the results of the research, which began in the beginning of the 20th century [Gaynullin, 1975, et al.]. There was a revival of the heritage of certain representatives of 19th century Tatar literature: Z. Khadi [Khadi, 1957], Sh. Mukhammedov [Möhämmädev, 1957], G. Utyz Imyani [Gabderäxim, 1986], G. Kandaly [Kandaly, 1960; 1988], Z. Bigiev [Bigiev, 1960; 1991], F. Kärimi [Kärimi, 1996]. In the 1970–1980s some attempts were made to give a generalised assessment of 19th century Tatar literature [Isoriya, 2003; 2003a]. In 1985–1989 five volumes of 'The History of Tatar literature' were published, the second volume of which was dedicated to the 19th century [Tatar ädäbiyatı, 1985]. Since the 1990s books and anthologies compiled for pupils and students have appeared [Minnegulov, 1994; Yakhin, 1994; Karurmanny, 2001].

During this time researchers also paid attention to Tatar local literature of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries. The monograph by R. Shaykhiev 'Tatar Local Folk Literature of the 19–20th centuries' reviewed samples of special local historical works as narrative sources providing information on village history, the ethnography of certain groups, language, and social psychology. According to the author, these works lie at the origin of the local history;

despite their authors being not professional historians, they can serve as a reliable additional sources on the local history and ethnography of the Tatar people [Shaykhiev, 1990, pp. 5–6].

Book printing. From the 1970s A. Karimullin began to study the emergence and development of Tatar printed books, the attempts by the Tatar intelligentsia to issue their own periodicals [Karimullin, 1971; 1974; 1983]. His three monographs—'At the Origins of Tatar Books: from Their Emergence up to the 1860s,' 'Tatar Books of the Early 20th century,' 'Tatar Books in Post-Reform Russia'—looked at the history of Tatar book publishing as a sociocultural phenomenon. His thorough study of the subject allowed him to identify the stages of formation of Tatar books, identify what its contents were focused on, and prove for the first time the connection between the development of Tatar literature and book publishing. The introduction of many materials for scientific use, such as the Tatar petition to allow the publication of national periodicals in the late 19–beginning of the 20th centuries, was further proof that Muslim Tatars wanted to take active part in the educational processes on a national scale. In this regard, we should note the emergence of bibliographic research, allowing the study of book interests of the Tatar population. For example, the work by R. Bulgakov revealed the composition and contents of the arabographic collection of rare books fund of the National Museum of the Republic of Bashkortostan [Bulgakov, 2001].

So the history of the cultural development of the Tatar people received relatively complete coverage in national historiography, with Tatar researchers undoubtedly playing a special role in that. However, the legacy of many Tatar educators, writers, and poets, who have made a significant contribution to the development of education, literature, and poetry and to the promotion of education, has not been studied. The work of the Tatar educators among related Turkic peoples is poorly studied.

Islamic traditions and religious institutions. Russian Islamic studies of the pre-revolutionary period are separated into two areas: the academic area represented by secular scholars and the missionary area represented

by Orthodox figures, acting in this area with a missionary purpose. Russian Oriental and Islamic Studies in many ways acted as part of the global Oriental studies, which featured eurocentric concepts when evaluating the East and Eastern culture in human history, and a Christian view of Islam as an uncivilised phenomenon. In modern times the countries of the East significantly fell behind Europe in socio-economic and sociopolitical terms, which seemed to offer irresistible proof of Christian superiority over the Islamic world. Along with the creation of works on Islam, as noted by the historian N. Smirnov, 'many significant Russian orientalists often limited themselves to processing and translating works of Eastern authors or Western European scholars instead of performing independent research in the area of Islam' [Smirnov, 1954, pp. 96–97]. Nevertheless, the study of Islam and translation of the works of Western scholars helped to acquaint the Russian public with the tenets of this global religion.

They shared a common Orthodox-Christian attitude to Islam, which was reflected in the interpretation of the cultural identity of Muslims. For academics, the focus of their studies was 'classical Islam,' characterised by a high level of tolerance towards Muslims. Another unifying factor seemed to be the civic position of the authors and their protection of state interests.

In his major article in celebration of the first publication of the scientific journal 'World of Islam' in 1912, the largest Russian orientalist V. Bartold, summing up the situation in Russian Oriental studies, stated that 'till this time the general character of these works and their achievements have not corresponded to the importance that the study of the Muslim world has for Russia' [Bartold, 1966, p. 366]. The scientist also noted the 'total backwardness' of Russian Oriental studies as compared to West European ones, having bitterly admitted that 'Islam as a religion is still not represented in any comprehensive work in the Russian language, which at one time would represent a step forward in science; in this respect, even Russian experts were forced to limit themselves to the popularisation of conclusions obtained by West European, mainly German, scientists' [Bartold,

1966, p. 366]. We should also note his remark about the works written 'in order to defend Islam, or to fight against it,' which prevailed in this area among editions in Russian [Bartold, 1966, p. 366].

The Soviet times brought its own changes to the study of Islam and Muslim institutions. Many works had a strong atheistic orientation, and so the role of Islam in the spiritual and everyday life of the Tatars was distorted. On the one hand, Soviet historiography sided with the Muslim Tatars, critically evaluating the Orthodox missionary activity [Lyudmilin, 1932], on the other hand, it denied the positive influence of religion, such as Islam, on the daily life of society and the development of its culture. Despite the political ideological bias, the works of the 1920–1930s, especially of certain Tatar writers [Arsharuni, 1931; Mozaffari, 1930; Ishemgulov, 1930], were rich in factual material, which was due to their close connection with the Muslim Tatar environment and the 'objectivist' position to Islam [Mukhametshin, 2003, p. 5]. During this time several studies were performed on the role of Islam in the life of the Tatar people. These include the study by L. Klimovich 'Islam in Tsarist Russia' [Klimovich, 1936], which identifies the main forms of the religious policy of the state in relation to Islam, and the historical essays by Z. Ishmukhametov [Ishmukhametov, 1979], written so as to denunciate the role of religion in society, though relevant in that they covered the social functions of Islamic institutions in the Middle Volga Region. In general, the study of Islam as a sociocultural phenomenon and the investigation of its role in the daily life of the Tatars were minimal; this issue was often considered as part of more significant topics.

Changes in the political situation in 1991 contributed to the emergence of a large number of studies with an approach to 'the Muslim question,' which differed from that of the Soviet times. One can agree with the words of R. Mukhametshin, who noted that despite the growing interest in the Russian Islam it was studied mainly by historians and political scientists; therefore, 'the determination of the nature of the Islamic factor in the sociopolitical life of a particular region or state as a whole

dominates...' [Mukhametshin, 2003, p. 6]. One of these publications was the monograph by R. Landa 'Islam in the History of Russia' [Landa, 1995], which recreated a coherent picture of the history of Islam, including its position in the Russian Empire, and stated the reasons and problems regarding confrontations among the Russian Muslims. The majority of works of Russian researchers, who studied Muslim issues, can be divided into two subjects: religious and philosophical, Islam and the state.

During this time the study of religious and philosophical works of Tatar theologians became a priority. For example, A. Yuzeev looked at the Tatar religious philosophical thought of modern times through the example of the Tatar theologians G. Utyz Imyani, G. Kursavi, Ş. Märcani, explored the origins and evolution of the Tatar religious reformation, noted its specific features [Yuzeev, 1998]. The history and problems of Tatar religious and philosophical thought in an all-Muslim context was the subject of a study by D. Shagaviev [Shagaviev, 2008], who paid special attention to the work by Ş. Märcani 'al-Hikmah al-baligha' and Kalam, as one of the stages of Islamic philosophy.

The fast growth of religious commitment in the Tatar environment and the need to develop a methodological approach to the study of Islam, which would allow the functioning mechanism of Islam as an ideological and religious system to be determined, increased the interest of researchers in various Muslim social structure forms; they began to study the functioning of traditional religious communities, the functions of the parish clergy and mosques, the sources of their existence [Azamatov, 2000; Salikhov, 2005; Islam, 2006; Tatar, 2006; Mosques, 2006; Sources, 2009; Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly (OMSA), 2011], specifics of the application of Sharia law by the Tatars [Mukhametzaripov, 2010].

Works were completed on the history of traditional Islam, on the Tatar theologians and their heritage [Khayrutdinov, 2004; Adygamov, 2006; Shagaviyev, 2010], on certain religious figures, ishans [Farkhshatov, 2009], on the contacts of the Tatars and other Mus-

lim peoples of Russia and the Ottoman Empire [Sibgatullina, 2010].

A new phenomenon in Russian Islamic studies was the publication of the encyclopaedic dictionaries on the Islamic World [Islam, 2004; 2006a]. Currently the publishing house 'Medina' is undertaking a project to compile a multivolume encyclopaedic dictionary 'Islam in the Russian Federation' [Islam, 2007; Islam v Moskve, 2008; 2009; 2009a; 2009b] based on the regional natural history approach, which allows a detailed and comprehensive study and clarification of the sociocultural development of Muslims through the evolution and activity of mass religious and national institutions to be performed: mahallas, clergy, religious and community leaders, religious educational institutions, cultural and educational and charitable societies, periodicals, etc., for a long chronological period of time: in the Middle Ages, modern and contemporary times.

Numerous publications on the Muslim question in schools, which have appeared in the contemporary period, disclose relationships between the state and the national schools in a new way. These works, in contrast to the studies of the Soviet times, have brought under question the exclusively positive impact of state school policy in relation to the Muslim peoples of the Volga-Ural Region [Zagidullin, 1992a; Farkhshatov, 2000; Suleymanova, 2000; Samatova, 2010].

As part of the 'Muslim question,' works were completed on the social life of the Tatar community in a number of villages and whole regions [Aminov, 1994; Salikhov, 1995; Idrisov, 1997; Yunusova, 1999; Chernovskaya, 2000; Khayretdinov, 2002; Zagidullin, 2003; Batyrgarey, 2004; Tatars, 2004; Mukhametshin, 2005a; Kobzev, 2007a; Gibadullina, 2008; Senyutkina, 2006], unified by the recognition of the important role of the religious factor in the formation of an ethnic and religious identity [Shakirov, 2009, p. 13]. The authors of these studies pay attention to a wide range of issues: the geography of settlements, the coverage of the formation of the ethnic, social and professional make up of communities, the functioning of Islamic institutions. These works are of particular benefit in that they use unpublished

written and visual sources from local archives. Today the study of rural and urban Muslim communities contributes to research done on the Tatar diaspora.

Since the late 1990s studies on cooperation between the state and Islamic institutions were completed, which looked into their functioning in autocratic conditions. They covered the history of the OMSA, presented the results of a study of education, the structure, and main areas of concern of the OMSA, looked at the work of the muftis, parish clergy, and other religious institutions, religious management restructuring projects, etc. [Azamatov, 1996; Abdrashitova 2001; Khabutdinov, 2010].

State regulation of Islam is directly reviewed in the works by E. Vishlenkova [Vishlenkova, 1997], who drew attention to the relationship between the state and the representatives of different confessions during the reign of Alexander I, and D. Arapov, who determined the general and specific relations of the state and Islam in the regions [Arapov, 2004]. Careful attention was paid to relations between the imperial authorities and Islam both within individual provinces and the entire Volga-Ural Region. Researchers were interested, first of all, in the 'Muslim question' regarding the autocratic policy and the reaction of the local population to the domestic policy pursued by the state in this area [Muftakhutdinova, 1999; Vorobyeva, 1999; Garipov, 2002; Karpenkova, 2004; Golubkina, 2005; Gilmudinov, 2005; Iskhakov, 2008, et al.].

The provision of the conditions to meet the religious needs of Muslims in the army, civil institutions, educational institutions, trade fairs were covered in the works by I. Zagidullin and O. Senyutkina [Zagidullin, 2006; Senyutkina, 2006]. A comprehensive study of the role of the mosque and public prayers in the social and religious and ritual life in traditional Muslim communities of the OMSA district was also performed [Zagidullin, 2007].

In the imperial period issues related to the observance of religious rights of the Tatars were not studied. The lack of interest can be explained by the desire of the official ideology institutions to present the feats of the Russian army as a victory of the 'Russian army, Chris-

tian in spirit.' Servicemen of other ethno-religious groups, being 'outlanders,' did not fit into this concept. Special publications about Muslims in the regular army appeared as part of the history of individual national military units, mostly the Crimean and Lithuanian Tatars [Muftizade, 1899].

In the Soviet times the study of 'religious issues' in the Russian army lost its relevance due to the approval and cultivation of new principles related to the building of an atheistic society. During this time the only work on the subject was the book by N. Galushkin published in the USA [Galushkin, 1961].

In the post-Soviet period we can highlight two groups of works that look at various aspects of the religious life of Muslim servicemen. The first group includes works on the history of Muslim communities in individual settlements or regions. They fragmentarily set out facts about the Muslim servicemen, on the work of the Muslim clergy related to the military authorities [Grishin, 1995; Aminov, 1994; Zagidullin, 2003; Batyrgarey, 2004]. The second group of works is devoted to Muslim military service in the regular army and irregular troops [Arapov, 2000; Emelyanova, 2001; Nasyrov, 2005; Akhmetshin, 2006, et al.]. Currently, the most highly covered issues are issues on the legal status of the assigned military mul-lahs [Azamatov, 2002; Iskhakov, 2002; Arapov, 2003; Abdullin, 2007], the Teptyar, Bashkir regiments [Usmanov, 1964; Asfandiyarov, 1988; Rakhimov, 1992; 1996; 2002; 2003]. In terms of comparing and contrasting some parties to meet the religious needs of the Muslim and Jew servicemen, as non-Christians religious groups, the monograph of the American scientist Y. Petrovsky-Stern is of significant educational interest [Petrovsky-Stern, 2003].

It should be noted that the inclusion of segments about Muslims in the study of spiritual and religious education in the Russian army was a new phenomenon in Russian historiography [Fabrika, 1997; Kotkov, 1999; Kravchuk, 2005]. There was a tendency to comprehensively study national parts of religious minorities in the army [Lapin, 2001].

The sociopolitical, religious, cultural, and educational movement of the Tatars.

Russian historiography covered different types of social movements of the Tatars in several areas. One of them was the study of the anti-government protests of the peasants in the Middle Volga and Ural Regions against agrarian reforms, land audits, and fiscal measures [Tokarev, 1924; Ustyuzhanin 1948, et al.].

In the 1920–1930s the main area of study for historians was the movement of the Tatar peasants in the Kazan Guberniya in 1878–1879. In his book 'The Past of Tatarstan' N. Firsov gave a brief, outline of the course of these events [Firsov, 1926, pp. 39–40]. Earlier the Tatar historian G. Gobäydullin published a copy of the petition of the Tatars to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in which they complained about the unlawful actions of the governor of the Kazan Guberniya in 1878 [Gubaydullin, 1925, pp. 38–40]. G. Rakhim introduced memoirs of a witness to this uprising for scientific use [Rakhim, 1928 pp. 144–151]. E. Chernyshev, having studied much of the source material, wrote voluminous article [Chernyshev, 1927], describing practically the entire course of the uprising in Kazan uyezd. N. Firsov and E. Chernyshev said that fear of the forthcoming baptism was the main cause of protests among the Tatar peasants.

One of the first studies on the Tatar Peasant Movement of the 1850–1870s was the work by L. Morozov [Morozov, 1936]. The main narratives of the multi-ethnic peasant movement in the Kazan Guberniya in the 1860s were reflected in the new works by Ye. Ustyuzhanin, E. Chernyshev [Ustyuzhanin, 1948; Chernyshev, 1948]. We should also note the change in the point of view of the latter on the causes of the Tatar peasant movement in 1878–1879. E. Chernyshev put forward the weakening of their socio-economic position as the main cause of social protest [Istoriya, 1955, pp. 358–360].

The works by S. Daishev [Daishev, 1955; 1957] for the first time discussed certain moments of the Tatar peasant protests against the law on educational requirements for the Muslim clergy, against the population census in 1897 and noted a direct connection between the peasant protests with religious oppression and their difficult economic situation.

Yu. Smykov [Smykov, 1973] conducted a large and effective study on the forms of social protest of the multi-ethnic peasant class of the Kazan, Samara and Simbirsk Guberniyas, including the Tatar peasants, and defined the dynamics and main stages of the peasant movement in the post-reform period. He created the most complete picture of the events in 1878–1879 in the Kazan Guberniya.

The post-Soviet period witnessed the expansion of the scope of scientific research in the area of the Tatar peasant movements. According to materials on the Kazan Guberniya, it was found that the majority of the protests by the Tatar peasants in the post-reform period was not due to economic reasons but due to the exacerbation of the 'Muslim question' in the Russian Empire as well as the involvement of the parish clergy and Tatar merchants in the peasant protests [Zagidullin, 1992]. Scientists began the systematic study of the Tatar peasant protests, caused by a variety of rumours about baptism [Zagidullin, 2000; Märdanov, 2007] and the movement, which saw baptised Tatars return to Islam [Kobzev, 2007a; Iskhaikov, 2011, et al.]. An important achievement of modern scientists was the refusal to be bound by simplified schemes and approaches in the analysis of these movements typical of Soviet historiography, their recognition as a Tatar protest against the policy of the imperial authorities, a protest aimed at the preservation of their cultural identity and ethno-religious identity.

Much attention of the researchers was attracted also to Jadidism. Still there is no consensus among scientists on the social nature of Jadidism. In Soviet historiography Jadidism was mostly characterised as part of the educational movement aimed first of all at reforming traditional schools of the Tatars and further rapprochement with the European culture and transformation of society in accordance with modern requirements [Validov, 1923; Sägdı, 1926; Ibrahimov, 1984; Nafigov 1964, et al.]. At the same time, Jadidism was also politically sensitive: It was considered in opposition to enlightenment as a national-bourgeois movement, the members of which were accused of Pan-Turkism, Pan-Islamism, and anti-revolutionary activities [Faseev, 1971; Khasanov,

1977; Abdullin, 1977]. If Soviet historiography considered Jadidism mainly as part of the enlightenment subjects or in general works on Tatar history, the present stage witnessed the appearance of studies dedicated directly to Jadidism as a sociocultural phenomenon: the study of the role of Qadimism and Jadidism in the process of nation building continued, the nature of Jadidism was defined, new approaches to this problem were identified [Iskhakov, 1997a; Abdullin, 1998; Mukhametshin, 2005; Khabutdinov, 2008].

Jadidism was also characterised in different ways, depending on the dominant ideology: both as a cultural and educational and socio-political movement. Recently the opinion has emerged that Jadidism should be considered in a broader sense covering the religious, educational, and political reformism in the life of the Tatar nation [Islam, 2001 pp. 127–132].

Out of the religious and political schools, the best covered was the Wäisi movement. In the pre-October historiography the Wäisi activities were evaluated somewhat ambiguously. A. Kildishev [Kildishev, 1908], who was formerly one of its followers, on the basis of his own observations and according to the head Ğaynan Vaisov, presented the work that revealed the activities of this movement. In contrast E. Molostvova [Molostvova, 1912], using materials of A. Kildishev and the new information received from the Wäisi, favourably outlined the history and essence of the Wäisi as a religious movement. In Soviet times the Wäisi movement was seen through the prism of social and class struggle. Nevertheless, one of the researchers M. Sagidullin [Sagidullin, 1930] managed to systematically set out its history: from the beginning until its termination [Usmanov, 2006, pp. 383–384]. At present the most complete history of the Wäisi movement is represented in the work by D. Usmanova 'Muslim "sectarianism" in the Russian Empire: "The Wäisi Holy Regiment of the Old Muslim Believers" in 1862–1916' [Usmanova, 2009]. In this study the Wäisi movement was represented as a religious association, which later transformed into a community with its own religious autonomy, social status, and political programme.

Russian historiography saw the completion of works, which considered various forms of Tatar protest as a struggle for national identity, characterising it as a national movement. Within this framework F. Sultanov conducted the study 'The Tatar national movement: Past and Present' [Sultanov, 2000], which considering the forms of the Tatar national movement in modern times (religious reformism, Jadidism) marked a gradual shift in national identity from the principles of Islamism to the patriotic principle of Tatarism caused by the specific climate created by the Russian government's policy and the Orthodox church and the negligent attitude towards non-Russian peoples.

In general, the historiography of different forms of the Tatar movement showed a tendency to define the religious and national aspect in all forms of protests, which lay at the core of the national identity.

Different aspects of the Tatar history in the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries were also the subject of thesis studies. These studies were mainly conducted in the post-Soviet period, after the removal of the unofficial restrictions on the selection of topics and research methods. Since the late 1990s the sociopolitical, socio-economic, and religious history of the Tatars, the development of national literature, education, enlightenment have been studied mainly by Tatarstani scientists, and such studies have often been limited by regional boundaries. This narrow approach was determined by the ideology of Soviet history as a science, as a result of which the history of non-Russian peoples was not considered as a part of Russian history, being only woven into the overall fabric.

At the present stage of development of the humanities some works have been published analysing the contribution of Tatar intelligent thinkers and religious leaders to the development of the enlightenment [Salakhova, 2003; Gimazova, 2004; Zayni, 2004; Sharafutdinov, 2004a; Minnulina, 2006; Khafizov, 2006; Khamitullina, 2007, et al.] as well as works by authors, who aim to define the place and role of the Tatar enlightenment in the development of sociopolitical thought [Enaliev, 1998; Sabirov,

2000; Salakhov, 2000; Zhestovskaya, 2004; Galimzyanova, 2006].

An overview of the Russian historiography of the Tatar people shows that the choice of research topics and evaluation of historical events and facts are to a large extent determined by the state of development of historical science and the influence of ideological

'clichés.' If Soviet historiography under pressure of the existing ideology is noted for its criticism of the main public, social, and cultural processes in the Tatar history, post-Soviet historiography, while raising the same problems, evaluates all events in another way, sometimes radically different from the previous ones.

Historiography in the Turkish language

Alper Alp

Historiography in the Turkish language includes works on various aspects of the history and culture of the Tatars in the Volga Region in the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries. The first such publication was a book by Shamsaddin Sami, who presented a summary of the Russian Muslims, population, education, and industry of Kazan [Sami, 1891, pp. 1605; 1899, p. 3656].

Interest in the Tatars in Turkey arose at the beginning of the 20th century, which was clearly manifested in the issue of the newspapers 'Sabah,' 'İkdam,' 'Tercüman-ı Hakikat.' In 1911, when the Tatar Yu. Akçura started issuing the magazine 'Türk Yurdu' ('Turkish House') in Istanbul, the amount of information on the Tatars in the Volga Region increased.

The authors of the first works on the Tatars in the Volga Region were Tatar intelligent thinkers, who had emigrated from Russia and founded the tradition of studying the history and culture of their former fellow countrymen. The benefit of their works was the reliable knowledge of the subject and personal contacts with prominent figures of the Tatar renaissance of the early 20th century. The book by Gabelbari Battal Taymas 'The Turks of Kazan' (1925) [Taymas, 1966; Taymas, 1996] described the history of the Tatars of the Volga Region from ancient times to the formation of the USSR. The author considered the period of reign of Catherine II as the time when relations between the autocracy and Muslims started to take shape, which to some extent was caused by the desire of the imperial authorities to peacefully extend their

influence on the Kazakh steppe and Central Asia. Taymas believed that the beginning of the 19th century was a time of economic and intellectual breakthrough for the Tatars. He noted their achievements in the commercial and industrial sector, considering production and trading centres to be cultural development centres, and highlighted the role of book printing in the Arabic script in Kazan, etc. Taymas called Q. Nasiri and Ş. Märcani the leaders of the modern times. He defined Jadidism as an education and cultural movement of the Russian Turks, emphasised that the Jadids took significant steps in modernising Tatar institutions without any state support in confrontation with the Qadims and did not lose their confidence. He called the madrasahs 'Muhammadiya,' 'Husainia,' 'Usmaniya,' 'Galiya' and Izh-Bubi the leaders of educational institutions and distinguished merchants who contributed to their successful operation.

In a series of works published under the title 'Kazanlı Türk Meşhurlarından' ('Famous Turks of Kazan'), Taymas for the first time in Turkey provided the most complete information about Jadids and educators such as R. Fäxretdin, G. Barudi, M. Bigiev [Taymas, 1958, 1958a, 1958b]. He also wrote an essay about the life of brothers Ahmet Hadi and Sadri Maksudi [Taymas, 1959].

Due to his works on the history of the Tatars in Kazan, Akdes Nimet Kurat, also of Tatar origin, became a renowned scholar in Turkey. In his article 'The Period of Civilisational Awakening of the Turks in Kazan' ('Kazan Türkleri'nin Medenî Uyanış Devresi') [Kurat,

1969, p. 100], which can be considered a book in terms of its size, he described the conditions that paved the way for Tatar modernisation and studied the activities of the Ulema and the rich Tatars and educators, who were trained in higher Russian and European educational institutions. Kurat emphasised G. Utyz Imyani's appeal on the need to deal with the practical problems of life instead of unnecessary religious issues, emphasised his reformative qualities, including support in learning the Russian language. Unlike Taymas, Kurat praised G. Kursavi, calling him the second most important figure in the awakening movement. He believed that his most important idea was the one of the right of every Islamic scholar to interpret and explain the Quran and Hadith to the best of their knowledge and to seek the truth and to the extent of the results obtained to work against scholastic thinking, which prevailed in Bukhara and Kazan. Out of the other leaders of the modernisation movement, Kurat considered that Ş. Märcani, Q. Nasiri, and X. Fäezxanov were Tatar entrepreneurs as the financial experts of the Tatar community. According to him, all ideas and efforts to modernise were taken from cultural experience and were under the influence of the ideological movement in Russia, Turkey, and Egypt. In particular, he pointed to the close ties of G. Ibragimov with famous Ottoman educators such as Namık Kemal, Ahmet Vefik, Muallim Naji, Ali Suavi, and Ahmet Midhat. The article also described in detail the political activity of Muslims in Russia in the early 20th century.

The works by Nadir Devlet 'Rusya Türkleri'nin Milli Mücadele Tarihi (1905–1917)' ('History of national struggle of the Russian Turks (1905–1917)') [Devlet, 1999] and '1917 Türk-Tatar Millet Meclisi' ('The Turkic-Tatar National Assembly of 1917') [Devlet, 1998] are complementary. In the context of the stated subject the first work covers the process of the development of the movement for modernisation in the Volga Region and other regions of the country until 1905 and analyses the views of Tatar intelligent thinkers in creating a single literary language among Turkic peoples of Russia: if R. Fäxretdin, M. Bigiev

lobbied for this idea, G. Barudi and Ğ. Tuqay held the opinion that the Tatar language should be a separate literary language. The second work by N. Devlet also provided information on the cultural and political history of the Tatars of the Volga Region in the late 19–beginning of the 20th centuries.

Significant contribution to the study of the work of G. Ibragimov [Türkoğlu, 1997], and R. Fäxretdin [Türkoğlu, 2000] was made by I. Türkoğlu. He traced the life journey of G. Ibragimov in Russia and Turkey, describing his educational, publishing, journalistic, and political work, his views on education and the Islamic world, and the attitude to his ideas of Muslims in Turkey.

The studies by I. Türkoğlu also provided a detailed description of the Tatar educational institutions and education system there, showed the role of Märcani, Afgani, and I. Gasprinskij in shaping the views of R. Fäxretdin, covered in detail the organisation and functioning of the OMSA, in which R. Fäxretdin was the Qadi and during the Soviet times, the mufti. The author highly rated the role of R. Fäxretdin in the development of the Jadidist movement.

Ahmet Kanlıdere provided a comprehensive study of the biography and works of the famous religious figure M. Bigiev and considered the impact of the views of the Tatar theologian on the Muslims of Russia and Turkey [Kanlıdere, 2005].

The Book of Ibrahim by Maraş 'Türk Dünyasında Dini Yenileşme' ('Religious reform in the Turkic world') [Maraş, 2002] can be called a narrative on the history of ideas of the Tatars in the Volga Region, based on the analysis of works by Utyz Imyani, Kursavi, Märcani, and Fäezxanov, the impact of the leaders of the new generation educators on the Jadidist movement: G. Barudi, M. Bigiev, R. Fäxretdin, G. Bubi, and Z. Rasuli. The author also examined issues such as the translation of the Quran, *ijtihād*, *khutbah* language, and the rights of women, who were often a subject of controversy between the Tatars in the early 20th century.

İlyas Topsakal studied the relationship between the Russian state and the Tatars of the Volga Region during the 19–beginning of the

20th centuries, the system of N. Ilminsky; based on the works by M. Mashanov, he distinguished the attitude of missionary organisations to the Muslim community in the region in the early 20th century [Topsakal, 2009].

The work by Saime Selengi Gökgöz 'Yevfimiy Aleksandroviç Malov İdil-Ural'da İslam Karşıtı Rus Misyon Siyaseti' ('Evfimij Aleksandrovich Malov. Anti-Islamic missionary policy of Russia in the Volga-Ural Region') tells the story of the state-Islamic relations, the movement to return the baptised Tatars to Islam and identifies the main areas of Malov's work on the missionary path [Gökgöz, 2007].

Alper Alp studied political movements and groups among the Tatars in the early 20th century. The first part of his work covers the participation of the Tatars in the political processes of Russia and among Muslims [Alp, 2010].

History books in Turkish on the history of the Tatars of the Volga-Ural Region in the period under review contain four issues: the movement of Jadidism and Islamic reformation (in most cases these topics are covered through the works and actions of specific individuals); the sociopolitical activities of the Tatars in the early 20th century; the Christianisation policy against the Tatars.

Western Historiography

Mustafa Tuna

Little information on the Muslim peoples of the Volga-Ural Region can be found in the Western literature of the 19th century. It is generally positive, though. In 1825 a special Russian issue of the tourist book 'The Modern Traveller,' published in London, quoted a 1715 traveller: 'They say Kazan Tatars are more civilised than their Russian masters.' According to the authors of the reference book, Tatars were outstandingly literate. They had a school at every mosque. Besides, Tatar merchants in Kazan were very rich [The Modern Traveller, 1825, p. 226, pp. 308–309]. German economist Baron von Haxthausen travelled to a number of Russian cities and regions and collated a large quantity of diverse materials. In 1856 the English version of his book 'The Russian Empire: Its People, Institutions, and Resources' was completed, in which von Haxthausen wrote: '...both mentally and physically, Kazan Tatars belong to a nobler human race. However, their Mohammedan faith only enables them to develop to a limited extent.' Emphasising the Tatars' superiority to the Russians, he also believed that 'if the intelligent and friendly race was converted to Christianity, it could not only become one of the most civilised nations but promote Christianity and civilisation all across Asia' [Baron von Haxthausen, 1856, pp. 323–328].

Such comparisons between the Tatars and the Russians became rarer in 19th century literature. However, authors still maintained that the Kazan Tatars were 'the most civilised people' in their family—that is, among the Turkic peoples of Russia [Latham, 1878, p. 226].

Ethnographic and philological research boomed in Western Europe in the late 19th century. As a result, Turkic studies as a branch of science appeared both in Russia and in Western Europe. One of its founders V. Radloff spent over ten years in the Altai Krai studying Turkic languages. His works on Siberian Tatars, written in German, aroused interest in Turkic languages on the part of European philologists [Radloff, 1884]. The ethnonym 'Tatars' had a vague meaning ranging from 'Mongols' and 'Middle Asian Muslims' in the West at that time. The term was mostly used to denote the Turkic-speaking descendants of the Golden Horde who were still inhabiting the Kipchak steppes. Authors used regional indicators to narrow the meaning to the 'Tatars' of a specific region. For instance, the term 'Kazan Tatars' was used to denote the dwellers of the Kazan Khanate and later the Kazan Guberniya. The term 'Turk,' or 'Turkic,' gradually acquired many connotations of 'Tatar.' As ethnographic data on the 'Tatars' of various regions accumulated, the names became ethnonyms. The term 'Kazan Tatars'

has been used in English since the early 18th century. However, it was in the late 19th century that it came to mean the Turkic-speaking peoples inhabiting the Volga and Kama Basin. This initially included the Tatars who had converted to Christianity under Russian power. Yet the term 'Kazan Tatars' was mostly used to denote the Muslim population of the region [see: Balint, 1875–1876, quoted by: Duka, 1889, p. 596; Cust, 1891, pp. 184–194; Vambery, 1892, pp. 1–18].

Another fact pertaining to the late 19th century is that, unlike secular ethnographers, Russian Orthodox missionaries became more active in studying and identifying the peoples of the Volga-Ural Region. They collated a lot of information. Even though all of their sources were in Russian, their findings affected the way in which Western scholars described the Kazan Tatars. The main topic of such missionary literature was the Kazan Tatars' indifference to Christian proselytism. The famous Hungarian Orientalist of Jewish descent Armin Vambery probably referred to this fact when he wrote in 1892: 'Despite three centuries of subordination to Russia, [the Muslim Tatars of Kazan] became only slightly less adherent to Islam and the Asian way of thinking. There is no evidence that the dominant element [that is, the Russians] has assimilated them [Vambery, 1892, p. 12]. By the beginning of the 20th century Russian missionaries had come to criticise Muslim Tatars because they were disappointed by their resistance to proselytism. In 1991 the debut issue of the American missionary magazine *The Moslem World* presented the article 'Muslims in Russia' by Sofia Bobrovnikova-Chicherina, an adherent of N. Ilminsky. The author informed the Western audience about the nascent Russian Islamic reformist movement known as Jadidism. She believed the reformists, among whom many were influential pan-Turkists and pan-Islamists, were close to their goal of 'uniting separate the Islamic ethnoses in Russia into a Muslim nation.' While earlier works, like the one by Baron von Haxthausen, viewed the Tatars as an ethnic minority to be sympathised with, S. Bobrovnikova-Chicherina depicted them as a threat to the Russian Empire and, consequently, to the

whole Christian world [Bobrovnikoff, 1911, pp. 5–31]. Back in 1906 Vambery claimed in his article that pan-Turkism, or pan-Islamism, had ceased to be practice-oriented [Vambery, 1906, pp. 348–353].

S. Bobrovnikova's concern about Turkic-Muslim activity in the conflict with the Russian regime continued to dominate West European and American literature until the dissolution of the Soviet Union. In 1918 the author of another article in the magazine *The Moslem World* suggested that the chaos that reigned in Russia at the end of World War I and the opening of the borders to Protestant missionaries could create an opportunity to fight against the Turkic-Muslim movement, which he termed 'pan-Turanism' [Camp, 1918, pp. 115–130]. Probably one of the last works to contain a pessimistic depiction of the interregional Turkic-Muslim movement that emerged at the turn of the 20th century was 'Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia' by S. Zenkovsky, published in 1960. A. Zenkovsky was mostly interested in ancient Russian history, especially that of the Russian Orthodox Church, and did not speak any Turkic languages. This is why he referred predominantly to Orthodox Christian missionary literature on Russian Muslims and its interpretations by Soviet historiographers, which continued to denigrate the Muslim reformists of the late imperialist epoch, this time as representatives of the 'bourgeois' movement. Therefore, despite S. Zenkovsky's clear deviation from the scientific approach to his subject, the work is rather representative of the antagonistic tone of the literature in Russian that was available to him [Zenkovsky, 1960].

As the USSR's relations with the West decayed from the 1930s, Western scholars developed an alternative approach to the issue of the interregional Turkic-Muslim reformist movement, which was approving and even eulogic. This period is marked by frequent references to sources in Turkic languages in Western literature. Already in 1922 the authors of an article in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* wrote: '... the situation changed after the Russian revolution and the dissolution of Russia. The Pan-Turkists are very close to their irredentist goals now' [*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1922]. Even though this

never happened, the memory of the Turkic-Muslim reformist movements of the late imperialist epoch and the political activities of Muslims in the early Soviet Russia continued to occupy the minds of West European and American scholars, especially after World War II, when differences between the Western Europe and the USSR had turned into outright antagonism. The Soviet Union deprived the Turkic and Muslim peoples of the former Russian Empire of liberty. However, the authors maintained that the peoples who had tasted freedom could fight for independence with support from the Ottoman Empire, provided that they received sufficient incentive and assistance from the West.

Research on the 'national issue' of the Soviet Union became popular in the 1950s [for example, Kolarz, 1952; Hostler, 1975]. Three French scholars, namely Alexandre Bennigsen, Chantal Lemerrier-Quelquejay, and Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, made important contributions. Their first published works, which appeared in the 1960s, led to great interest in the Turkic-Muslim peoples of the Soviet Union as a subversive element [Bennigsen, 1964; 1967; d'Encausse, 1966; *L'Empire Éclaté* 1978]. All the studies on the Volga-Tatar Region depict the Tatars as one of many Muslim peoples in the Soviet Union. They became widely known in literature on the modernist trends of the late imperialist epoch, where the Volga-Ural Region was always the focus, but were seldom mentioned by Soviet historiographers. As a sole exception, Mirsail Sultan-Galiev was extremely popular because he tried to combine Marxism with the idea of self-determination and Muslim nationalism, meaning that the revolution was not over for the Muslim peoples of the Soviet Union [Bennigsen, Lemerrier-Quelquejay, 1960; Galiev, 1986].

The bog in which the USSR got stuck in by invading Afghanistan in 1979 fueled the West's hope for a Muslim renaissance in the Soviet Union. 'The Islamic Threat to the Soviet State' by Alexandre Bennigsen and Marie Broxup, published in 1983, is extremely representative of the trend [Bennigsen, Broxup, 1983].

Works by Edward Lazzerini also deserve to be mentioned in this context. He mainly viewed the issue of Islam and the modern

works from the point of view of the subject of his thesis 'Islmail-Bey Gasprinsky: The Ideological Father of the Muslim Reformists of the 19–Beginning of the 20th Centuries in the Russian Empire' (1973). As the result and partly under the influence of representatives of the Tatar diaspora—historians such as A.Kurat and Battal-Tajmas, also adherents of Gasprinsky's ideas—Lazzerini took a secular approach to the concept of Islamic reforms in the Russian Empire. It was not the Tatars of the Middle Volga Region that he studied. Taking into account the key role that the Kazan Tatars and Kazan played in the cultural life of Muslims in Russia in the late 19–beginning of the 20th centuries, he paid special attention to reconstructing their national history in the works of Soviet Tatar historians. Lazzerini's focus on Islam as a cultural tradition and the reforms within the tradition continues to attract the interest of scholars even today. However, what was of significance to the Western academic community in the 1970s was the subversive potential of Muslims in the Soviet Union. Lazzerini's dissertation attracted the interest of many scholars due to its extensive sources. His dissertation was never published [Lazzerini, 1981, pp. 625–35; 1982; 1994, pp. 82–100].

Monographs in English on the history of several peoples in the USSR, mainly Muslim ones, appeared in the 1980s [Fisher, 1978 et al.]. They included the first historical overview dedicated to the Kazan Tatars, or the 'Volga Tatars,' as A.-A.Rorlich called them in her book of the same title published in 1986 [Rorlich, 1986].

Since the author could not access most libraries and archives in the Volga-Ural Region at that time, A.-A.Rorlich used printed materials from American, European, and Turkish libraries as well as those provided by people from the Tatar diasporas. As a result, her work reflects two stylistically different groups of 20th century sources on the history of Muslims in Russia, namely 1) sources from the Soviet period that emphasise the unique ethnic or national features of the Kazan Tatars; 2) Turkic or Western literature focused on the late imperialist reformist movement as a feature of

the national awakening period. Thus, a large part of A.-A.Rorlich's work is on the Turkic-Muslim transformation and the interaction between leading Muslim reformers, who were either imperialists or advocates for the Soviet regime, until Soviet power was established in the Volga-Ural Region. The last chapter dealt with the Kazan Tatars' 'cultural immunity' to the Soviet regime.

In the post-Soviet period European and American scholars lost their interest in the Muslim peoples of the USSR as a subversive element. While Islam had been the Western bloc's ally against their arch-enemy before the USSR fell, after the dissolution it became a new global threat. This way of thinking creates a negative bias in studies on Middle Asia and the Caucasus. However, the Muslims of the Volga-Ural Region were quite far from the key centres of military action and relatively peacefully integrated with the new Russia and so were able to avoid this negative reputation. Besides, experts in the history of the Volga and Cisural Regions emphasise that the Muslim population peacefully coexisted in a multilingual and multi-confessional environment in a non-Muslim empire.

Studying the history of the Russian Empire's expansion in the Volga-Ural Region, Andreas Kappeler reported this new trend back in the 1980s [Kappeler, 1982]. Especially his book 'Russland als Vielvölkerreich,' which first appeared in 1992 in German and was consequently translated into French and English, influenced the new generation of historians who began to study the history of the Russian Empire in the 1990s [Kappeler, 1992]. When the Soviet Union dissolved, and many peoples that had constituted the so-called union became more politically influential, these post-Soviet scholars started to view the Russian Empire as a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional entity. Works by Robert Geraci, Paul Werth, and Robert Crews that focused on the history of the Volga Tatars should be mentioned in this context. They studied the records of the newly opened local archives to trace the connection between the history of the Volga-Ural Region and such broad historiographic issues such as confessional policies, studies on bor-

der lands, and imperial and national identity. Geraci and Werth were guided to some extent by the unpublished dissertation of Isabel Kreindler [Kreindler, 1969] and focused mainly on politics and imperialistic identity in Russia. Muslims do not appear in their studies as a subject but as an object of Russian policies and a population group [Geraci, 2001; Werth, 2002]. Crews mostly dealt with the interaction between Russia's Muslim communities and the imperial state. However, his idea of the Muslim communities' point of view has been challenged. His arguments for the imperial government's role in the development of Islamic law and the Muslims' readiness to tolerate it interfering in their internal disputes has attracted the attention of historians and theologians [Crews, 2006].

The second type of source that became widely available to historians in the post-Soviet period is manuscripts by Volga-Ural Muslims in Turkic and Arabic. Allen Frank and Michael Kemper made especially broad use of these sources to describe the unique Muslim world of the Russian Empire, which was neither independent nor isolated, but still quite autonomous within the imperial state. Kemper and Frank referred to findings by Soviet historians, including Tatars, to connect the history of the Volga-Ural Region with existing works on Middle Asia and the Near East that had been trying to explain Islam and the Muslim community through text analysis for years. While Kemper analysed the discourse of 18th- and especially 19th-century Islamic scholars [Kemper, 1998; Kemper, 2008], Frank initially focused on the debates by Tatar scholars and intelligentsia on the identity of the Volga-Ural Muslims in the 19th century [Frank, 1998, pp. 39–49]. He then presented a detailed description of the religious institutions and lifestyle of the region's Muslim communities in the same period [Frank, 2001; Frank, 2008]. The works give an idea of the high cultural achievements of the Muslims of the Volga and Cisural Regions in the 19th century, which had a close connection with other Muslims both within the region and far beyond it, while only indirectly demonstrating the features of an imperial state.

A third group of scholars tried to bridge the gap between the two approaches in post-Soviet historiography by using archival data as well as Islamic sources. However, they did not accept the way in which the Muslim reformist movement was characterised in early Western historiography and tried to describe the key imperialism-related issues of Muslims while studying the interaction between the Volga-Ural reformists, interregional Muslim organisations, the imperial state, and particular aspects of the Muslims' lives. For instance, Christian Noack paid special attention to the socio-economic development of the Volga-Ural Muslims in the late 19–beginning of the 20th centuries, which he viewed as the root cause of the reformist and nationalist movements [Noack, 2000]. Agnes Keefeli-Clay wrote that Islam was becoming more popular in all Muslim and Christian Tatar communities, while the imperial state and the reformists had changed their attitude to the interaction [Keefeli-Clay, 2001]. James Meyer viewed the reformist activities of Russian Muslims, in particular the Kazan Tatars, as an attempt by new community leaders to create an inter-empire organisation. The author maintained that these leaders moved between the Russian and Ottoman empires, searching for a new identity that could unite the Muslims of these distant territories [Meyer,

2007]. Besides, it should be noted that possibly we can understand the social and cultural transformations that took place in the late imperialist Muslim communities of the Volga-Ural Region as the outcome of an interaction—sometimes even a conflict—of intrerregional, imperial, and global influences [Tuna, 2009; 2011].

In general, Western studies on the history of the Kazan Tatars in the 18–19th centuries were greatly influenced by the approach that West European and American authors took to wider cultural and political issues, such as colonialism, Christian proselytism, decaying relations between the USSR and the West, and the Cold War. After the immense political pressure was relieved, the number of new trends in the development of these studies increased significantly in the 1990s. It is hard to think of a more serious political problem. Yet the relatively successful integration of the Republic of Tatarstan into the political and cultural structure of the Russian Federation and the peaceful coexistence of Muslims and Christians in the Volga-Ural Region have been attracting the attention of many scholars. This is why most scholars studying the pre-Soviet history of the Kazan Tatars became interested in how a Muslim people can exist in a multi-confessional and multi-lingual environment.

Section I

The Socio-demographic Development of the Tatars



CHAPTER 1

Tatars in the Volga and Ural Regions

§ 1. Tatar Population Size Dynamics and Distribution in the Volga and Ural Regions

Damir Iskhakov

The size and territorial distribution of ethnic groups have a major impact on ethnic [Kozlov, 1969] and social processes. However, the study of the distribution and current population size of people is clearly insufficient for a proper understanding of the ethnic situation in this or another period: these processes require a historical approach, which fully applies to the Volga-Ural Tatars. However, while studying the changes in Tatar distribution at the end of the 18–19th century, it is necessary to take into account administrative and territorial transformations, which were sufficiently large in scale during the period under analysis.

Taking this into account, for our statistical calculations, we used the uyezd and governorate divisions that existed in the 60s and 90s of the 19th century and all the demographic data from 1795 to 1897 for it. Another important factor that needs to be taken into account when analysing statistics on the demographic development of the Tatars over the period in question is the assessment of the results of the ethnic processes that occurred in the Volga-Ural Region. It was namely then that the ethnic processes involving the Tatars, Bashkirs, Chuvash as well as Besermyans developed intensively in the Middle Volga and Ural Regions. This primarily influenced the latter half of the 19th century, both as a dynamic in change of population size and the unique patterns of distribution of the Volga-Ural Tatars.

The most intense interaction between the Tatars and Bashkirs in the Ural Region occurred in the 18–19th centuries. The issue of mutual relations between Tatars and Bashkirs was taken into consideration by us in an article where we noted that the Teptyars 'who, due to

language were largely recorded as being Bashkirs in 1897, but were actually a Tatar ethnographic group' [Iskhakov, 1979, p. 42]. The opinion expressed in literature that a portion of the Mishar Tatars (according to language) living in the Ural Region were recorded as being part of the Bashkirs in 1897 has been confirmed [Kuzeev, 1978, p. 238]. In all our calculations of population groups at the end of the 19th century were referred to as Tatars. However, there is another aspect of Tatar-Bashkir ethnic relations, namely whether it was correct to record as Bashkirs the population of the westernmost areas of the Ural Region (the territory of Bugulma Uyezd, Samara guberniya, Sarapul and Yelabuga Uyezds, Vyatka Guberniya, and Menzelinsk Uyezd, Ufa guberniya), who, according to the 1897 census were recorded as 'Bashkirs'. R. Kuzeev, who studied the demographic development of the Bashkirs, has no clear opinion on this: on the one hand, he rightfully noted the 1897 census to have recorded 'about 300–350 thousand Teptyars and Mishars as Bashkirs' [Kuzeev, 1978, p. 241]. On the other hand, contrary to his statement that 'we cannot but take into account the closeness of the Bashkir and Tatar languages, and the absence of significant differences in the spoken languages of the Teptyars and Bashkirs in the north-western regions' [Kuzeev, 1978, p. 245], he nonetheless considers that the entire Bashkir-speaking population in the aforementioned uyezds to be completely Bashkir [Kuzeev, 1978, p. 250].

We suggest a different, more clear solution to this problem. According to the 1926 census that took into account not only language but the ethnic affiliation of the population within

the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, which included all the aforementioned uyezds, only 1.5 thousand Bashkirs were recorded [Shibaev, 1930, p. 261]. And that is where the 1897 census recorded 166,209 Bashkirs (according to language) [Shibaev, 1930, p. 37, 89, 107]. Where had they disappeared to? The answer is rather simple: They had assimilated with the Tatars. However, apart from stating the fact, it is necessary to shed some light on the causes of such a rapid ethnic transformation. It should be immediately noted that not everyone among these 166.2 thousand people were Bashkirs in the narrow, ethnic sense. A comparison of the 1897 census records with those of the district Inspection (1856) allows us to make the following conclusion: at least 42,000 people of the aforementioned population to have been 'Bashkir'-speaking Teptyars. That is, the remaining 124,000 Bashkirs proper, during the 29 years between the censuses of 1897 and 1926 completely changed their ethnic affiliation, which we find hard to believe. If we proceed from the fact that, the Bashkir population at the end of the 19th century, still continued to preserve its ethnic self-awareness, then we would have to attribute its rapid change to mistakes in the 1926 census. However, doubts about the correctness of the census have not been expressed.

In fact, representatives of the group specified by us as 'Bashkirs' by the end of the 19th century could not have had a Bashkir ethnic self-awareness. Here are the reasons why. An analysis of records on Tatar and Bashkir co-residence (within one locality) in the late 18th to the first third of the 19th century, reveals 88% Bashkirs in Menzelinsk Uyezd, 58% in Yelabuga Uyezd, and 45% in Sarapulsk Uyezd to have co-resided with Tatars. The Tatar population of Tatar-Bashkir localities was twice as large as the Bashkir one in Bugulma Uyezd and 1.5 times larger than the Bashkir one in Yelabuga and Sarapul Uyezds. The ratio was 1:1 in Menzelinsk Uyezd. It should be noted that, in the latter uyezd by the end of the 18th century, 43% of all marriages were mixed, Teptyar-Bashkir. There is no basis to think that, by the end of the 18th to the early 19th century, the situation was

different in the remaining uyezds. Besides, in these uyezds, the Tatar population already by the end of the 18th century was 5.6 times larger than the Bashkir population. Under such circumstances could this most north-westerly group of Bashkirs preserve their own ethnic uniqueness? Apparently, not. This is why every attempt of the zemstvo statisticians in the 1860–1870s 19th to distinguish between the Bashkirs and Tatars of the north-west frontiers of the Ural Region ended in failure. Taking all this into account as well as the fact that no direct link between native language and ethnic self-awareness exists by the end of the 19th century, we think that the 'Bashkirs' of the four north-west uyezds belong to the Tatar ethnic group. The Bashkir ethnic affiliation of representatives of this group at an earlier stage is also dubious. Most likely it is about their inclusion in a class community. U. Rakhmatullin proved the groups to have often descended ethnically from the Tatars and other peoples in the Volga Region [Rakhmatullin, 1988]. Thus, this population group can probably be defined as transitional between the Tatar and Bashkir ethnic groups.

Finally, the 1897 census reported a large number of Bashkirs (according to language) in Cis-Ural cities. Knowledge of the ethno-language situation and comparison of the 1897 data with that of further censuses have convinced us that the actual number of Bashkir urban dwellers by the end of the 19th century was significantly smaller. Based on this, we exposed the corrected data of the 1897 census for Cis-Ural cities and obtained, in our view, more reliable data about the size of the Tatar urban population.

We should now dwell on the ethnic processes that were taking place in the Tatar-Chuvash environment. The idea about the existence of earlier intense ethnic contacts between the Tatars and Chuvash being based on inaccurate statistical information has already been expressed in literature. [Dimitriev, 1969]. We support this opinion. However, two regions where the ethnic processes led to the assimilation of a significant portion of the Chuvash population should be mentioned. This primarily applies to the Simbirsk guberniya (especial-

ly the Buinsk and Simbirsk Uyezds) and the adjacent territory of the Samara guberniya (in particular, the Samara and Stavropol Uyezds), where by the middle of the 18th century, about 4000 Chuvash co-resided with Tatars in these areas [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 16, inv. 1, file 931]. The majority of them were subsequently assimilated by the Tatars (the process was completed by the end of the 19th century). The second area where Tatar-Chuvash ethnic contacts were intense was the territory of the Tsvil'sk and Tetyushi Uyezds, Kazan guberniya, where a group of 'Molkeevo Kryashens' resided. Pre-revolutionary scholars sometimes referred to them as Chuvash [Komissarov, 1912, p. 6]. According to the material for the first half of the 18th century, 60% were really made up of baptised Chuvash [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 350, inv. 2, file 2977, 2988, 3005], who until the 1830s preserved their own ethnonym. We only refer to them as Tatars for the period from the late 1850s, (who by this time were recorded as 2.6 thousand people), when they were first reported to have been fully assimilated by the Tatars [Rittikh, 1870, p. 140]. By the end of the 19th century, the total number of Molkeevo Kryashens was 5,300 people.

With regard to the Vyatka Guberniya, it is necessary to take into account the ethnic interactions between the Tatars and Besermians which had been occurring since the Middle Ages in the Vyatka territory. We have found that in the first half of the 18th century, that as a consequence of these ethnic processes, a portion of the Besermians (a group ethnically related to the Tatars) were added to the Tatars of Glazov and Slobodskoy uyezds in Vyatka guberniya. By 1744 they had already adopted Islam [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 248, file 803, s. 181]. At least one third of the Tatar population in the aforementioned uyezds were former Besermians, whose assimilation was completed in the late 19– or early 20th century. They had reached as many as 4,300 people then.

These are the preliminary remarks required to study the distribution and population size of the Volga-Ural Tatars over the period from the late 18th to the 19th century. It should also be noted that references for this study have been analysed before [Iskhakov, 1980; 1993]. Therefore, this issue is not addressed here. The dynamics in the changes of the total Tatar population size of the Volga-Ural region over the period are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

The dynamics in the changes of the total Tatar population size of the Volga-Ural region in the 18–19th centuries

Urban and rural population (pers.)	Population			
	1795	1833	1857	1897
Total in region,	617297	1019514	1416051	2249539
including:	10851	23471	29733	110914
urban population,	1,8	2,3	2,0	4,9
%	606446	996043	1386318	2138625
rural population,	98,2	97,7	98,0	95,1
%				

As Table 1 shows, the size of the Tatar population over a century (1795 to 1897) increased from 617,300 thousand to 2,249,500 people, that is 3.6 times, which is closer to Russia-wide indicators [Vodarsky, 1973, p. 151]. From the end of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th century, the average Tatar population in-

crease rate in the region was 1.6%, which is also close to Russia-wide indicators [Kabuzan, 1971, p. 5, 52–57 etc.; Rashin, 1956]. In the latter half of 19th century, the value remained as high (1.5%). If the high rates of increase in the Volga-Ural Tatar population in the first half of the 19th century, being chiefly attribut-

able to a gradual acceleration of the local economic development, then the post-reform situation was also influenced by the assimilation taking place while the Volga-Ural Tatars were consolidating into the core of the Tatar nation. The Tatars were numerous enough to form a nation-type community already by the cusp of the 18–19th centuries. By the end of the 19th century, the larger portion of their population, living in the Volga-Ural region, became one of the largest ethno-national communities in the Russian Empire.

The socio-economic transformations of the 18–19th centuries, especially the latter half of the 19th century, led to the gradual increase of Tatar urbanisation (Table 1). By the end of the 19th century, about 160 thousand out of 240 thousand Tatar urban dwellers living in different cities across Russia (8.8% of the total Tatar population), or more than 60% of them were Volga-Ural Tatars. The majority of Tatar urban dwellers (about 111 thousand) resided in cities of the Volga-Ural Region (Kazan, Ufa, Orenburg, Samara, Simbirsk, Saratov, Nizhny Novgorod, Kostroma, Penza, Yekaterinburg, Perm, Chelyabinsk, Troitsk, etc.). Besides, citizens from the Middle Volga Region and the Cis-Ural Region migrated to a number of cities in the European Russia (Moscow, Saint Petersburg, etc), Transcaucasia (Baku), Central Asia, Western Siberia (their total number by the end of the 19th century had reached 50,000 people).

However, the level of urbanisation of the Volga-Ural Tatars, even at the end of the 19th century was extremely low (4.9%), the vast majority of them continued to be part of the rural population. Nonetheless, the increase in the share of the Tatar urban population in the 19th century, led to a gradual change in their social structure.

The Tatar urbanisation rate was slow in Western Siberia. Already by the end of the 19th century, over 2/3 of the Western Siberian Tatar urban population were migrants from the Volga-Ural Region. The percentage of urban dwellers was large among the Astrakhan Tatars already by the 18th century, which is attributable to the fact that a number of their localities lay in the suburbs of Astra-

khan. They were later included in the city. At the turn of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century, the vast majority of Astrakhan Tatars consisted of Middle Volga Tatars. The Lithuanian-Polish Tatars were highly urbanised: in the 1830s, 19th from 8 to 33–42% resided in cities (depending on the governorate), but by the late 19th century, which was almost half of the Lithuanian Tatars. The dispersion of Tatar urban population was high (Minsk, Navahrudak, Igumen, Slomin, Vilno, Grodno, Kowno, Warsaw). The percentage of urban dwellers among the Crimean Tatars was already significant by the 18th century (about 20% as of 1783). In all likelihood the size of the urban Crimean Tatar population decreased after the annexation by Russia. Nonetheless, the Crimean Tatars in the 19th century were one of the most urbanised Tatar groups in Russia, right up to the end of the 19th century. In spite of migration to Turkey (including Tatar urban residents), the percentage of urban dwellers among the Crimean Tatars grew rather rapidly. The largest Crimean Tatar groups of the beginning of the 20th century resided in Bakhchysaray (10 thousand people), Simferopol (7.9 thousand), Yevpatoria (6.2 thousand), Karasubazar (6.2 thousand), Feodosia (2.6 thousand), and Kerch (2 thousand).

As is well known, after the dissolution of the Tatar Khanates in the Volga Region an intense migration among Tatars followed. For a number of reasons, (like increased socio-economic oppression, cruel religious persecution, etc.), it peaked in the first half of the 18th century, the main direction being from the Middle Volga Region to the Cis-Ural Region. As a result of the mass migrations of the Tatars from the Middle Volga Region eastward, the size of the Tatar population in the Cis-Ural Region had reached, by the end of the 18th century, 219.2 thousand (a third of the Tatars in the Volga and Cis-Ural Regions). Further on the Tatar migration rate in the Cis-Ural Region decreased, but nonetheless by the end of the 19th century, more than one million people lived in its north-west part. The result is partly reflective of the ethnic processes taking place between the Tatars and the Bashkirs. A large part of Tatar migrants from the Middle Volga Re-

gion and the Cis Ural Region moved through the Northern and North-Eastern Kazakhstan to the Western Siberia and Central Asia following the reforms (by the end of the 19th century, their total number consisted of 94.3 thousand

people of whom 40.3 thousand lived in Siberia). A more detailed picture of Tatar distribution in the Volga-Ural Region from the 18th century to the first quarter of the 20th century, is presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Distribution of Tatars within the Volga-Ural Region in the late 18–19th centuries

Governorates and uyezds	Population			
	1795	1833	1857	1897
Nizhny Novgorod guberniya	15884	20411	33711	41339
Sergach Uyezd	11583	16320	22849	27196
Vasilsursk Uyezd	3385	5188	8982	10889
Knyagin Uyezd	790	1280	1707	1992
Other uyezds	118	183	207	1260
Tambov guberniya	7484	10740	13152	16976
Temnikov Uyezd	3278	4394	5753	5901
Yelatma Uyezd	2557	4034	4157	5919
Spassk Uyezd	875	1053	1355	2201
Tambov Uyezd	395	681	806	1176
Shatsk Uyezd	379	578	867	1026
Other uyezds	—	—	214	720
Ryazan guberniya	5999	5591	5656	5033
Kasimov Uyezd	5999	5591	5647	4764
Other uyezds	—	—	12	146
Penza guberniya	24986*	34912	45321	58530
Krasnoslobodsk Uyezd	5969	8304	11127	14321
Insar Uyezd	5716	8532	11368	13075
Saransk Uyezd	4454	5525	7442	11269
Chembar Uyezd	5329	7510	8553	8345
Kerensk Uyezd	2168	2731	3292	4915
Gorodishche Uyezd	448	1028	1641	2843
Mokshan Uyezd	422	761	1069	1731
Nizhny Lomov Uyezd	480	519	829	1077
Other uyezds	—	—	—	37
Simbirsk guberniya	46419	67654	90069	133977
Buinsk Uyezd	22867	33050	43741	63046
Simbirsk Uyezd	5778	8339	12239	22133
Kurmysh Uyezd	11699	15608	19001	24260
Korsun Uyezd	2353	3941	5009	8387
Sengiley Uyezd	1596	2935	5000	6894
Syzran Uyezd	1396	2817	4032	7491
Ardatov Uyezd	730	964	1000	1659
Alatyr Uyezd	—	—	47	107
Saratov guberniya	31218	47040	57628	94693
Kuznetsk Uyezd	13491	18478	20315	35344
Khvalynsk Uyezd	11301	20368	26382	39536
Petrovsk Uyezd	4603	6564	8840	12394
Volsk Uyezd	948	1511	1926	3173
Saratov Uyezd	554	(119)**	274	1925
Other uyezds	294	—	—	2321

Kazan guberniya	214671	363094	455278	675419
Kazan Uyezd	61340	87160	99946	146730
Mamadysh Uyezd	36010	65464	92581	131732
Laishev Uyezd	19774	43527	49367	73045
Tsarevokokshaysk Uyezd	8114	18661	20924	23789
Tetyushi Uyezd	30554	50956	56130	91214
Sviyazhsk Uyezd	12100	19423	23635	37802
Tsivilsk Uyezd	4870	6306	10808	16368
Cheboksary Uyezd	1102	1636	2085	3397
Chistopol Uyezd	25253	46498	61468	98304
Spassk Uyezd	15554	25928	35316	52952
Other uyezds	—	35	18	72
Vyatka guberniya	32561	60102	89630	147200
Malmyzh Uyezd	17724	27166	41897	52228
Urzhum Uyezd	1002	4258	6471	13934
Slobodskoy Uyezd	1998	2676	3267	4277
Glazov Uyezd	1698	3805	4621	7884
Yelabuga Uyezd	9132	19144	28411	52239
Sarapul Uyezd	1017	3053	4963	15884
Other uyezds	—	—	—	754
Samara guberniya	47245	85444	131554	259820
Bugulma Uyezd	27193	40938	61674	137885
Buguruslan Uyezd	8405	14246	25093	41580
Stavropol Uyezd	7066	18249	24204	38396
Samara Uyezd	2765	4748	5536	14000
Buzuluk Uyezd	1806	2902	6239	11404
Novouzensk Uyezd	—	2636	6632	13008
Nikolayevsk Uyezd	—	1400	2176	3515
Ufa guberniya	140211	254620	373219	609091
Menzelinsk Uyezd	43121	74620	98348	154503
Birsk Uyezd	25520	42515	76142	127512
Belebey Uyezd	34288	70269	84337	173507
Ufa Uyezd	24599	41708	57811	85835
Sterlitamak Uyezd	12683	25780	47581	68187
Orenburg guberniya	23995	42632	79388	126225
Orenburg Uyezd	14603	25727	46927	71158
Verkhneuralsk Uyezd	3583	7959	16724	23865
Chelyabinsk Uyezd	3478	5789	9910	13910
Troitsk Uyezd	2331	3163	7844	17286
Perm guberniya	17624	27274	41442	81236
Osa Uyezd	4213	6896	7801	16364
Krasnoufimsk Uyezd	5233	9715	16400	26046
Kungur Uyezd	2182	1506	1956	2722
Perm Uyezd	418	1274	2360	7054
Yekaterinburg Uyezd	448	883	2220	4277
Shchadrinsk Uyezd	5130	7000	10685	17739
Other uyezds	—	—	—	6978

* Incomplete data.

** Data not fully reliable.

Another direction of Tatar migration from the area of question was to industrial areas in the European Russia and Transcaucasia (by the end of the 19th century—28,000 people).

The Volga-Ural Tatars in the 18–beginning of the 20th century, became a significant part of the Tatar population of the Astrakhan Region and the Western Siberia. Their percentage in the Astrakhan Region in the late 18th century was 13.2%, in the 1830s 19th it was 17.4%, and at the beginning of the 20th century exceeded a third of the total Tatar population of the Lower Volga Region. A similar situation was observed in Western Siberia: by the end of the 19th century, Tatar migrants made up 17% of all Tatars in Western Siberia. Lithuanian Tatars by the middle of the 19th century, had settled in the Vilna, Minsk, Smolensk, Grodno, Kowno, Podolia, Volhynia, Augustów, and Lublin Governorates (the two latter ones belonged to the Kingdom of Poland. After 1783 and almost until the establishment of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the Crimean Tatars were included in the Taurida guberniya (Simferopol, Yevpatoria, Feodosia, Perekop, Dnepr, and Melitopol Uyezds). The latter three uyezds were dominated by Nogais, who had by that time become a sub-ethnic group of the Crimean Tatars.

Practically, already by the end of the 18th century, the basic ethnic Volga-Ural Tatar territories had already formed and further on in the 19th century, their general configuration remained the same, any changes being confined to its inner 'compaction'. As data in Table 2 shows, in the 19th century, the largest Tatar groups were concentrated in the Kazan and Ufa guberniyas. While the former governorate showed a trend towards a gradual reduction, the latter witnessed an increase in the Tatar population. Nonetheless, the Kazan guberniya with the adjacent uyezds of the nearest governorates (Malmyzh, Yelabuga, Sarapul Uyezds, Vyatka Governorate; Buinsk Uyezd, Simbirsk guberniya; Bugulma Uyezd, Samara guberniya; Menzelinsk Uyezd, Ufa guberniya) represented the centre of the ethnic territory for the region's Tatars. If by the end of the 18th century, the local Tatar population being 335.7 thousand people (that is, 54.3% of the total Tatars

in the Volga-Ural Region), then by the middle of the 19th century, the figure was 734.5 thousand (52% of the total Tatar population of the region), and by the end of the 19th century, it was 1.24 million people (50.4%).

In the governorates occupying the westernmost regions (the ethnic territories of the Mishar and Kasimov Tatars), a tendency in the reduction of the percentage of Tatars living in this region was observed: if by the end of the 18th century, 132 thousand Tatars resided there (1/5 of the Tatars in the region), then by the middle of the 19th century, their percentage had dropped to 17.3% (245.5 thousand people), and by the end of the 19th century, it dropped to 14.3% (350.6 thousand people).

The vast majority of Tatar nations forming in the 18th century and in the 19th century, was largely concentrated in the Volga-Ural Region. At the same time due to ethnic processes taking place between the Tatars and Bashkirs, a gradual increase in the share of the Ural group of Tatars was noted, while the decline in the share of the Tatars, who lived in the western provinces of the region, continued. Beyond the borders of the Volga-Ural Region by the end of the 19th century, lived no more than 5% of the Volga-Ural Tatars. The two key migration directions were westward, to industrial areas in the European Russia and the Northern Caucasus, and eastwards, as well as south-eastward (to Kazakhstan, Central Asia, and Siberia). The largest percentage of post-reform migrants (94.3 thousand, or 77.3%) chose the latter direction. The movement can be viewed as a continuation of the Tatar migration to the Cis-Ural Region. The westward migration mostly targeted cities in industrial areas. As for the flow east- and south-eastward, the majority of the Tatars moved through northern and north-eastern Kazakhstan and further to Siberia. Most of the Tatar migrants to Central Asia and Kazakhstan settled in Kazakhstan in the post-reform period. Apart from migration to the Ural Region, the flow was not connected with agricultural colonisation as the majority of the migrants took up residence in cities. Only the Tatar migration to western and Eastern Siberia was connected with agricultural colonisation.

§ 2. Tatar Social Structure in the Volga-Ural Region at the End of the 19th Century

Damir Iskhakov

German scholar K. Noack mentioned the socio-historical background of the development of the Tatar nation to be under-studied over ten years ago [Noack, 1998, pp. 147–158], for which he referred to an analysis of 1897 census data. Since then, his work is the only relevant study dedicated to this topic. Yet, in spite of obvious advantages, it has a number of limitations: firstly, the author failed to account for the results of the ethnic processes that took place between the Tatars and the Bashkirs in the Cis-Ural Region in the 19th century, confining himself to an insipid mention of 'Tatar' and 'Bashkir' scholarly opinions on the issue [Noack, 1998, p. 157]. Secondly, he referred to the vague meaning of the word 'Tatars', which he attributed to the fact that ethnic differentiation had not been completed in the Turkic population by the end of the 19th century in several areas of Russia, he excluded data from Western Siberia from consideration.

However, such an approach can cause rather significant corruption of the findings, primarily those for the Cis-Ural Region. And this is not only our conclusion. The well-known scholar R. Kuzeev from Bashkortostan also mentioned the 1897 Cis-Ural census to have recorded about 300–350 thousand Teptyars and Mishars as Bashkirs, that is significantly more than those recorded as Tatars [Kuzeev, 1978, p. 241]. Furthermore, it is utterly illogical to include data for the Turkic-Tatar population from the Lower Volga Region, where ethnic processes took place among the Yurt, Nogai, and Volga Tatars, while excluding Tatars in Western Siberia, whose ethnic contacts were no less intensive than those in the Volga-Ural Region.

Taking this into account, we could have attempted to adjust K. Noack's data for four Cis-Ural governorates, namely those of Vyatka, Perm, Samara, and Ufa. However, the results do not yield any radical revision of K. Noack's findings but merely confirm them. Besides, in a number of cases re-calculation can cause the

corruption of the data for certain social and occupational categories because the number of their representatives is too small for some groups. As a result, we left the scholar's calculations unchanged, which eventually means that we were using data for the Cis-Ural region that are not completely accurate. We added our own calculations to those of K. Noack, which we obtained as a result of reprocessing the 1897 census data for the Tobolsk and Tomsk guberniyas, i.e. according to the ethnic territory of the Siberian Tatars. On the whole, our analysis largely relies on K. Noack's publications, but with some additions.

To start with, we should analyse the distribution of Tatars among the key class groups of the Russian Empire in the 19th century (see Table 3). As the data suggests, by the late 19th century, the vast majority of the Tatar population belonged to the peasant class ('Cossacks' and 'indigenous dwellers' included). Except for the Steppe Area (Kazakhstan), 9/10 of the Tatars led a peasant life or were recorded to belong to this largest class of Russia. At the end of the 19th century, this indicator was approaching the rural percentage of the Tatar population. The percentage of merchants and burghers differed significantly depending on the Tatar residence area—from 1–2% in Central Russia, the Middle Volga Region, and Urals to 5–8% in the Central Black Earth Region, Lower Volga Region as well as the Southern Ural. The major reason behind the higher value in the Lower Volga Region was the inclusion in Astrakhan of a number of Astrakhan Tatar localities situated close to the city. Probably the slight increase in merchant and burgher percentage in the Southern Ural, as compared to the Middle Volga Region, is representative of part of the local rural Tatars being registered as 'Bashkirs' and not the actual situation. The value for the group in question was the highest in the Steppe Area (Kazakhstan) at 35.23%, which is attributable to the non-farming nature of the Tatar

south-eastern migration from the Volga-Ural Region. The low merchant and burgher percentage in the Tatar population of Western Siberia (0.87%) is attributable to the delayed

urbanisation of Siberian Tatars, who at the end of the 19th century, made up over 88% of the region's Tatar population.

Table 3

The Distribution of Tatars among Class Groups in 1897*

	The Nobility	Honorary citizens	Merchants	Bourgeois	Peasants and cossacks	Others
<i>Central Russia</i>						
Tatars	0.22	0.08	0.18	0.90	98.39	0.23
Population at large	1.37	0.52	0.41	7.48	88.62	1.60
<i>Central-Chernozemsky Oblast</i>						
Tatars	1.10	0.45	0.76	4.66	92.87	0.16
Population at large	0.82	0.35	0.22	4.81	92.95	0.85
<i>Middle Volga / North Urals</i>						
Tatars	0.15	0.03	0.08	1.57	98.04	0.13
Population at large	0.57	0.16	0.13	3.22	95.24	0.68
<i>Lower Volga / Southern Ural</i>						
Tatars	1.19	0.08	0.18	8.07	89.30	1.23
Population at large	0.64	0.22	0.15	7.22	87.16	4.64
<i>Steppe</i>						
Tatars	0.56	0.08	2.15	33.08	58.49	5.46
Population at large	0.49	0.05	0.10	3.57	18.40	77.39**
<i>Western Siberia</i>						
Tatars	0.11	0.03	0.05	0.82	98.89***	0.09
Population at large	0.51	0.13	0.11	5.52	87.23	6.5

* The data for Western Siberia (the Tobolsk and Tomsk guberniyas) has been added to those provided by K. Noack.

** Part of the Tatars were recorded as 'indigenous dwellers'.

*** The 1897 reported the following figures for Western Siberia: 133,024 indigenous Tatars, that is, Siberian Tatars proper; 17,385 Volga-Ural peasant Tatars, and 20 Cossacks. We united them into one single group of peasants.

In general, the data primarily suggests that even at the end of the 19th century, the Tatars remained a predominantly peasant nation. In fact, this also applies to other peoples in the Russian Empire, including the Russians themselves. Nonetheless, the social and occupational structure of the Tatar population (see Table 4) showed a clear trend towards development and becoming more complex because a large group of urban dwellers formed against the backdrop of capitalist development in Russia. Besides, the structure differed depending on the region of Russia.

Let us dwell on the differentiation of Tatars among social and occupational groups, taking into account the territorially determined distribution among the branches of the economy.

It should be noted that the Tatars were poorly represented in a number of privileged fields, such as administration, science, medicine, arts, and public education, where as few as 0.5% employees were Tatars. Rentiers and military personnel made up 1–2%. The percentage of Islamic clergy and religious school teachers (often these were one and the same people). The group 'servants and day-labourers' accounted for about 3–5% or more in certain cases. Commerce and financial activities (banking, crediting) were widespread among Tatars (see Table 4). The number of Tatars engaged in processing field (industry, handicrafts, and domestic production) was large but differed materially depending on the territory: according to the general pattern, the

Table 4

Distribution of Tatar Labour Population by Sector (%)

Governorate/region	Agriculture	Process industry	Trade	Services sector	Servants and day-labourers	Others
Saint.-Petersburg	1.32	7.86	26.52	16.10	21.77	26.43
Moscow	1.11	10.86	37.34	5.99	30.44	14.26
Nizhny Novgorod	86.00	2.26	3.66	0.62	3.04	4.42
Ryazan	480.72	7.00	9.32	3.56	7.69	25.71
Tambov	860.61	1.93	3.10	1.28	2.56	8.52
Penza	86.90	1.65	2.15	1.17	1.56	6.57
Simbirsk	80.66	8.31	1.98	0.75	3.61	4.69
Kazan	82.44	4.68	2.36	1.10	3.65	5.77
Vyatka	77.78	8.96	3.92	0.45	3.12	5.77
Perm	66.39	6.48	7.36	2.87	5.00	11.90
Ufa	83.46	3.07	2.28	0.46	4.10	6.63
Orenburg	54.10	5.38	10.08	2.87	10.81	16.76
Samara	83.98	4.28	1.93	0.60	3.67	5.54
Saratov	82.99	3.07	2.65	1.33	4.51	5.45
Astrakhan	38.36	9.53	12.34	13.18	21.22	5.37
Ural/ Turgay	35.76	11.49	20.86	5.09	20.97	5.83
Akmola	12.62	19.41	28.97	2.63	15.34	21.03
Semipalatinsk	22.66	16.86	27.95	5.47	11.05	16.01
Semirechye	26.43	16.32	26.72	4.97	8.49	17.07
Tobolsk	72.78	4.87	2.89	1.66	10.33	6.47
Tomsk	82.59	6.06	1.49	0.80	5.82	3.24

percentage increased eastwards, though it was not without exceptions. For instance, over one tenth of the Tatar population of the Moscow Governorate, that is, mainly the inhabitants of Moscow, were engaged in the sphere. In the cities Tatars demonstrated a high engagement in services (including inns, hotels, overnight homestays, communications, transport, etc.). If in Moscow Tatars were predominantly engaged in commerce, then in Saint Petersburg the key occupations were service and military personnel (up to 20%). The social and occupational structure of the Tatar population of the Steppe Area (Kazakhstan) was rather peculiar: those engaged in agriculture formed a minority (1/10 to under 1/3). Tatar urban dwellers were largely employees in commerce (26–28%) and processing (16–19%), day-labourers and servants (8–15%). It should be noted that such an employment structure for Tatars in this zone differed significantly from similar structures

of the Tatar population in the European Russia. While there it was also sometimes very peculiar. In particular, only 46% of the small group of Kasimov Tatars were engaged in agriculture, while the ratio for other spheres differed from that in the rest of governorates: 9.32% in commerce, 3.56% in services, 8% in the military, and 7% employed in the processing field and as day-labourers/servants. Special studies note their high engagement in non-farming activities [Ahmetzyanov, Sharifullina, 2010, pp. 241–259].

However, agriculture (farming, animal husbandry, beekeeping, forestry, hunting, fishing, woodworking) was the dominant sphere among Tatars. Engagement in services remained relatively low but territorially determined. In particular, a higher number of employees in the sphere was reported for Saint Petersburg, Astrakhan, cities of the Steppe Area, etc.). The third most important group



Tatar family.
Photo, late 19th–early 20th centuries

in the Tatar social and occupational structure was that of day-labourers/servants, who were rather a deprived class.

The Tatar social and occupational structure was quite homogeneous in the areas of the fundamental ethnic territory. Besides, Tatar com-

munities in Western Siberia were highly similar to those in the Volga-Ural Region. However, the former had lower percentages engaged in commerce and services. However, Mishar Tatars in a number of western governorates showed similar figures for the latter fields. K. Noack noted that the Tatar merchant percentage to have exceeded that of Russian merchants only in the Central Black Earth Region and Steppe Area, while in the Lower Volga Region the two ethnic groups showed similar values for the parameter. The Russian merchant percentage was higher than that of Tatar merchants in the rest of governorates. A similar situation with burghers was noted.

Noteworthy, remnants of the old aristocracy, the descendants of noble princes and murzas, survived in Tatar communities. This made the Tatars very different from other indigenous peoples in the Volga-Ural Region. The other part of the former elite, which was much larger, lost its property and titles and merged with the peasants, merchants, and entrepreneurs.

In conclusions, we note that by the end of the 19th century, the Tatars enjoyed social prerequisites that ensured a successful adjustment to the new economic and political conditions in the Russian Empire from the second half of the 19–the beginning of the 20th century.

§ 3. Urban population

3.1. Specific Development Patterns of Urban Tatar Communities

Ildus Zagidullin

The emergence in the second latter half of the district— district century, in the Volga-Ural region and Western Siberia of Russian urban settlements was largely due to military and political factors, as well as the administrative functions of these settlements. They were founded as fortresses, military facilities, to which locals had limited access. Founded in the district II century, Russian settlements in south-eastern Russian were also initially meant to host irregular and regular troops.

An important role in the sharp increase in the number of Russian cities was played by

the administrative reform of Catherine of Russia which divided the county into 50 governorates (in which each had 200 to 300 thousand male dwellers), and consisted of 10–12 uyezds, each having 20 to 30 thousand male dwellers.¹ [Shkvarikov, 1939, p. 64]. It should be noted

¹ In the period of provincial reforms from 1775–1785, the status of "city" was bestowed upon such fortresses, villages, slobodas and ostrogs of the Volga-Urals and Siberia as Belebey, Biysk, Bugulma, Buguruslan, Buzuluk, Semipalatinsk, Troitsk, Yalutovsk, Buinsk, Verkhneuralsk, Volsk, Glazov, Yelabuga, Irbit, Ishim, Spassk, Malmyzh, Mamadysh, Nizhneudinsk,

that the number of newly formed cities of the period from the 19th to the early 20th century was significantly inferior than the 18th century.

According to the famous geographer V. Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, the main feature of the majority of governorates and regional centres to up to the middle of the 19th century, were the appearance of local authorities in settlements. They also had weekly markets, regular local fairs, and occasional elements of plant and factory industry [Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, 1910, pp. 39, 43, 45]. As industrialisation gained momentum in Russia, industrial and commercial cities began to develop. They were characterised by a mixed economy up to the fall of the autocracy.

In the post-reform period city classification was characterised by instability. In the late 19th century, statistics showed a trend towards narrowing the circle of urban localities: the published records of the First General Census of 1897 excluded towns and posads, while all the non-urban administrative (uyezd) centres were recorded as cities [Tikhonov, 1978, p. 50]. This yielded 932 cities with 16.8 million inhabitants, which made up 13.4% of the total Russian population. Large industrial localities, as well as settlements and towns having elements of plant and factory production and well-developed trade were not recognised as cities, while a large number of localities 'with a significantly small number of dwellers engaged in agriculture' were included in the category [Ivanov, 1971, pp. 312–340]. In spite of the industrialisation tendencies, the majority of Russian uyezd centres continued to serve as home stations for police and administrative authorities and had more in common with a village than with a city.

According to V. Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, 'only two reliable signs' of urban population existed in the country: the percentage of the population not engaged in agriculture and trade turnover per capita of urban population. The number of 'economic cities' at the turn of the century was 1,237, that is, 1.6 times as many as formal cities (761). At the same time, 227 cit-

ies, or 30% of them, did not meet 'the economic criteria for a city' [Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, 1910, pp. 56, 76]. Some Russian scholars tend to include in the city category, localities that were commercial and industrial centres of the nearest territory and were formally recognized as cities. [Vodarsky, 1979, p. 141]. Since more accurate statistics on the ethno-confessional composition of Russian urban populations, their occupational structures and literacy is not available, we will be following the domestic historiographic tradition of referring to the First General Census of 1897.

If it was wealthy peasants who wanted to raise their social status and extend their activities who moved to cities before the reforms, then in the post-reform period it was largely poor villagers who had lost any hope of improving their economic standing. We agree with L. Goncharenko that 'such a large number of city dwellers having a tight connection to the country through their class and economic status, routine and labour traditions dating back to the patriarchal peasant community, is essential to the social structure of the post-reform city' [Goncharenko, 1994, p. 154]. Urbanisation brought about increased migration, social stratification, new population groups 'undergoing adaptation to the new local conditions,' intensification and the breakdown of old, traditional activities, the weakening of the 'traditional territorial neighbourly connections and social contact forms' [Gorod, 1982, p. 92].

In 1897, Russian cities were predominantly Russian-speaking, the percentage being 60.9% (compared to 67.7% in the country). In terms of religion, the majority were Orthodox Christian—60.5% in cities and 70.7% in uyezds. The Muslim (6.5% in cities as compared to 11.8% in the country) and Old Believers (1.3% as compared to 1.8% in settlements) percentages were small. The urban Jewish percentage was 17.4% (as compared to 2.4% in settlements); Catholics made up 9.4% (as compared to 9.1%); Lutherans, 4.5% (2.6%); Gregorian Armenians, 1.6% (0.8%) [Rossiya, 2002, p. 122].

The development of Tatar urban communities was influenced by a number of factors. The emergence of Tatar expatriate communities in fortress cities in the country's south-east was, to

Omsk, Osa, Perm, Sarapul, Sergach, Sengiley, Sterlitamak, Tetyushi, Khvalynsk, Chistopol and others.



Tatar Menial Workers. Ufa.
Photo from the early 20th century.

some extent, determined by the 'governmental protection', which consisted of in engaging Tatars as mediators for establishing commercial and economic contacts with the Central Asian Khanates and Kazakh zhuzes. Thanks to the establishment of fortress trading centres, Tatar communities in the last third of the 18th century, appeared in Petropavlovsk, Troitsk, and Semipalatinsk. In Western Siberia, the Bukhara and Tatar people, mostly entrepreneurs, resided in Tatar slobodas in Tobolsk, Tara, and Tyumen.

The 1795 inspection reports present the following number of people from the census list residing in Tatar communities in 15 cities of the Volga-Ural Region: Kazan—2,760, Chistopol—793, Kasimov (Ryazan guberniya.)—444, Nizhny Novgorod—118, Buinsk (Simbirsk guberniya.)—36, Khvalynsk (Saratov guberniya.)—59, Kuznetsk (Saratov guberniya.)—17, Seitov Posad—6,481, Troitsk—40, Verkhneuralsk—16, Chelyabinsk—14, Orenburg—10, Ufa—30, Belebey—4, Bugulma—26 (Governorate-General of Orenburg) [Iskhakov, 1993, pp. 73–75].

Tatar military service also contributed to the establishment of Muslim communities. Many cities had Muslim cemeteries even be-

fore a Muslim mahallah was established and registered. Long recruit service and permanent basing brought about marital relationships and the birth of children. It was not uncommon for retired soldiers integrated in the Russian cultural environment to take residence at their home stations (Saint Petersburg, etc.).

While doing this, the Tatars wanted to secure the traditional way of living and religious practice, and the only way of doing so was through a mahallah. Where a new Islamic parish with a mosque was registered, it was an unmistakable sign of a fledging ethno-confessional community. In the first half of the 19th century, the Orenburg guberniya still witnessed intense development of urban Muslim communities. In particular, Muslims built mosques in Sterlitamak (1800), Ufa (1830) [Azamatov, 2000, pp. 59, 70], Sol-Iletsk (1833) [Kraj, 2007, p. 63], Troitsk (1828, 1838) [Denisov, 2009, pp. 123–127], Uralsk (2 mosques by 1861) [Karimov, 2009, p. 158], Samara [Gibadullina, 2008, p. 170], and Khvalynsk (Saratov guberniya). The communities of Seitov Posad (the 4th mosque built in 1802, the 5th and 6th ones in 1816) [Kraj, 2007, p. 60], Semipalatinsk (7 mosques by 1864) [Zagidullin, 2007a, [pp. 36–37], and Petropavlovsk (4 mosques by the late 1850s) developed intensely [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1265, inv. 4, year 1855, file 40, s. 1–4]. In Western Siberia, mahallahs were registered in Tomsk and Omsk. Importantly, ethno-confessional processes in the cities involved not only Tatars but Bukhara and Central Asian entrepreneurs.

In the Middle Volga Region, pre-reform Tatar mahallahs were established in Simbirsk and such uyezd centres as Volsk, Yelabuga, Chistopol, and Tetyushi.

In the latter half of 19th century, the registration of city mahallahs, primarily in areas of compact Tatar settlements occurred².

² Makhalli emerged in provincial cities (Perm, Penza, Saratov, Irkutsk) and district administrative centres, including Mamadysh (Kazan guberniya), Bugulma, Buguruslan, Buzuluk, Novouzensk (Samara guberniya), Sarapul (Vyatka Guberniya), Kuznetsk, Tsaritsyn (Saratov guberniya), Tsarev, Krasny Yar (Astrakhan guberniya), Chelyabinsk (Orenburg guberniya) and Ekaterinburg (Perm guberniya).

Characteristically, as Muslim city communities in the Orenburg and Astrakhan guberniyas as well as the Western Siberian Governorate-General developed, the percentage of Kazakhs in their population increased. However, Tatars continued to dominate the communities' economy and culture.

The establishment of a railroad network and the development of new industrial areas in the late 19–early 20th century determined the key areas of non-farming seasonal work, migration flows, and the development of urban communities. In the western governorates, it was Muslim military service that favoured the establishment of city communities, which role was played by the governmental migrant policy and railroad construction in Siberia and Kazakhstan.

At the beginning of the 20th century, city parishes were registered in the western governorates (Warsaw, Kiev, Łódź, Minsk, Kharkov, etc.) and Odessa, in central and north-western governorate centres (Tver, Vyatka, Arkhangelsk, etc.), and industrial cities (Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Yaroslavl, etc.) [Zagidullin, 2006b, p. 71–100]. In the Volga-Ural Region, Muslim parishes appeared in a number of large cities (Vyatka, Nizhny Novgorod) and uyezd centres.³ In the Perm guberniya, Tatars tended to take residence in workers' settlements.

The fact that a number of cities in the Volga-Ural Region had two mahallahs in the early 20th century⁴ indicates intensified urbanisation. In spite of the further increase in the number of Muslims, the construction of new mosques was suspended in large Tatar communities in 1905. A Europeanisation trend was clear in the national culture. In that period, the Tatars began to pay more attention to social issues, establishing cultural, educational, and charity institutions, publishing newspapers and magazines.

The establishment of new Muslim communities in Siberian cities was representative of

the economic development of new territories in the east of Russia⁵.

Thus, the modernisation and industrialisation of the empire determined the extension of the Tatar habitat and the establishment of new urban Tatar communities. A multi-cultural environment caused the Tatars to gradually integrate with the Russian socio-cultural space, bringing about intensified Europeanisation. Jadidist ideas were primarily promoted in urban communities.

Rural migrants had to face an alien urban culture, that created social and psychological discomfort. The only way of preserving the familiar cultural habitat under the circumstances was to form compact 'Tatar colonies'. Since such a possibility existed within the pale of settlement, it was there that 'Tatar streets' emerged. Muslims aimed to organise communications among one another along rural territorial, 'neighbourly' lines. By forming compact settlements and preserving the kind of habitat they were used to, Tatars aimed to create a 'safe environment' for their authentic cultural traditions.

The transformation of 'Tatar streets' into a 'Tatar neighbourhood', a Muslim enclave, was primarily delayed because there were too few Muslim migrants and because they could not afford real estate. Such a territory would contain Tatar mosques, educational establishments, shops, and industrial plants. They led an autonomous life and succeeded at addressing the burning issues of maintaining religious traditions, succession in training and education, and adherence to their religious custom.

In large cities, class differences during resettlement were determined by one's financial standing. The poor lived in the suburbs, while the wealthiest representatives of all strata resided in the city centre. Many cities had Tatar slobodas (neighbourhoods) in unprivileged

³ Spassk (Kazan guberniya), Malmyzh, Stavropol, Menzelinsk, Zlatoust, Osa, Irbit, Krasnoufmsk, Alapayevsk, Verkhoturys and others.

⁴ Two makhallies functioned in such district cities as Chistopol, Buinsk, Nikolaev, Buguruslan, Buzuluk, Volsk, Tsaritsyn, Belebey, as well as in the provincial centre of Samara.

⁵ Tatars also made their homes in Novo-Nikolaevsk (Novosibirsk), Mariinsk, Barnaul, Kurgan (Tobolsk guberniya), and near the railway stations of the Siberian Railway in Chita, Verkhneudinsk (Trans-Baikal Oblast), Krasnoyarsk, Yeniseisk, Kansk (Yeniseisk Guberniya), Olekminsk, Yakutsk (Yakutsk region), Blagoveshchensk, Khabarovsk, Nikolaevsk and Zeya-Pristan (Amur Oblast).



Tatar Street and the First Cathedral Mosque in Chistopol. Photo from the early 20th century.

districts. The location of a mosque was usually confined to the sloboda or a compact Muslim neighbourhood.

'Resettlement based on ethnic affiliation brought about no zoning in terms of building quality... The ethno-confessional plan zoning was inferior to the social zoning system' [Zorin, 2001, pp. 320]. The fact that social zoning was poor in Muslim localities is largely attributable to the Muslim population being relatively small or containing no privileged urban groups like wealthy factory owners or merchants.

If a wealthy Tatar joined a small community, he usually became its leader and trustee. For instance, only two Tatars in Yekaterinburg in the 1880s owned real estate, the brothers Kamaletdin and Zaynetdin Agafurov [Gorod Ekaterinburg, 1889, pp. 60–61, 79]. It was in their house that a Muslim prayer room was opened (1884) [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 675, s. 118–119 reverse]. 'Their real estate was refuge to the imam's and muezzin's families' [Vesnovsky, 1903, p. 227].

In the early 20th century, cultural processes intensified in Muslim communities that completed their integration in the all-Tatar 'high culture'. A major role was played by reinforced cultural connections to co-religionists from other regions of compact Tatar settlement,

primarily Kazan, to which they viewed themselves as peripheral.

What made the expansion of the city network in the south-east of Russia peculiar is its lying remote from industrial centres, communication with which was poor until the railroad branch was built, along with low population density, of which Russians made only a small percentage and which was largely dominated by Turkic nomadic Kazakhs, who professed the so-called 'Steppe Islam.' Of special importance were the reinforced commercial and economic connections to Central Asia, which was the Tatar ideal of Islamic learnedness and righteousness. This is why marginal urbanisation did not cause any major transformation among Muslims like they did in the cities of the central Russian governorates. Tatar urbanisation was characterised by a large number of new urban communities emerging out of historically Tatar regions, on the Russian periphery, in the latter half of the 18th century. Migrants from the Middle Volga and Cis-Ural Regions became major contributors to trade activities under the new geopolitical and economic circumstances.

To sum up, the development of Tatar urban communities was more intense in Kazakhstan, the Cis-Ural Region, and the Volga Region in the pre-reform period. The post-reform period saw the formation of new communities, mainly

in regions of compact Tatar settlement. In the early 20th century, migration flows targeted Russian industrial areas and Siberia. At the same time, existing urban communities expanded.

A new phenomenon in the social and cultural life of a number of ethnic and religious communities at the end of the 19th century, were dedicated public institutions were founded to address social issues of poor co-religionist groups. Muslim charity associations were active in Saint Petersburg-the first: (1867–not later than 1882) and the second (1898–1917), Semipalatinsk (1898), Ufa (1898), Astrakhan (1896), Kazan (1897), Troitsk (1901), and Kasimov (1897). In the early 20th century, especially after 1905, a large number of cultural and educational organisations appeared to meet Muslims' socio-cultural needs and address their issues.

The establishment of new social organisations indicated that a new approach to social issues, namely based on private initiative, had been adopted.

The spread of the Western European charity model, necessitated radical changes to the scheme of using zakat, which wealthy Tatars allocated for their poor co-religionists. Namely, it was transferred to charity associations to provide targeted aid to those who needed it most of all and meet social needs, such as maintenance of schools, elderly homes, orphanages, and other social institutions. Many public organizations failed to cope with the challenges. The most pressing issues that charity associations had to face were poor funding, low social activity of the board and the community in general, failure to efficiently use the funds raised, a bad lack of active and reliable board members, Jadid-Kadim controversies, etc. [Ibrahimov, 1900, pp. 5–29; No. 17, 1903, pp. 13–16; 1908, pp. 7–11, 11–12].

The multi-cultural environment of Russian cities facilitated the transformation and secularisation of traditional religious communities, which had been previously represented by rural parishes only. The urban conditions enabled Muslims to compare their situations and study the cultural survival experience of other ethno-confessional communities under similar conditions.

The concentration of the Tatar bourgeoisie, which identified itself as the national elite responsible for the nation's future, in cities, and the need for social changes in Tatar communities favoured secularisation and Europeanisation. These processes, which began precisely in urban communities, depended on many factors, the main ones were: whether the community had wealthy Muslims prepared to make donations to meet their co-religionists' needs, modernist merchants and religious leaders, etc. The clergy and other Islamic institutions clearly failed to meet all the needs of their communities. The lack of ethnic urban class institutions, which was determined by the small size of Tatar populations, raised the question of establishing organisations to address social issues. City charity, cultural and educational organisations were established as institutions of a developing civil society. A unique model of social institutions was formed. In fact, such institutions tended to deal with both religious, and social, and cultural issues of the local communities, thus consolidating around it the most active parish members. It was in urban Muslim communities in the western and central governorates and steppe areas that Tatars first contacted representatives of Turkic peoples and other ethnic groups of the population and established friendly relations with Shia communities.

Being concentrated in urban communities in the early 20th century, the intellectual force at the first opportunity began to publish newspapers and magazines, through which they influenced social processes in the Muslim community of the Volga-Ural Region.

Merchant and city community leaders invited the most learned and authoritative spiritual clergymen to their parishes at their cost. In turn, such clergymen founded educational establishments attracting not only local children but those from across the entire region. It was common for Kazan merchants to rely on rural parish mullahs to reinforce the urban clergy [Ibrahimov, 1900, pp. 5–29]. On the one hand, such 'intellectual inflow' (ensured through financial encouragement of imams) secured traditional cultural values and protected them against the assimilating influence of the foreign cultural environment. On the other hand, it escalated

the conflict between the modernist bourgeoisie and the younger generation of Tatar intellectuals, Jadids and rural Kadim mullahs, 'written off' by wealthy Tatars from the rural hinterland.

The high social activity of the Tatar bourgeoisie, who funded reforms, printing estab-

lishments supplying the entire Russian Ummah with sought-after printed matter, and Tatar intellectuals' contacts with Russian scholars and social activists turned the Kazan Tatar community into an informal cultural centre of the Volga-Ural and Siberian Muslims.

3.2. Social and Class Composition and Social Division Labour in City Tatar Communities in the Volga and Ural Region in the Late 19th Century

Nayla Khamitbaeva

Governorate Centres. In the the, 19th century, the urban population mostly grew due to migrants. Cities connected with water arteries and those in which the main railroad lines passed developed especially rapidly, which caused not only quantitative but qualitative changes, in particular in terms of ethnic composition. The majority of Russian cities had become multi-ethnic by the end of the century.

By the mid-19th century, medium-sized cities had a population of 5 to 25 thousand people, while small cities had under 5 thousand inhab-

itants [Mironov, 1990, p. 22]. In the early 20th century, localities having a population of 5 to 20 thousand people were termed small cities; those having 20 to 100 thousand inhabitants, medium-sized cities; and those—with over 100 thousand inhabitants, large cities [Rossiya, 2002, p. 115].

The 1897 census records on the existing population are representative of the general social division of labour, employment, dispersal, and class composition of the urban Tatar population.

Table 5

Tatar Percentage in Governorate Centres in the Volga and Ural Regions in 1897

[Pervaya vseobshhaya, Vol. 2, 10, 14, 28, 30, 31, 35, 36, 38, 39, 45 (Table 13)]

Cities	The entire population including both sexes	The Tatar population including both sexes	The share of the Tatar population, %
Astrakhan	112880	15355	13.6
Vyatka	25008	141	0.6
Kazan	129959	28520	21.9
Orenburg	72425	11306	15.6
Penza	59981	387	0.6
Perm	45205	1263	2.8
Samara	89999	2301	2.6
Saratov	137147	1711	1.2
Simbirsk	41684	2191	5.3
Ufa	49275	2524	5.1
Total:	763563	65,699	8.6

The total population of the region's governorate centres was 763,563 people, of whom 65,699 were Tatars. The percentage of the Tatar population was 8.6%. That is, Tatars had become an 'important constituent' of the popu-

lations of a number of cities in the Volga Ural Region by the late 19th century. Large Tatar communities (over 10,000 people) existed in Kazan, Astrakhan, and Orenburg. Vyatka and Penza had the smallest Tatar percentage

of 0.6% each. The remaining governorate centres had a Tatar percentage from 1.2% to 5.3%. Confessionally, an absolute majority of the Tatar population in the above cities were Muslims.

The Governorate centres had a predominantly male population (51.3%). The percentage of male Tatars was 57.6%, and that of female Tatars 43.4%.

Tatars made up 9.6% of the male city population and 7.5% of the female city population. The prevalence of men can be viewed as indicating the key directions of non-farming seasonal activities and migration flows.

At the end of the century, urban class status was rather 'vague', primarily in terms of property. Nonetheless, an analysis of traditional class parameters yields curious findings.

Dividing the population into urban classes yields a relatively accurate estimate of its 'indigenous' percentage. As is evident from Table 6, the percentage of Tatars was low in privileged urban classes in governorate centres. That of noblemen by birth was only 0.7%. They were the most numerous in Orenburg (138 people) and Ufa (206 people), other cities having 1 (Vyatka) to 89 Kazan. None were recorded for Perm and Samara. Kazan (68 people) and Orenburg (37 people) had the most personal noblemen, while the rest had 1 (Samara, Saratov) to 25 (Ufa). The census reported no Tatar personal noblemen in Vyatka and Penza.

The Muslim clergy was a small but very influential urban population group⁶. According to statistics, the largest amount of clergymen lived in Ufa (16 people), the number ranging from 1 (Perm) to 9 (Kazan) in other cities⁷.

The number of Tatar honorary citizens was also insignificant: 154 people in Kazan and from 2 (Penza) to 37 (Astrakhan) in other cities. No representatives of the given class group were reported for Vyatka, Perm, and Simbirsk.

Merchants made up 0.9% of the total urban Tatar population. They were the most numerous in Kazan (346 people) and Orenburg (130 people), the number ranging from 4 (Simbirsk) to 28 (Astrakhan) in other cities. The census reported no Tatar merchants in Vyatka and Penza.

The majority of Tatars (23%) were burghers. Those were low-ranking public officials, small entrepreneurs, craftsmen, employees, etc. The countryside was the main source of additional burghers.

Peasants (73%) made up a significant group of the region's urban Tatar population. The cities mainly attracted peasants who engaged in seasonal work as labour force markets. Some of them settled in large villages as well as at plants and factories outside of the cities [Goncharenko, 1994, pp. 150–151]. At this time a group of rural population that resided in cities for a long time and ran businesses while preserving the peasant status formed.

The data in Table 7 indicates the non-productive population accounted for only 12.9% of the total number of Tatars. The percentage was 4.9% in Astrakhan, 17.0% in Vyatka, 15.6% in Kazan, 8.6% in Orenburg, 30.0% in Penza, 14.6% in Perm, 14.0% in Samara, 15.5% in Saratov, 45.0% in Simbirsk, and 14.2% in Ufa. Thus, the non-productive percentage was the highest in Penza and Simbirsk. This group included officials, military personnel, clergymen, and people engaged in medical, cultural, and educational activities. 'Rentiers and pensioners', who received income from their real estate or other property, were the largest representatives in the group. Tatar rentiers were most numerous in Vyatka (8.5%), Simbirsk (8.4%), Kazan (7.7%), Samara (6.5%), Perm and Ufa (5.7% each). The percentage ranged from 1.9% (Astrakhan) to 5% (Penza).

Community representation in governmental institutions, such as administration, judiciary bodies, and the police is an important social indicator. Noblemen, as a rule, tended to occupy all important administrative positions and enjoyed promotion opportunities, which were, however, were practically closed to Tatars. For instance, the number of Tatar administrative, judiciary, and police officials

⁶ The Muslim clergy, unlike its Orthodox counterpart, was not a separate class in the district of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly.

⁷ Furthermore, Tatar clergy were not recorded in Vyatka, Orenburg, Penza, Samara and Saratov, which does not correspond to the facts.

Table 6

Distribution of Tatars in ten large cities of the Volga Region and the Urals Region in 1897, divided by social classes [Pervaya vseobshchaya, Vol. 2, 10, 14, 28, 30, 31, 35, 36, 38, 39, 45 (Table 24)]

Social classes	The Tatar population including both sexes	% of the total
Hereditary nobility	473	0.7
Lifetime nobility, bureaucrats from non-noble class	151	0.2
Clergy, persons of liberal professions	37	0.05
Hereditary and lifetime honorary citizens	250	0.4
Merchants	548	0.9
Bourgeois	15,083	23.0
Peasants	47,977	73.0
Army cossacks	158	0.2
Foreign-born	206	0.3
Finland natives	—	—
Persons not belonging to these classes	484	0.7
Persons who did not indicate their class	32	0.05
Foreign subjects	300	0.5
Total:	65,699	100

Table 7

Employment of the Tatar population in ten large cities of the Volga Region and the Urals Region in 1897 [Pervaya vseobshchaya, Vol. 2, 10, 14, 28, 30, 31, 35, 36, 38, 39, 45 (Table 22)]

Population groups	The Tatar population including both sexes	% of the total
a) Officials and army	1,848	2.8
b) Clergy and professionals	1,512	2.3
c) Rentiers and pensioners	3,531	5.4
d) Prison and unclassified population	1,554	2.4
Total unproductive population	8,445	12.9
e) Trade	18,627	28.3
f) Communications	786,5	11.9
g) Private employees, servants, day-labourers	13,475	20.5
Total semi-productive population	39,967	60.8
h) Agriculture	355,3	5.4
i) Industry	13,734	20.9
Total productive population	17,287	26.3
Total:	65,699	100

in Kazan in 1897 was 172, including one woman, the total Kazan official staff consisted of 1,683 people. That is, the Tatar percentage in administrative bodies was 10.2% [Sverdlova, 2008, p. 77]. This group of Tatars was the largest in Penza (17.3%), while in the rest of cities the percentage ranged from 0.7% (Astrakhan) to 9.1% (Saratov). In general, it was

a small group accounting for 2.8% of the total Tatar population of large cities in the Volga-Ural Region.

Tatar clergymen and representatives of the ethnic intelligentsia were the smallest group of the non-productive urban population (2.3%). Their percentage was 24.5% in Simbirsk, ranging from 1.1% (Astrakhan, Oren-

burg, and Samara) to 2.0% (Kazan) and 2.3% in other cities.

The semi-productive population made up the largest group with 60.8%. Significant groups resided in Astrakhan (75.9%), Samara (72.1%), Saratov (71.9%), and Ufa (71.0%). They were not insignificant in other cities, their percentage ranging from 44.8% (Simbirsk) to 68.0% (Perm). The semi-productive group included merchants (28.3%). A large number of merchants were recorded in Vyatka (47.5%) and Perm (40.7%). Their percentage was relatively high in Ufa (24.3%), Samara (24.5%), Kazan (25.4%), Simbirsk (27.2%), Astrakhan (30.1%), Saratov (31.8%), Orenburg (33.0%), and Penza (35.1%). Tatar merchants preferred grocery, clothing and footwear, and fabric trade. The vast majority of their trade enterprises were classified as small and medium-sized.

It was almost impossible for workers coming from the country, who had poor, if any, knowledge of Russian, to find a skilled job. Immigrants tended to get jobs that required no special knowledge and training. This is why a large portion of Tatars were presented as 'private employees, servants, day-labourers'. They prevailed in Samara (38.5%), Saratov (36.5%), and Ufa (36.3%), the percentage ranging from 0.9% (Simbirsk) to 25.2% (Perm) in the rest of the governorate centres.

Tatars engaged in communications made up 11.9%. Tatars made the largest percentage of carriage drivers as well as river and railway employees in Astrakhan (24.9%), which percentage generally ranged from 2.1% (Perm) to 16.7% (Simbirsk).

An interesting picture of the Tatars in the employment of the provincial cities of the region is represented in the group of productive population, which was 26.3%. Tatars were mostly engaged in industry (20.9%), and in agriculture only 5.4%. The largest productive population group of 34.8% was represented by Kazan Tatars, of whom 27.4% were engaged in industry. A significant group of them was concentrated in Orenburg (26.3%, including 21.4% in industry), where Tatars ran slaughter and tallow houses, meat processing plants, city wool-scouring plants, hat and

sheepskin plants. The productive population was somewhat smaller in Astrakhan (19.2%, including 16.3% in industry). Astrakhan attracted a large number of workers in fishing, salt production, and load handling in water transport. In other cities, the percentage of Tatars engaged in industry ranged from 7.1% (Vyatka) to 11.7% (Ufa).

It should be noted that in large cities, except for Vyatka, the number⁸ of Tatars engaged in industry exceeded those in agriculture. Being a large social stratum, the peasantry supplied new urban workers as barge haulers and loaders, servants, cheap labourers—mostly unskilled—at industrial plants, carriage-drivers, and day-labourers.

To sum up, Tatars representation in privileged spheres, such as administrative activities, science, medicine, arts, and public education, was poor in large administrative centres. The largest sub-group of the Tatar non-productive population was rentiers. Merchants made up the majority of the semi-productive population. The percentage of Tatars working as private employees, day-labourers, and servants was considerably high. Most of the productive Tatars were engaged in industry.

Muslims in medium-sized and small cities. Muslims were quite numerous in the uyezds centres and non-uezds cities.

An extract from the records of the First General Census of the Russian Empire of 1897 revealed the Tatar communities in medium-sized and small cities in the Volga and Ural Regions of at least 100 people.⁹

As is shown in Table 8, the region's 39 small and medium-sized cities hosted 39,511 Tatars, of whom 54.2% were male and 45.8% female. That is, male population was prevalent here, as it was in large cities. In general, Tatars made up 7.4% of the total population of 39 cities.

Data on cities with a Tatar percentage of over 10% from Table 8 were summarized in Table 9. There were 11 such cities.

⁸ There were 10 Tatars included in the census in 1897 who worked in industry, and 32 Tatars engaged in agriculture.

⁹ The table does not include Irbit where 1,334 Tatars lived. In January, the Irbit Fair was held.



A rich Tatar family. Astrakhan guberniya. Photo from the early 20th century.

According to Table 9, the percentage of Tatars in the 11 small and medium-sized cities was 23.4% of the total urban population. Buinsk, Iletskaya Zashchita, Orsk, Sterlitamak, Troitsk, and Chistopol had the largest¹⁰ Tatar percentage of over 20%.

Most of the Tatars in uyezd centres were burghers (61.1%). The remaining inhabitants formed the following local groups: peasants (33.2%), merchants (2.03%), and Cossacks (1.62%).

The social composition of the Tatar population was diverse. Tatar noblemen, both by birth and personal, and honorary citizens were few in number¹¹.

¹⁰ In the post-reform period, when the development of capitalist relations was now the determining factor in social relations, regional socio-economic factors began to influence the emergence of new cities. Thus, three Ural industrial centres were recognised in 1865 as cities: Orsk, Zlatoust and Sol-Iletsk (Iletsk zashita) [Lappo, 1994, p. 24].

¹¹ Nobles by birth lived in Iletsk zashita (20 persons), Orsk (10), Sterlitamak (61), Troitsk (24) and Belebey (36 persons), while individual nobles lived in Chistopol (10 persons), Orsk (2), Troitsk (2) and Sterlitamak (13 persons). There were no personal or hereditary Tatar nobility in Arsk, Buinsk, Malmyzh, Nikolaevsk or Tetyushi. Honorary citizens lived only in Iletsk zashita (5 pers.), Omsk (3) and Troitsk (3 pers.).

Merchant distribution among urban centres was non-uniform. Their percentage in the population could be as high as 2.03% instead of 0.9%, as in the governorate centres. An especially high concentration of individuals from this group was found in Troitsk, 264 people. Other uyezd centres had 2 (Tetyshi) to 87 (Sterlitamak) residents registered as merchants. The census reports no Tatar merchants in the citites of Arsk, Malmyzh, and Nikolayevsk.

Merchants were the most numerous in Troitsk (4,299 people) and Sterlitamak (3,054 people). 7 (Arsk) to 1,956 (Chistopol) Tatar merchants resided in the rest of uyezd centres. They were engaged in temporary production, agriculture, petty trade, and handicraft production.

The number of military Cossacks in Orsk was 348 people. Insignificant numbers of them resided in Troitsk (82 people), Iletskaya Zashchita (6 people), and Sterlitamak (5 people).

Peasants made up a significant part of Tatar communities. Tatar peasants were prevalent in Chistopol and Troitsk (2,908 and 2,479 people respectively), the number ranging from 37 (Nikolayevsk) to 772 (Iletskaya Zashchita). Thus, the uyezd centres also attracted peasants looking for seasonal jobs, though less than the governorate centres did.

Table 8

Tatar population of small and middle-sized towns of the Volga Region and the Urals Region in 1897 [Pervaya vseobshhaya, Vol. 2, 10, 14, 28, 30, 31, 35, 36, 38, 39, 45 (Table 13)]

Cities	The whole population including both sexes	Tatar population			% of Tatars out of the entire population
		male	female	both sexes	
Arsk	1228	132	29	161	13.1
Belebey	5835	446	342	788	13.5
Birsk	8589	104	70	174	2.0
Bugulma	7581	326	95	421	5.6
Buguruslan	12,109	488	380	868	7.2
Buzuluk	14,362	471	376	847	5.9
Buinsk	4213	844	739	1583	37.6
Verkhneuralsk	11,095	478	470	948	8.5
Volsk	27,058	183	158	341	1.3
Yekaterinburg	43,239	331	255	586	1.4
Yelabuga	9764	341	157	498	5.1
Zlatoust	20,502	217	60	277	1.4
Iletskaia Zashchita	11768	1,471	1276	2747	23.3
Kasimov	13,547	505	621	1126	8.3
Krasnoufimsk	6251	96	41	137	2.3
Krasny Yar	5593	85	42	127	2.3
Kuznetsk	20,473	80	50	130	0.6
Kungur	14,295	135	68	203	1.4
Laishev	3743	77	30	107	2.9
Malmyzh	3165	269	140	409	12.9
Mamadysh	4195	260	127	387	9.2
Menzelinsk	7552	319	169	488	6.5
Nikolayevsk	12,504	879	880	1759	14.1
Novouzensk	13,241	119	94	213	1.6
Orsk	14,016	1483	1552	3035	21.7
Os'	5067	83	68	151	2.9
Sarapul	21,398	278	118	396	1.9
Slobodsk	10,051	131	53	184	1.8
Spassk	2770	116	85	201	7.3
Stavropol	5969	76	31	107	1.8
Sterlitamak	15,550	1931	1848	3779	24.3
Syzran	32,383	166	90	256	0.8
Tetyushi	4754	443	346	789	16.6
Troitsk	23,299	3683	3600	7283	31.3
Khvalynsk	15,127	181	169	350	2.3
Tsarev	6977	307	309	616	8.8
Tsaritsyn	55,186	888	783	1671	3.0
Chelyabinsk	19,998	272	173	445	2.2
Chistopol	20,104	2724	2199	4923	24.5
Total:	534,551	21,418	18,093	39,511	7.4

As shown in Table 11, a small part of the Tatar population was represented in the non-productive group (9.3%). The productive population made up a relatively large percentage (34.8%). The semi-productive population was the prevalent group (55.9%). However, small cities had a larger percentage of productive population when compared to larger cities, where non-productive (12.9%) and semi-productive (60.8%) percentages were higher.

The non-productive population was the largest in Arsk (50.3%) and Malmyzh (32.8%), while in other cities the percentage ranged from 3.1% (Iletskaya Zashchita) to 19.0% (Buinsk).

The largest public official percentages were reported for Malmyzh (4.4%) and Arsk (3.1%), the value ranging from 0.1% (Iletskaya Zashchita) to 2.2% (Buinsk).

Tatar rentiers made up a large percentage of the non-productive population of small cities, at 4.7%. They were most numerous in Buinsk (14%) and Malmyzh (11.2%), ranging from 0.4% (Nikolayevsk) to 6.9% (Belebey) in other cities.

The absence of Tatar noblemen and merchants in a number of uyezd centres (Arsk, Malmyzh, Nikolayevsk) indicates that the Tatar urban community had a low social, class, economic, and educational status determining its passive role in the city's social life.

The Muslim clergy and Tatar intelligentsia made up a total of 1.8%.

Tatars engaged in commercial activities made up the largest percentage in the semi-productive population of small cities (32.3%). They were largely registered as 'private employees, servants, and day-labourers' (19.2%).

The semi-productive population group was prevalent in nearly all cities, except for Nikolayevsk (1.4%) and Arsk (5.6%). Large semi-productive groups were found in Tetyushi (71.2%), Sterlitamak (69.7%), Troitsk (63.2%), Orsk (62.1%), Chistopol (61.1%), Buinsk (59.6%), Belebey (44.6%), and Iletskaya Zashchita (37.2%).

The Tatars engaged in trade made up most of the semi-productive population of nearly all uyezd centres. They were especially numerous in Orsk (44.3%), Buinsk (42.6%), and Sterlitamak (43%), while in other uyezd centres the

percentage ranged from 1.4% (Nikolayevsk) to 37.1% (Troitsk). In the uyezd centres, most of Tatars did delivery, door-to-door, and petty trade, while some were engaged in stationary trade and had their own shops [Gibadullina, 2008, p. 144].

Speaking of the productive population, in contrast to the governorate centres, where a significant portion of the Tatar population was engaged in industry, a significant portion of the Tatar population was engaged in agriculture in small towns (18.4%).

As a whole, the productive Tatar population made up 34.8% of the population in small and medium-sized cities. The percentage was the largest in Nikolayevsk (95.1%), mainly due to Tatars engaged in agriculture (94.0%)¹². A large group of Tatars employed in agriculture resided in Iletskaya Zashchita (48.2%) and Arsk (36.6%). The percentage ranged from 3.9% (Troitsk) to 17.8% (Orsk) in other cities.

Individuals employed as farmers, beekeepers, animal breeders, wood growers, forest industry workers, fishers, and hunters, which the 1897 census recorded can be viewed as agricultural urban population proper. The agricultural urban populations were much larger in uyezd cities than they were in large governorate centres.

In Belebey (27.4%), Troitsk (23.8%), and Chistopol (20.3%), Tatar industrial employees were somewhat more numerous than those in agriculture. In other uyezd cities, the percentage of Tatars engaged in industry ranged from 1.1% (Nikolayevsk) to 13.7% (Buinsk). Tatars made up a total of 16.4% of all industry employees of the eleven cities specified. They worked at small brick, tanning, cereal, grain draining, rendering, malt, bag weaving, rope, and potash plants.

As a whole, the 1897 statistics suggests the following sources of income for the Tatar populations of medium-sized and small cities in the Volga and Ural Regions: commerce

¹² The important factor here is that the district town of Nikolaevsk was founded next to the Tatar Mechet Sloboda in 1836 [Gibadullina, 2008, p. 136]. Despite the shifting of local farmers to the bourgeois class, their occupations did not change in any significant way, although

Table 9

**Share of the Tatar population in eleven medium-sized and small towns
of the Volga and Urals Regions in 1897**

Medium-sized and small towns	The whole population including both sexes	The Tatar population including both sexes	Share of Tatars, %
Arsk	1228	161	13.1
Belebey	5835	788	13.5
Buinsk	4213	1583	37.6
Iletskaya Zashchita	11768	2747	23.3
Malmyzh	3165	409	12.9
Nikolayevsk	12,504	1759	14.1
Orsk	14,016	3035	21.7
Sterlitamak	15,550	3779	24.3
Tetyushi	4754	789	16.6
Troitsk	23,299	7283	31.3
Chistopol	20,104	4923	24.5
Total:	116,436	27,256	23.4

Table 10

**Distribution of the Tatar population in eleven medium-sized and small towns in 1897,
broken into classes [Pervaya vseobshhaya, Vol. 10, 14, 28, 36, 39, 45 (Table 14)]**

Social classes	The Tatar population including both sexes	% of the total
Hereditary nobility	151	0.55
Lifetime nobility, bureaucrats from non-noble class	27	0.09
Clergy, persons of liberal professions	6	0.02
Hereditary and lifetime honorary citizens	11	0.04
Merchants	553	2.03
Bourgeois	16,649	61.1
Peasants	9049	33.2
Army cossacks	441	1.62
Foreign-born	109	0.4
Finland natives	—	—
Persons not belonging to these classes	90	0.33
Persons who did not indicate their class	30	0.11
Foreign subjects	140	0.51
Total:	27,256	100

(32.3%), salaried and day labour (19.2%), agriculture (18.4%), industry and handicraft production (16.4%).

It should be noted that most of uyezd centres remained 'the same villages as they used to be, most of their burghers and merchants still doing arable farming', though industrialisation trends were clear [Shchepkin, 1882, p. 7]. The population of such uyezd cities

mostly engaged in agricultural and petty handicraft production.

The modernisation processes taking place in Russia in the second half of 19th century, determined the expansion of the territory across which urban Tatar communities lived and developed not only in large administrative centres but in small uyezd cities, though the processes were less rapid in the latter.

Table 11

Employment of the Tatar population in eleven medium-sized and small towns of the Volga and Urals Regions in 1897 [Pervaya vseobshhaya, Vol. 10, 14, 28, 36, 39, 45 (Table 22)].

Population groups	The Tatar population including both sexes	% of the total
a) Officials and army	211	0,8
b) Clergy and professionals	478	1,8
c) Rentiers and pensioners	1281	4,7
d) Prison and unclassified, unknown population	544	2,0
Total unproductive population	2514	9.3
e) Trade	8808	32,3
f) Communications	1204	4,4
g) Private employees, servants, day-labourers	5239	19,2
Total semi-productive population	15251	55.9
h) Agriculture	5019	18,4
i) Industry	4472	16,4
Total productive population	9491	34.8
Total:	27,256	100

3.3. Tatars in workers' settlements in the late 19-early 20th century

Ildus Zagidullin

The economic and industrial development of peripheral areas and industrialisation brought about new industrial centres and areas in the empire. Along with the development and technical upgrade of old enterprises in the Urals (2/3 of all the Ural plants were concentrated in the Perm and Ufa Governorates—the Zlatoust Uyezd and the eastern parts of the Ufa and Birsks Uyezds of the latter belonged to the Ural Region) [Vvedenie, 1960, p. 3], in the 1880s, in the Central and North-Western industrial districts 19th new industrial areas quickly developed: Those included the Donets Coal Basin, the Krivorozhky Minery, and the Baku Oil Fields [Tikhonov, 1988, pp. 46–47]. Over 3/4 of all the plants in the Southern Region had advanced equipment and were established in the last decade of the 19th century.

Each industrial plant had a workers' settlement. According to economists this caused

production to concentrate in several locations, forming large plants with a huge work force. Industrial production was part and parcel of Russian city formation. A network of 'economic' cities, towns, and workers' settlements having no municipal government, which the effective law did not recognize as urban localities, were characteristic of industrial areas [Vodarsky, 1972, p. 201].

The population of workers' settlements was highly mobile and predominantly male. Most of the peasant workers had temporary passports while formally remaining residents of their native villages. Since a number of socio-economic factors determined employment and the general situation at the new place of residence, many preferred to leave their families at home to maintain their households. In the post-reform period, some large and medium-sized businesses began to turn into sustainable industrial institutions that tried to form their own

permanent work force of skilled personnel to ensure year-round production and improved performance.

The Tatars worked at three governmental military plants in the Volga-Kama Region nearly from the time they were founded in the 18th century. Those were the Kazan Gunpowder Plant, the Izhevsk Weapons Plant, and the Votkinsk Iron Plant.

The Tatar community of the Izhevsk Weapon Plant was formed by workmen and disabled soldiers in 1807. It consisted of 450 individuals of both sexes in February 1839 [Zaitseva, 1996, No. 3–4, pp. 240–243].

A group of Tatar peasants from the Kazan and Orenburg guberniyas was assigned to the Votkinsk Plant (established in 1758) in the 1760s. It had a mahallah at the beginning of 19th century. However, the worker community (129 individuals of both sexes) was not granted the right to build a mosque until 1900.

In the early 20th century, more than 30 thousand Tatar workers (68,626 individuals of both sexes, including families, out of the 150 thousand plant and factory workers) lived in the territory where the Tatar nation was forming (the Volga-Ural Region and the Western Siberia) [Khasanov, 1977, p. 232; Nafigov, 1964, pp. 20–21]. The metallurgical plants in the Urals employed over 4,000 workers, while 1/5 of the total industry employees worked at cloth factories in the Simbirsk guberniya.

In the early 20th century, the settlements of the following plants in the Volga-Ural Region had large Tatar communities (about 1 thousand): the Ushkov Chemical plant (Vyatka guberniya), the Motovilikha, Nadezhdinskoye (Perm guberniya), Miass (Orenburg guberniya), and Satka (Ufa guberniya) Plants. Workers' settlements in the region had a total



Tatar stevedores in the Kazan river port.
Photo from the late 19–beginning of the 20th century.

of about twenty mahallahs [Zagidullin, 2006b, pp. 71–100].

A significant part of seasonal workers left the historical Tatar-inhabited territory. In the late 19th century, Tatars settled at Siberian gold mines to make up to 13% of the proletariat at the beginning of the 20th century and began to work on the Siberian railroads (1%) [Tagirov, 1995, p. 389]. Shortly before World War I, Tatars made up a large national proletariat group ranking fourth after Russians, Ukrainians, and Latvians. Most of the labour force lived outside the regions of the traditional Tatar habitat [Ocherki, 1973, p. 17]. In 1917, Donbass mines, which were developing rapidly, employed 90 thousand Tatars; the Baku oil fields, 3.5 thousand (18.5% of all workers); factories in Orekhovo-Zuyevo, 5 thousand workers [Khasanov, 1977, p. 232; Nafigov, 1964, pp. 20–21].

Tatar workers wanted to form autonomous workers' associations, artels. They often hired cooks, had joint expenditures, and settled together in barracks. Characteristically, most of members of Tatar workers' communities owned no real estate. Such communities were highly mobile in terms of migration, consisted predominantly of men, and were to some extent integrated into the Russian labour environment.

3.4. Muslim (Tatar) 'Community Cities'

Ildus Zagidullin

The Key Features of Muslim (Tatar) 'Community Cities'. According to the organisation of social and cultural life of the ethnic and religious communities of Russian cities N. Yukhneva identified three types of settlements: 1) two ethnic cities within one locality, where most of its functions are duplicated. Each city lived according to its own customs, while some mutual influence was observed, it was minimal. Central Asian cities in Russia belonged to the classical type. Such suburbs arise where a city 'joins' another one; 2) a city having a single centre and margins, extremely coherent with compact ethnic groups forming enclaves (neighbourhoods, slobodas) in a foreign cultural environment within it. Such enclaves can emerge for the following reasons: single migrations of large groups, migration to join one's friends and family, ethnic discrimination in accommodation, certain ethnic groups being the same as disadvantaged social groups; 3) the dispersed settlement of ethno-confessional groups with an uneven percentage of residents in different areas of the city. The social factor is essential here as accommodation depends on the occupation and social status of the inhabitant [Yukhneva, 1984, pp. 13–14].

In our opinion, a number of Russian cities in the 19th century, had economically powerful ethno-confessional communities qualifying as the second dispersal type, while their socio-cultural development made them Muslim (Tatar) 'community cities', which term can be defined through the following features:

- 1) the existence of one or several territories with specific economy and culture, compact settlement neighbourhoods, where streets are partly or completely built according to city planning principles;
- 2) real estate—private and public institutions, such as religious, educational, commercial and/or industrial organisations;
- 3) social institutions: two or more mahallahs with clergy, schools providing ethnic education to nearly the whole younger generation

of the religious groups, and, in the early 20th century, cultural, educational, or charity organisations;

4) a large resident contingent (merchants, burgers);

5) a stratum of entrepreneurs and merchants as primary funders of religious and ethnic institutions;

6) economic self-reliance of the community for key social issues of its members;

7) involvement in addressing issues related to the locality's economic, commercial, and cultural development, representing the community's interests to the government and municipal authorities.

In the first half of the 19th century, 'Muslim (Tatar) community cities' were active in Kazan, Seitov Posad (Kargala), Semipalatinsk, and Petropavlovsk. In the late 19th century, the list also included the ethno-confessional communities of Troitsk, Orsk, and Orenburg in the south-east of the country. The Tatar community of Ufa became one of them at the beginning of the 20th century.

Among the aforementioned cities, Kazan, Astrakhan, Orenburg, and Semipalatinsk were governorate centres. Petropavlovsk, Troitsk, and Orsk were uyezd centres. Kargala, where the Tatar City Authority was liquidated in 1828, had a stripped-down municipal administration.

Kazan qualified as a large Tatar community (28,520 people). Medium-sized 'Muslim (Tatar) community cities' existed in Astrakhan (16,959 people), Semipalatinsk (14,660 people), Orenburg (13,257 people), Troitsk (8,430 people), and Petropavlovsk (6,087 people). Only in Semipalatinsk did the Tatars account for less than a half of the Muslim population while definitely dominating the community's socio-economic and cultural life. The rest of the Muslim 'community cities' were ethnically Tatar. It was Tatars who determined the dynamic patterns and content of their socio-cultural processes.

The percentage of Muslims played a major part in the forming of a uniform cultural and

religious space and city economy. Muslims made up 1/3 to 1/4 of such medium-size cities as Troitsk (36.2%) and Petropavlovsk (30.9%). In other cities, Muslims accounted for less than 1/5 of the total population: 15% in Astrakhan and 18.6% in Orenburg. Muslims made up over a half of the urban population of Semipalatinsk and 21.8% of that of Kazan.

Kazan

*Lyudmila Sverdlova,
Ildus Zagidullin*

In the late 18th century, the city counted 5 thousand Tatars [Istoriya Kazani, Vol. 1, p. 120]. In the 19th century, the Old and New Tatar Slobodas had all the essential elements of urban infrastructure: the Eastern Hay Market, the Yunus Square, hotels, inns, industrial plants, workshops, places of worship, educational institutions, and commercial organisations. When forming prestigious streets, the Tatar commercial and industrial elite built their estates according to contemporary city planning standards. Some wealthy Tatars resided and carried out their activities in the Russian part of Kazan [Märcani, 1989, pp. 366–380].

The city had several areas of Islamic confessional education. Madrasahs operated in Tatar slobodas. The Yagodnaya (Berry) and Admiralteyskaya (Admiralty) Slobodas, as well as the Porokhovaya (Gunpowder) Sloboda in the suburbs, had maktabas.

In Kazan (1781–1855) an autonomous municipality was in place, the Tatar City Hall, which recorded merchants and burghers, issued commercial licenses, collected taxes, and dealt with other economic and administrative issues of native inhabitants. It represented executive power, which the Empire's administration entrusted to it, and was accountable to the state authorities.

According to sociologists it was cities with a population of over 20–30 thousand people who offered opportunities of radical development of personal relations like transition from primary to secondary contacts, from community relations to society relations [Zimmel, 1905, pp. 117–136; Mironov, 1990, p. 25]. The process was controlled by the Tatar bourgeoisie.

At the end of the century, noblemen, both personal and by birth, 'non-noble officials', and honorary citizens made up 1.1% (311 people) of the city's Tatar community (28.5 thousand people of both sexes). The merchants were somewhat more numerous, with 346 people, or 1.2%. Tatar burghers were the largest urban class. There were as many as 5,598 of them (19.6%). They were largely engaged in domestic industries and petty trade. Peasants (77%) were the main labour force for seasonal work and day labour. They worked as servants for wealthy families, workers at plants, factories, craft shops, and pier loaders [Pervaya vseobshchaya, Vol. 14, pp. 26–261]. Some of them did petty trade and went to confessional schools.

According to the 1897 census data, 15.66% of Kazan's Muslim population were engaged in commerce. The processing industries employed 24.51%. 'Professional' percentage was 0.9%. 1.58% were administrative officials. The clergy accounted for 0.36% of the population [Noack, 1993, Table. IIa].

In 1857, 127 plants in 24 industries employed 2.8 thousand workers. 1/3 of the plants were owned by Tatars, who made up 1/7 of the population [Laptev, 1861, p. 348]. In 1898, Tatars owned 10 industrial plants with an annual output value of over 1,000 rubles. They produced a total output that amounted to 405,000 rubles and employed 144 workers [Istoriya Kazani, Book 1, pp. 121–122].

Even though the municipal and class autonomous authorities were liquidated, the Tatar part of Kazan preserved its authentic ethnic urban culture within 14 economically self-reliant parishes with mosques and educational institutions, clergy, and waqf property, where Sharia largely controlled everyday and family issues. The ethnic bourgeoisie funded and controlled its coreligionists' social and cultural development by building mosques, maktabas, and madrasahs, establishing orphanages and shelters for economically disadvantaged children (1844, 1904), a Muslim poor-house (1900), etc. In the latter half of 19th to the early 20th century (before 1906), the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 7th, 9th, 10th, Kazakov, and Usmanov Mosques acquired waqf property. The madrasahs at the

premises of the 1st, 2nd, and 4th Mosques and the 'Muhammadiya' Madrasah were built [Azamatov, 2000, pp. 30–34; Waqf Property, pp. 48–49, 57–58].

Having established a charitable society in 1897, the elite cooperated to address issues related to maintaining an orphanage, an obstetrical medical institution, and an outpatient hospital, fire victim and needy aid as well as others. The elite's charity was of great importance for the community because the government, autonomous municipality, and *zemstvo* provided little support [Salikhov, 2001, pp. 243–248].

In 1899, the Kazan Tatar community was denied a 'Muslim consumer society' because the city had a 'consumer society' (since 1893) and in order to prevent 'Muslims, who are reluctant to assimilate with the Russian population, from establishing any autonomous social organisations' [Zagidullin, 2004, pp. 240–241].

Thanks to the presence of a university, a large number of madrasahs, and a well-developed printing infrastructure, Kazan was able to become a major Islamic and Tatar printing centre to meet the needs of Muslim peoples in Russia in the latter half of the 19th century.

Astrakhan

Andrey Syzranov

The primary population of the new Russian fortress of Astrakhan, which was founded on the left Volga bank in 1558, consisted of Russian *Streltsy* and Cossacks. However, as the city grew in the late 16–first third of the 17th century and its new parts, *Bely* (White) and *Zemlyanoy* (Ground) 'cities' emerged, the population of Astrakhan became multi-ethnic. It consisted of service class people, merchants, and craftsmen. They were ethnic: Russians, Yurt Tatars, Armenians, Persians, Indians, 'Bukharans', 'Khivians', etc.

The key groups of Astrakhan Tatar population from the latter half of the district –the beginning of the 20th century, were: Astrakhan (or Yurt) 'Nogai Tatars', Middle Volga (or Volga-Ural) Tatar migrants, 'Agrizhan Tatars', 'Burkharan Tatars', and 'Gilan Tatars'.

In the district century, Astrakhan included Tatar Sloboda, which was inhabited by

the Yurt Tatars. It remained essentially separate and was fenced off [Kidirniyazov, 1999, p. 297]. The inhabitants of the sloboda were craftsmen, merchants, or labourers [Golikova, 1982, p. 171].

In the district century, Astrakhan became a major Russian-Eastern trade centre. The so-called 'eastern colonies' gradually developed in the city. In 1673, the authorities established new Agrizhan, Bukhara, and Gilan trade courts, or slobodas, in *Zemlyanoy Gorod*. The government permitted Indians, Persians, Bukharans, and others to take residence in Astrakhan in 1681 [Golikova, 1982, pp. 163, 165].

The offspring of mixed families—Indian fathers and Tatar mothers—known as 'Agrizhans' or 'Agrizhan Tatars' lived in Agrizhan Sloboda [Gmelin, 1777, p. 145; Nebolsin, 1852, p. 113; Oldekop, 1870, p. 331]. Gilan Sloboda was inhabited by Persians and 'Gilan court Tatars' (the descendants of Persian men and Tatar women). 'Bukharian court Tatars' settled in the Bukhara Sloboda, who had 'came from Bukhara in ancient times', also known as 'Bukharans'. Bukharian court people came not only from Bukhara but from Khiva ('Khivians') [Oldekop, 1870, pp. 331, 332; Dalinger, 1887, pp. 4, 5; Golikova, 1982, p. 162].

Unlike their 'fathers' (Hindu Indians and Shia Muslim Persians),¹³ representatives of the Agrizhan and Gilan Tatar sub-ethnic groups were Sunni Muslims [Gmelin, 1777, p. 197; Nebolsin, 1852, p. 113].

P. Nebolsin wrote: 'Until 1836, the community of the Bukhara, Gilan, and Agrizhan Court Tatars was a privileged class that enjoyed the right of free trade without paying any guild duties... A special tax of 5 thousand rubles in notes per capita and recruitment duty were imposed on all Tatars of the community in 1836 until they were declared fully equal to native Russians in terms of all taxes and duties...' [Nebolsin, 1852, p. 114].

The Tatars of the three courts had assimilated with the Yurt Tatars and probably Middle Volga Tatars by the middle of the 19th century [Iskhakov, 1992, p. 14; Oldekop, 1870, p. 331; Dalinger, 1887, p. 4; Nebolsin, 1852, p. 113].

¹³ there were also Muslims among the Indians.

Bazaar
(Sennaya)
Mosque
in Kazan.
Photo from
the early
20th century.



From the end of the district—the beginning of the 18th century, Astrakhan received the first wave of immigrants from Kazan [Arslanov, 1995, pp. 4, 24; Viktorin, 2003, p. 76]. They resided in Kazan and Tatar (near the Yurt Tatars) Slobodas, Zemlyanoy City [Gmelin, 1777, pp. 150, 196; Georgi, Part 2, p. 33]. Already by this time, the urban Tatar populations included Tatars from the Kazan, Simbirsk, Penza, Saratov, and Ryazan guberniyas [Arslanov, 1995, p. 24]. 'The urban Tatar population was regularly refilled with new migrants' from 18—the beginning of the 20th century [Viktorin, 1994, p. 5].

The urban Yurt Tatars were engaged in crafts, commerce, or worked as labourers [Golikova, 1982, p. 171]. Aul Yurt Tatars also carried out commercial activities in Astrakhan. Even though they were formally prohibited from it, many traded 'disguised as Armenians, Indians, and urban Tatars' [Georgi, Part 2, p. 35; Gmelin, 1777, p. 175]. I. Ravinsky reported the Yurt Tatars to have traded in Kizlyar [Ravinsky, 1809, p. 340].

According to S. Gmelin, urban Kazan Tatars were mostly merchants, while some 'were servants,... labourers or agents for Indians, for whom they sometimes work as... commissaries' [Gmelin, 1777, p. 197].

The annual Islamic calendar holidays, the Prophet Muhammad's birthday, and adherence to Islamic food regulations were essential features of the Astrakhan Tatar lifestyle. Some Tatars completed the Hajj—the pilgrimage to Mecca [Rezvan, 2006, p. 406]. 'Life cycle rites' were performed according to Sharia norms.

Astrakhan Islamic clergymen mainly received religious education in Orenburg, Kazan, Bukhara, and Astrakhan [Oldekop, 1870, p. 404; Dalinger, 1887, p. 18].

Mosques were central to the religious and social life of the Astrakhan Tatars [Syzranov et al., 2006; Syzranov et al., 2007]. Already by 1586, a mosque existed not far from the city. In 1666 seven mosques were active in the 'posad', or in the 'lower city' (Zemlyanoy) [Evliya, 1979, p. 132]. After a hundred years, four mosques were active in the Agrizhan, Bukhara, and Gilan slobodas in Zemlyanoy City [Gmelin, 177, pp. 146, 163]. In 1910, Astrakhan had 18 mosques [Dremkov, 1912, p. 4].

As a rule, mosques tended to run the Islamic matkab schools, sometimes madrasahs (advanced schools). At the beginning of the 20th century, the city had 19 maktabas and 6 madrasahs: on the premises of Ak-Mosque, Kara-Mosque, Gilan Court Mosque, and Mosques

No. 3, 6, and 7, Tsarevskaya Sloboda [Dremkov, 1912, p. 14].

Jadidism began to spread in the Astrakhan Muslim community in the late 19th century. In 1892 [Mamleyeva, 2007, p. 15] or 1895 [Abdurakhman Umerov, 2003, p. 303] Mullah Abdurakhman Umerov¹⁴ founded a Jadidist madrasah, named Nizamiyah, in Tsarevskaya Sloboda. It became one of the leading Islamic research and education centres in the south of Russia,¹⁵ attracting Tatars, Kazakhs, Nogais, Turkmens, Nakh, Lezgians, Avars, etc. In 1907, Abdurakhman Umerov founded 'Umerov i Ko.' (Umerov and Co.) Publishing Partnership (1907–1913) and published the newspaper 'Idel' (Volga),¹⁶ the main local Jadidist mouthpiece [Kurmanseitova, 2004]¹⁷.

In 1896, the first Muslim public organisation 'Jamaat Hayriya', or 'Society for the Protection of Poor Tatars' was registered in Astrakhan, and presided over by honorary citizen by birth I. Iskenderov. The society used its fund, consisting of membership fees and donations by merchants and mosque goers, to buy textbooks for the maktab and madrasah students, firewood, warm clothing, medicines for the poor, issue funeral allowances, etc. [Otchet pravleniya, 1900; State Archive of Astrakhan Oblast, f. 286, inv. 2, file 514, s. 13].

¹⁴ Abdurakhman Izmaylovich Umerov, or Gabdrakhman Gumarov, Abd ar-Rahman ibn Ismail ibn Umar al-Hadji-Tarkhani (1867–1933) was an educator, theologian, historian, ethnographer and Arabist, publisher, public figure and teacher. He was born on 18 January 1867 to an Astrakhan bourgeois family, Nogai-Karagash Ismail Umerov. After finishing his primary education in a mektebe, in 1881–1889 A. Umerov studied in the Kazan madrasah of Sh. Marjani (1818–1889), after which he returned to Astrakhan.

¹⁵ Among the graduates of the madrasah were the Nogai philologist, folklorist and educator A. Dzhanibekov (1879–1955), the Turkmen philologist and theologian A. Niyazi (Niyazov) (1880–1932), the Uzbek historian B. Saliev (1882–1942) and others.

¹⁶ Initially, the newspaper's publisher and editor was Z. Sharifullin. When A. Umerov became the publisher, Z. Sharifullin stayed on as an editor, and in 1910 he declined the position in favour of Umerov.

¹⁷ In addition to 'Idel', at the beginning of the 20th the Tatar newspapers 'Borhane tärkkiy' ('Reason/Argument for Progress'), 'Mizan' ('Scales'), 'Halik' ('People'), the magazine 'Mägarif' ('Enlightenment'), 'Tup' ('Cannon') and others were published in Astrakhan.

In 1905, the society Mäclise Şurai Islam ('Muslim Assembly House') was founded. It ran a maktab offering education to both boys and girls. The society also published the newspaper 'Borhane täraqıy' ('Evidence of Progress'). The founder of the society, the principal of the school, and the editor of the newspaper was 'Şamaxı Tatar,' that is, a migrant from Northern Azerbaijan Mustafa Izmaylov (Lütfi) [State Archive of Astrakhan Oblast, f. 1, inv. 12, file 722; f. 286, inv. 2, file 297; f. 1, inv. 2, file 1730, s. 8].

In 1907, a more 'moderate' society known as 'Cämägate islamiya' ('Islamic Society') was founded in Astrakhan, primarily by city mullahs. It funded the newspaper 'Idel'. Its president was Mullah of Mosque No. 8 A. Umerov [State Archive of Astrakhan Oblast, f. 286, inv. 2, file 297; f. 290, inv. 3, file 521, s. 65].

By the early 20th century, Astrakhan along with Kazan, Ufa, and Orenburg had become important centres of Tatar culture [Iskhakov, 1992, pp. 24–25]. Tatar commercial capital developed rapidly here. The city had ethnic printing houses that published periodicals as well as a Tatar theatre. New mosques were built and Islamic educational institutions founded.

Orenburg

Denis Denisov

Orenburg was founded in 1743 as the administrative and military centre of the border territory as well as the centre of the Russian Empire's commercial and diplomatic relations with the peoples of Kazakhstan and Central Asia. The Tatars dominated the border trade from the very beginning in Orenburg due to their linguistic skills, cultural and religious affinity. For instance, already by 1761 there were 81 Tatars (65.1%) among 109 Russian traders in the Orenburg trading house. In 1799, the ratio was 162 out of 248 (65.3%) [Dorofeev, 1988, p. 53; State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 6, inv. 1, file 160, s. 1–19 reverse]. At first, Muslim entrepreneurs showed a preference for seasonal operations and it was only in the late 18–early 19th century that they had begun to take residence in Orenburg, forming separate

neighbourhoods around the first city mosque. Muslim percentage in the city's resident population remained small until the mid-19th century. In 1826, only 146 male Muslims resided here, which number had increased to 457 people of both sexes (2.5%) by 1847. However, a massive inflow of Tatar migrants to Orenburg began in the 1860–1870s. The city was enjoying an economic boom due to developing commodity production of crops, processing and food industries, railway network, and the annexation of Central Asia by Russia. In 1875, The Tatar population of Orenburg was as large as 5,336 people (14.3%). The 1890 value was 14,966 (30.7%), and in 1904 22,576 (26%). Tatars (11,321 people (15.6%) in 1897) were the core of the city's Muslim community [Belavin, 1891, pp. 59–60; *Pervaya vseobshchaya*, Vol. 28, pp. 1, 64–65]. Migrants settled in all neighbourhoods but tended to live west of the historical centre of Orenburg, in a craft and industrial district, and north of it, in Novaya (New) Slobodka and in the so-called Novye Mesta (New Places).

Border trade, the volume of which continued to increase until the mid-19th century, remained crucial to the city's economy. However, the Trans-Caspian Railroad, built in 1880–1900, ensured quick delivery of goods from Central Asia directly to Central Russia, thus undermining the traditional caravan trade. As a result, the annual trade volume of the trading house first sharply fell then stabilised at 4–4.5 million rubles [Obzor za 1890 god, p. 11; Obzor za 1895 god, p. 20; *Statisticheskij obzor za 1900 god*, p. 16]. The trading house activities did not move to a new level until the Orenburg–Tashkent Railroad was commissioned in 1904. In 1912, a historical maximum sales volume of 15,609,018 rubles 50 kopecks was recorded [Statisticheskij obzor za 1912 god, pp. 20–21].

Tatar ethnic capital was represented by small and, occasionally, medium-sized businesses, primarily in animal produce processing. According to the 1895 statistics, 6 out of 12 slaughter and rendering houses, producing an output amounting to 371,983 rubles, were Tatar-owned (56.4% of the industry). It was Tatars who founded the city's soap industry. In 1895, Tatars owned 5 out of 9 wool-scour-

ing plant producing a total output amounting to 338,670 rubles (55.8%) [Perechen' fabrik, 1897, pp. 88–89, 530–533].

As commercial crop production developed in the Southern Ural in the 1870–1890s, flour and cereal production boomed as an autonomous and essential urban industry [Istoriya Bashkortostana, 2004, p. 419]. Over 20 Tatar bakeries played a major role in supplying baked goods to city inhabitants.

At the turn of the century, large commercial and industrial capital developed in Orenburg. Its most outstanding representatives were the 1st Guild Orenburg Merchants Ahmed (1838–1906), Gabdulgani (1839–1902), and Mahmud (1845–1910) Khusainov. They ran a number of plants for primary processing of animal raw materials: a slaughter and rendering house (since 1875), a gut washing plant (since 1885), and a wool-scouring plant [Perechen' fabrik, 1897, pp. 530–533; Perechen' fabrik, 1910, p. 52]. In 1888, the brothers built a large steam millet hulling mill, which had an annual output of around 85,000 poods of millet with a value of 100,896 rubles in 1895. As their business expanded, the brothers Khusainov bought 3 more slaughter houses in Kargala, gut washing 'plants' in Samarkand and Tashkent, and a leather drying plant in Kazalinsk¹⁸ [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 56, inv. 1, file 3743]. In 1898, Ahmed was recorded as a 1st guild merchant of Kazan, Gabdulgani, from Kazalinsk, and Mahmud remained an Orenburg merchant. Yet, they cooperated within their 'Brothers Khusainov Trading House' with an authorized capital of 100,000 rubles.

At the turn of the 20th century, large Orsk merchants, the brothers Ramiyev, moved to Orenburg to control their industrial and commercial enterprises: Zakir came in 1890, and Shakir in 1900.

¹⁸ A significant portion of the raw material came from the Nizhny-Novgorod Fair, where A. Khusainov purchased large commercial and residential buildings with warehouses and shops, such as the 'Khusainovskoye' and 'Laishevskoye' town houses. Commerce and procurement operations were provided by affiliates of their firm in Aulie-Ata (Taraz), Verny (Almaty), Irgiz, Perovsk (Kyzylorda), Samarkand, Tashkent, Tokmak, Turkestan and Chimkent.



The empty cathedral mosque in Orenburg. Photo from the early 20th century.

According to the 1897 statistics, 29.2% of the independent Tatar population of Orenburg were labourers and employees (with a total city percentage of 21.6%); 27.1% did trade (10.9%); 21.4%, industry and handicrafts (17.1%); 7.1% worked in transport (4.6%); 4.9% received income from the treasury, public institutions, and private individuals (8.8%); 3.3% were prisoners (1.4%); 2.3%, military personnel (8.6%); 2.3% did agriculture (5.4%); 2.2% worked in catering and services (3%); 1.6%, in construction (4.1%); 1.4% received income from capitals and real estate (4.8%); 0.4% were public officials (3.8%); 0.2% were clergymen (1.4%); 0.2%, teachers (1.4%); 1.8, others (3.1%). In terms of classes, peasants were prevalent (49.4%). Burghers made up 43.9%; foreign subjects, 1.75%; Cossacks, 1.3%; noblemen by birth, 1.2%; merchants, 1.15%; unidentified individuals, 0.7; personal noblemen and public officials, 0.3%; honorary citizens, 0.2%; 'indigenous dwellers', 0.1% [Pervaya vseobshhaya, Vol. 28, pp. 132–133, 160–161].

The Tatars played an important role in the socio-economic life of the city: by being actively involved in addressing issues of municipal services, amenities, construction and transport, local funding, education development, and control over industrial and commercial enterprises. While in 1871–1879 there were no Tatars in the Orenburg City Duma, in 1879–1883 there

was 1 out of 72; in 1883–1892, 4; in 1892–1893, 8; in 1893–1897, 6 out of 50; in 1897–1901, 3 out of 58; in 1901–1905, 5 out of 59; in 1905–1909, 7 out of 60 [Orenburgskie gubernskie vedomosti, 1879, June 23; 1883, June 11, July 9; Orenburgsky Listok, 1887, May 3, 10, 17; 1892, March 1; Orenburgskie gubernskie vedomosti, 1909, April 11].

Characteristically, Islamic institutions in Orenburg initially enjoyed active and formative governmental support in advance of the local community's

growth and demand. A mosque was built at the government's cost near the trading house—in 1783–1785 in order to satisfy the spiritual needs of Muslim merchants. In 1802–1804, the government funded the construction of the city's first cathedral mosque. In 1834–1846, a second cathedral mosque (Caravanserai Mosque) of the Bashkir Meshcheryak army was built on the government's initiative. In the following decades mosques were opened in new districts: Mosques 3 and 4 in 1885, Mosque 5 in 1887, Mosque 6 in 1893, and Mosque 7 in 1910 [Denisov, 2006, pp. 53–72].

The influence of Central Asian immigrants and the development of an ethnic bourgeoisie brought about the restoration of the waqf institute in the Tatar community. In 1848, merchant T. Markibaev donated a plot of land for a Muslim school to Mosque 1. In 1860, a shop was built there according to the will of Prince A. Chingis. In 1871, F. Mukminzhanov donated a yard plot for a madrasah and the imam's house. In 1885, Ch. Akilbekov donated another plot of land for an educational institution. In 1875, B.-K.M. Gubaydullina gave a land plot with residential buildings and outbuildings to Mosque 2 for a madrasah building. In 1881, the congregation built waqf granaries nearby [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 11, inv. 3, file 4143, s. 389–391 reverse; f. 41, inv. 1, file 690, s. 5 reverse–6]. In 1903, After his

death, A. Abdulvaliyev left Mosque 3 a stone outbuilding. Finally, in 1906, the Russian's Empire largest waqf of 500,000 rubles was established according to the will of the deceased merchant Khusainov. The income from it was used to maintain Mosque 6 and the Khusainiya Madrasah, issue allowances to the teachers of 60 innovative maktab in the Orenburg, Kazan, Vyatka, Simbirsk, and Penza guberniyas and Ural Region, 26 scholarship for government-owned educational establishments, and religious and moral books as well as training literature [Azamatov, 2000, pp. 42–48].

Muslim primary schools (maktab) in every parish ensured the transmission of religious and cultural traditions, while secondary educational establishments (madrasahs) at the premises of Mosques 1, 2, 5, and 6 (the former two were Kadimist, and the latter two were innovative). In 1891, the 'Khusainiya' Mosque was founded at the Khusainovs' expense on the premises of Mosque 6 to train a new generation of ethnic intelligentsia. From 1893 to 1902, around 100 men's schools were reformed and over 20 women's schools established in the Orenburg guberniya on the initiative and with financial support of G. Khusainov.

In the early 20th century Orenburg became a major centre of the synthesis of the western and eastern civilisation and their experience, revised, brought about a modernisation, secularisation of Tatar culture as well as new ethnic arts. Here were 3 out of the 13 Tatar printing houses in the Russian Empire (Vakit, Din v mägışät, and Karimov, Khusainov and Co.) that published 11 periodicals,¹⁹ which had a major influence on the development of Tatar literature, journalism, and political consciousness.

Kargala

Denis Denisov

Under the Senate's Decree of 13 March 1744, the Orenburg Administration was per-

mitted to 'accept for residence in a separate sloboda near the city of Orenburg' up to 200 Tatar families from the Kazan guberniya to foster the development of trade with the peoples of Kazakhstan and Central Asia. It was named Seitova Sloboda (Sayyid Sloboda) after the name of its first resident Sayyid Khayalin and Kargalinskaya after the river Kargala (now the village of Tatarskaya Kargala). The settlers were relieved of recruitment duty but could be subjected to irregular conscriptions when necessary. They were permitted to build a mosque [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 12, No. 8893]. The residents' privileges were extended greatly under the Tsar's Edict of 8 August 1745. Favourable economic conditions attracted a large inflow of Tatar migrants to Kargala, primarily from the Trans-Kazan, causing it to rapidly transform to not only an important trade and craft but a major religious, cultural, and educational Muslim centre in the Ural Region. Its population size was 2,174 male individuals in 1762, 6,409 individuals of both sexes in 1870, 7,625 in 1889, and 11,077 in 1910 [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 350, inv. 2, file 2450, s. 10, 24–89 reverse; Odnodnevnyaya perepis' 1870 goda; Odnodnevnyaya perepis' 1889 goda, unbound; State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 164, inv. 1, file 209, s. 21 reverse, 24]. By 1870, Kargala consisted of 1288 houses, including 1191 wooden, 29 mixed, and 68 stone ones. Under the Decree of 7 November 1784, the posad administration was introduced in Kargala to be replaced by simplified city administration in 1870.

As an urban settlement, Sayyid Posad had a complex multi-branch economy dominated by domestic and foreign trade with the peoples of Kazakhstan and Central Asia [Dorofeev, 1988, p. 53; State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 6, inv. 1, file 160, s. 1–19 reverse]. Residents of the city competed with Russian merchants in textile, tanned leather, paint, small ware, metalware, grain, and fur trade. Tatars were actively involved in the caravan trade. They visited Bukhara, Khiva, Tashkent, Urgench, and other Central Asian cities.

The Gostiniy Dvor building—that held 28 stone and 17 wooden shops was built in Kar-

¹⁹ The newspapers 'Vakit' ('Time') and 'Ural', magazines 'Din v mägışät' ('Religion and Life'), 'Karmack' ('Fishing-rod'), 'Karchiga' ('Hawk'), 'Mägarif' ('Enlightenment'), 'Mägälim' ('Teacher'), 'Chikertkä' ('Grasshopper'), 'Chykech' ('Hammer'), 'Şura' ('Advice'), 'Yaz' ('Spring').

gala in 1811–1814. The total number of shops in the posad had increased to 260 (15 stone and 245 wooden ones) by 1889 [Odnodnevna-ya perepis' 1889]. Many shops were traditionally located on the ground floors of residential buildings.

From the day it was founded, Kargala was nearly the only major Tatar handicraft centre in the Orenburg Region. Weavers, tailors, gold embroiderers, lace makers, shoemakers, sheepskin makers, sheepskin coat makers, felt boot makers, masons, stove setters, sawyers, carpenters, bakers, barrel makers, bag makers, cart makers, harness makers, blacksmiths, copper- and silversmiths, jewelers, etc. worked in the settlement.

Local industry developed over time. Already by the late 18–early 19th century, the Kargala Tatars had established potash and soap factories on land that they leased from the Bashkirs. By 1882, Sayyid Posad had 18 slaughter- and rendering houses (54 workers, an annual output amounting to 84,000 rubles), 1 candle plant (1 worker, 3,200 rubles) [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 164, inv. 1, file 85, s. 40].

A vast majority of Kargala citizens were engaged in agriculture. By the 1760s, the sloboda had turned into the centre of an agricultural region that produced and processed high-quality wheat. Its dwellers also cultivated oats, barley, millet, hulled wheat, buckwheat, and peas. In the late 19th century, Sayyid Posad had as many as 7 water mills (2 stone and 5 water ones). Melon-growing became wide-spread. Melons and watermelons, pumpkins, and cucumbers were cultivated.

According to the statistics for 1870, the total occupation percentages for the Sayyid Posad population (minus dependents) were as follows: agriculture—50.3%, private employment and labour (20.3%), commerce (17.2%), fishing, hunting, etc. and handicrafts (11.9%), income generation from capitals and real estate (0.3%). The data on the class structure of the posad's Tatar population indicate similar patterns. Peasants (47%) were predominant, followed by burghers (34.9%), merchants and honourary citizens (14.4%), retired soldiers with families (1.7%), personal noblemen and noblemen by birth, including tarkhans (0.9%),

clergymen (0.7%), Cossacks (0.2%), and Kazan Tatars (0.2%) [Odnodnevna-ya perepis' 1870, unbound].

From the moment Kargala was founded, it favoured free Islamic practices, the preservation and development of Islamic culture. Local merchants funded the construction of 10 mosques in the city. Before the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly was founded, the Kargala chief akhunds were informal leaders of the Southern Ural Muslims. They greatly influenced the social life of Muslims in a large part of the Cis-Ural Region and the Kazakh Steppes.

In the mid-18th century, the largest complex of Central Asian type Muslim educational establishments in the Southern Ural began to form in Kargala. In 1810, local madrasahs hosted a total of 359 shakirs; in 1842, to 519; in 1872, to 496; in 1901, to around 700 [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 386, s. 14–22 reverse; State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 6, inv. 6, file 11811, Sheet 8; f. 10, inv. 2, file 114, s. 72; Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I-295, inv. 8, file 8036, s. 20 reverse–21]. Those included not only Tatar residents of the Orenburg Region but migrants from the Kazan, Ufa, Samara, Vyatka, Tobolsk, and other governorates, as well as Kazakhs from the Turgay and Ural Oblasts.

In 1895, Islamic education was reformed on the initiative and with material support of merchant G. Khusainov by introducing the listening training method and more secular subjects to the curriculum. All primary schools switched to listening. The madrasahs of Cathedral Mosques 1, 2, 5, and 9 were reformed according to new principles. However, the rest of madrasahs continued to be guided by old religious scholastic principles until they were shut down by the Soviet regime.

Orsk

Denis Denisov

Unlike other cities in the Orenburg guberniyas, Orsk attracted its first Tatar residents as soon as the fortress was founded. By 1735 Cossacks were accommodated in a separate

Tatar Sloboda north-east of the new fortification. The first mosque was built to meet their spiritual needs in 1738 [Materialy' po istorii, 2002, p. 536]. In 1834, its Tatar Cossack population consisted of 337 people [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 98, inv. 2, file 58, s. 518–560]. In 1865, Orsk officially became an uyezd centre. The removal of military settlement restrictions, intensified business activities, and increased trade volume resulting from Russia's annexation of Central Asia caused a massive inflow of Tatars from the Central Volga Region to Orsk. In 1870, the city resided as many as 1,995 Muslims (35.9% of the city's total population); in 1905, 4,184 (29.3%); in 1910, 7,719 (35.4%), the Tatars were prevalent among them. They tended to reside in the Old and New Slobodas west of the Old Vorstadt Sloboda south-west of the historical centre of Orsk. Their key occupations were commerce and handicrafts [Ignatyev, 1870, unbound; Pervaya vseobshchaya, Vol. 28, pp. 56–57, 68–69]. As the city's Muslim community grew, a lot of religious buildings were built. In 1872, Mosque 2 was constructed. Mosque 3 followed in 1884; Mosque 4, in 1885; Mosque 5, in 1910 [Denisov, 2008, pp. 109–166].

All mosques ran Muslim educational institutions, which began to introduce new advanced training methods and increased the number of secular subjects on the curriculum in the late 19th century.

The economic situation in Orsk depended on trade with nomadic Kazakhs, who sold livestock and imported grains and timber to the Steppe. Already by 1738, a trading house had been founded in Orsk. However, local trade volumes were always smaller than they were in Orenburg and Troitsk, because it was through the latter two cities that two main caravan roads to Central Asia led. When the Samara–Orenburg Railroad was commissioned in 1878, it undermined the exchange trade in Orsk because it lacked modern communications. Its volume decreased until it ceased to exist in 1885. Two fairs were opened in 1887.

Tatar entrepreneurs dominated the local border trade from the day Orsk was founded. They had largely preserved their leadership by the early 19th century and were engaged in

all key spheres of the city's trade. Outstanding Orsk entrepreneurs included M. Ashirov (textile), brothers A.-S. and M. Burnaev (textile, livestock), Kh. Dolotkazin (flour), G. Kinikeev (livestock, raw materials, wool), B. Mangutov (flour), F. Mukmenev (grocery, livestock), Kh. Mukminev (timber), A. Nigmatullin (textile, bread), A. Rakhmatullin (textile, raw materials, wool), K. Rakhmatullin (livestock, raw materials, bread), and others.

The proximity of a stable animal breeding raw material source favoured the development of processing industries in Orsk. In 1869, 6 out of 9 slaughter-and-rendering houses in the city, producing an annual output amounting to 8,675 rubles (35.8% of the total output) were Tatar-owned [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 164, inv. 1, file 5, s. 400–401 reverse]. G. Kinikeev and A. Rakhmatullin leased a plot of land on the Ural River from the city to build wool-scouring plants supplying raw materials to weaving factories [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 364, inv. 1, file 32, s. 8].

The following were the key Tatar occupations in Orsk in the late 19th century: commerce—34.9% (with a total city percentage of 15%); day-labour—24.5% (15%); agriculture—15.7% (28.9%); industry and handicrafts—13.8% (11.9%); income from the treasury, public institutions, and private individuals—2.8%(5.9%); income from capitals and real estate—2.2% (3%); catering and hospitality—1.1% (1.7%); carriage driving—0.7% (0.7%); other occupations—4.3% (17.9%). While Cossacks used to dominate the Tatar class structure before, in the latter half of the 19th century burghers became the prevalent group (63.4%), followed by peasants (19.4%), troop Cossacks (11.5%), foreign subjects (3.5%), merchants (0.9%), 'indigenous' dwellers (0.6%), noblemen by birth and personal noblemen, public officials, honorary citizens (0.5%), unidentified individuals (0.2%) [Pervaya vseobshchaya, Vol. 28, pp. 140–143, 164–165].

Tatar entrepreneurs were actively engaged in developing the city's economy and education, in particular as officials in local self-government authorities. In 1876–1880, Tatars had 10 out of 66 seats in the Orsk City Duma; in



The house of Merchant Burnaev in Orsk, Orenburg guberniya, second half of the 19th century. Photo from 1972.

1880–1884, 7 out of 72; in 1893–1897, 5 out of 26 [Orenburgskie gubernskie vedomosti, 1876, May 29; 1880, July 5; 1884, June 30; 1889, March 11; 1894, January 29]..

Troitsk

Denis Denisov

Troitsk was founded in 1743 as a fortress on the Orenburg frontier line. In 1750, a local trading house was built.

Muslims' executed an important role as the mediators of exchange trade with their co-religionists, on which the city relied economically, determined their high percentage in the population of Troitsk. In 1861, its Muslim population numbered 4,320 (38.4%), which value had increased to 8,013 (42.7%) by 1894. Tatars made up the vast majority of the local Muslim community.

The borderline fair that took place at the local trading house from July 1 to October 1 was crucial to the economy of Troitsk. A total of 108 caravans consisting of 12,902 baggage animals arrived there in 1860 [Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1865, pp. 12–14]. From the latter half of the 18th century, Tatar merchants sent caravans to Bukhara, Tashkent, Khiva, Kokand, Turkestan, Khujand, Kashgar, and other cities annually [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 3, inv. 1, file 194; f. 5, inv. 1, file 17]. In 1845, Troitsk merchant A.-V. Abubakirov led the first caravan to Qoqek and back, carrying Chinese tea,

thus founding a new tea route. The Exchange trade volume—peaked in the 1870–1880s. The total value of goods sold there in 1884 was 5,830,000 rubles [Obzor za 1885 god, p. 13].

Apart from border and caravan trade, stationary trade developed intensely in Troitsk to meet the demand of not only migrants but the city's and uyezd's constantly growing population. While in 1862 the city's trade network consisted of 129 shops, there were 254 of them (40 stone and 214 wooden ones) in 1891 and

545 (56 stone and 489 wooden ones) in 1907 [Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1865, pp. 10–12; State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 164, inv. 1, file 142, s. 14 reverse–15; Vedomost' o chisle zdaniy, 1908, unbound]. Large wholesale and retail businesses, such as the: Yakushev Brothers' Gallery, K. Abdrashitov's Fashion and Textile Shops and those of L. Yaushev's Descendants, Bakirov's Small Trade Gallery on the Lower Market, M. Valeev's Fashion and Textile Shop, which used innovative promotion techniques (advertising, discounts, sales) and services, including optional ordering and reworking, were founded in the late 19–early 20th century.

In the late 19–early 20th century, Tatar representation was high in the grocery network. Tatars dominated the city's wool, tallow, leather, bread, textile, and small ware trade, controlling the whole fur and fruit trade.

Troitsk was one of the key channels through which Kazakh livestock was supplied to Russia, which determined the early development of the animal produce processing industry in the city. In 1871, Tatar merchants owned 7 out of 15 rendering houses producing a total output amounting to 30,870 rubles (19.6% of the total output); in 1895, 10 out of 13 slaughter houses yielding 202,307 rubles (69.6%) [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 164, inv. 1, file 21, s. 1–2; Perechen' fabrik, 1897, pp. 532–533]. The soap industry gradually separated from rendering. 3 out of 5 soap plants were Tatar-owned in the early 20th

century [Gorod Troitsk, 1912, p. 112]. The percentage of Tatar entrepreneurs in the city's leather industry increased from 25.8% in 1871 to 86% in 1917 [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 164, inv. 1, file 21, s. 2 reverse-3; f. 364, inv. 1, file 32, s. 5].

The annexation of Central Asia by Russia and new railroads caused the trade volume of the Troitsk trading house to decrease gradually in the late 19–early 20th century. To remain competitive under these changed conditions, Tatar entrepreneurs had to re-equip their plants, move their commercial and procurement activities as well as industrial production closer to the raw material sources, and develop a trade network in the Urals, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia.

The brothers Gabdulvali (1840–1906), Muhammadsadyk (1845–1899), Muhammadsharif (?–1906), and Mullagali (1864–1926) Yaush-ev founded the House of Commerce with its head office in Troitsk, offices in Moscow and Warsaw, branch offices in Chelyabinsk and Kochkarsky Settlement, Orenburg guberniya, Kostanai, Turgay Olbast, Tashkent, Chimkent, and Aulie-ata (Taraz), Syr Darya Oblast, Tokmak, Semirechye Oblast, Qulja, China, and at the Nizhny Novgorod, Irbit, Zverinogolovskoye, Zlatoust, Karachelskoye, Kundravy, Tukmak, Turgay, Ust-Uyskoye, and Chumlyak Fairs. There was an extensive network of wholesale and retail shops to sell textile, small ware, leather, iron and hardware, tobacco, paint, grocery, colonial goods, fur, tea, sugar, bread, etc. The Yaushevs made part of their goods at their industrial plants in Troitsk: a tanning and soap factory (the 1895 yearly output amounted to 216,019 rubles), a slaughter and rendering house (the 1908 yearly output amounted to 2,737 rubles), a tea packing plant (the 1905 yearly output amounted to—160,000 rubles), a steam mill (the 1895 yearly output amounted to 115,737 rubles). Entrepreneurs developed agricultural produce processing in Central Asia²⁰.

²⁰ They founded a wool-scouring plant in Tokmak and cotton plantations around Tashkent, and in 1888 they built a clay brick treatment plant in Alimkent in the Tashkent district of the Syrdarya region (in 1895 products worth 25,203 roubles were manufactured).

The data of the First General Census of the Russian Empire of 1897 revealed a high Tatar concentration in commerce and production in Troitsk. Key Tatar occupations included day-labour—26.8% (with a total city percentage of 25.3%); commerce—25.1% (12.4%); industry and handicrafts—19.3% (17.5%); receiving income from the treasury, public institutions, and private individuals—7.6% (7.3%); catering and services—4.4% (2.6%); agriculture—3.4% (9.7%); construction—3.4% (4.7%); cab driving—2.7% (1.6%); receiving income from capital and real estate—2.3% (2.7%); teaching—1.2% (1.2%); worship services—0.8% (2.7%); military service—26% (8.9%), other activities—2% (7.6%). In terms of classes, 58.6% of Troitsk Tatars were burghers; 34.6%, peasants; 3.6%, merchants; 1.1%, Cossacks; 0.9%, 'indigenous dwellers'; 0.6%, unidentified individuals; 0.3%, noblemen by birth; 0.1%, foreign subjects; 0.1%, personal noblemen and public officials [Pervaya vseobshhaya, Vol. 28, pp. 144–147, 166–167].

Troitsk became one of the largest Islamic religious and cultural centers in the Southern Ural. The city's 1st mosque was built in 1828, followed by a second one in 1835–1838, a third one in 1863, a fourth one in 1878, a fifth one in 1879, a sixth one in 1894–1895, and a seventh one in 1912.

All mosques ran madrasahs, which initially had a small number of students. In the 1890s, the system of Islamic education was reformed completely in Troitsk with the financial support of the local bourgeoisie. The listening training method and secular subjects were introduced. New curricula were developed. Other innovations included the class-and-lesson system and examinations. Like the Prenburg-Kargala centre, Troitsk became a major city offering training to teachers.

Mosques and confessional schools were built and maintained at the cost of the bour-

Nearby, in the town of Kinsay at the Keles Yausheva railway station, a second factory was also founded (in 1908 products worth 126,400 roubles were manufactured) [Perechen' fabrik, (List of plants), 1897, p. 42–43, 530–531, 800–801; List of factories 1910, p. 5; List of factories 1912, p. 30].



An inn in Troitsk. 1868–1870. Photo from the early 20th century.
Modern-day S. Razina Str. 9.

geoisie, whose donations gradually formed the local waqf property²¹.

A high Tatar percentage in the population, a large stratum of house owners and commercial and industrial bourgeoisie ensured their active involvement in local issues, the city's economic and social development through elected self-government bodies. The Tatar percentage in the Troitsk City Duma increased gradually over the last quarter of the 19th century. While in 1872–1876 it was 19.4%, the value increased to 27.1% for the period of 1888–1892. However, Alexander III's counter-reform of 1892 limited their quota to 20%, which could not ensure their representation in the municipal authorities that would be adequate to the Tatar percentage.

In order to ensure social protection for the population, the development of education and culture, Troitsk Tatars founded the first Muslim public organisation in the Orenburg Governorate. The Troitsk Muslim Charity Society was incorporated in 1898. It provided aid to starving people in famine-stricken areas and targeted aid to the needy, funded city Mus-

lim schools, founded an orphanage, contributed to cemetery maintenance, etc. [Denisov, 2009c, p. 360].

Ufa

Ildus Zagidullin

In the late 16th to district century, the composition of the Ufa Fortress, inhabited by Tatar 'interpreters', 'New Christians', and 'Sloboda Tatars', was determined by the administrative functions that the military settlement

was expected to perform [Davletshina, 2001, p. 28]. Ufa was promoted to administrative centre of the re-established Orenburg guberniya in 1744. In 1796, when the Vicegerency of Ufa was transformed into the Orenburg guberniya, Ufa became an uyezd centre. It was promoted to governorate centre following the establishment of the Ufa guberniya in 1865.

In 1835–1865, the city hosted the chancellery of the commander of the Bashkir Meshcheryak army [Öfö tarixı, 1983, p. 77].

Characteristically, it was in that city with a small Tatar population where the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly²² was located. Mufti G. Gabdrakhimov was able to obtain a 'vacant neighbourhood' for the religious administration, in the centre of which a stone mosque was built at the cost of 2nd Guild Merchant from Tsarevokokshaysk Mukmin Khazyaseitov in 1830 (reconstructed at the end of the century) [Azamatov, 1996, p. 51]. Besides, donations were used to build a house for clergyman candidates coming for examinations. The mufti's house was built at the government's expense. In 1865, the marriage tax, imposed in 1834, enabled the community to complete the two-story administrative building of the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly with an apartment for the mufti in it.

Mufti S. Tevkelev made a major contribution to the development of the city's Islamic

²¹ Thus, in 1895 the merchant M. Bakirov donated a stone bench costing 2,000 roubles to the first mosque. In 1901 G.-V. Yaushev donated land with numerous buildings worth more than 2,500 roubles to the 6th community, and in 1906 under the will of M.-Sh. Yausheva a waqf fund worth 35 thousands roubles was established to fund the second mosque and community madrasah 'Muhammadiya' [Azamatov, 2000, p. 49–52].

²² In 1797–1802 it was (temporarily) located in Orenburg [Azamatov, 1996, pp. 25].

infrastructure. In 1877, he founded a Muslim orphanage and poor-house at his cost, to which he donated two out buildings in the eastern part of the OMSA neighbourhood. A large house with an outbuilding and a garden was bought for the Muslim orphanage of the 1st cathedral mosque to celebrate the 100th OMSA anniversary [Shirgazin, 2007, pp. 314–315].

The fact that the OMSA had its office in Ufa largely determined the establishment of the Tatar Teachers' School in the city in 1872, which was transferred to Orenburg following an inspection (1876) by the Minister of Public Education D. Tolstoy.

In 1870 the establishment of regular steamboat communication on the Balaya River and, most importantly, the construction of the Samara–Zlatoust Railroad favoured the growth of Ufa's population, in particular Tatar. The railroad reached Ufa in 1888, thus turning it into a major Southern Ural transport hub and intensifying its economic activities [Istoriya Ufy', 1981, pp. 96, 97]. The population numbered 49.3 thousand people in 1897, 68.2 thousand in 1904, and 100 thousand in 1916 [Valeev, 2007, p. 25].

Muslims are known to have made up 8% of the total population of Ufa in 1886 [Ufimskij, 1887, pp. 143, 144]. In 1897, it was home to 2,524 Tatars (5.1%), 3,151 Bashkirs (6.39%), 84 Meshcheryak (0.17%), and 72 Teptyars (0.15%). Ufa had the largest percentage of noblemen of all Tatar city communities in Russia—8.1% (with the total city percentage of 4.5%). Speaking of other population groups, the class composition of the Tatar population was as follows: personal noblemen and public officials—1% (total city percentage—4.6%); honorary citizens—0.4% (1.2%); merchants—0.4% (1.4%), burghers—28.6% (37.9%), peasants—59.2% (46.4%) [Pervaya vseobshhaya, Vol. 45, pp. 174–175]. In the early 20th century, the dynamics of the Muslim population size significantly exceeded total city values. Muslims made up 1/3 of the Ufa population in 1910 (32.8%, or 31,897 people) [Goroda Rossii, 1914]. At the end of the century, literacy rate was 40% among Russians, 25% among Tatars, and 24% among Bashkirs [Istoriya Ufy', 1981, p. 123].

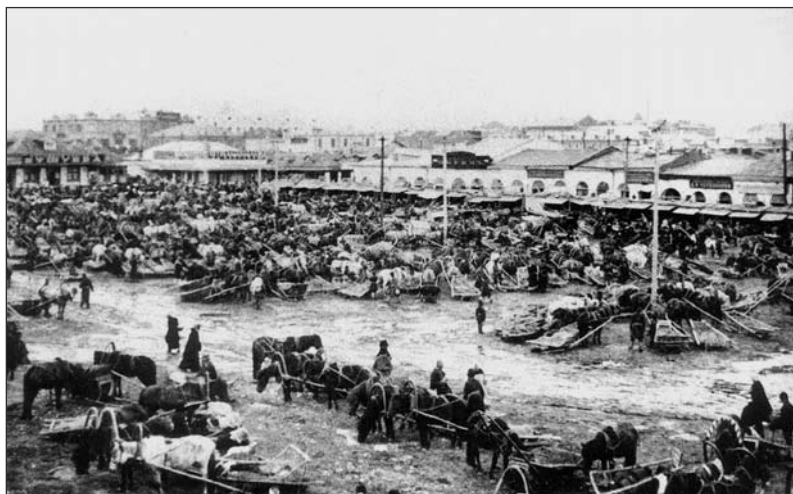
The increasing size and power of the Muslim community influenced their representation in the city дума in a positive way. In 1915, they made up 11—out of 61 дума members [Spravochnik, 1915, pp. 6–9].

Social division of labour in the Ufa Tatar community was hardly different from that in other urban ethno-confessional communities of the Volga-Ural Region. In the early 20th century, the Karimovs' Trading House monopolised the city's textile trade and carried out commercial operations in food stores [Kabanova, 2004, pp. 68–69].

Most of the Muslim population lived in the city's outskirts, primarily in Nizhegorodskaya Sloboda, where a second (wooden) mosque was built in 1873 to be followed by a third, stone, one in 1903. Merchant Abdulatif Khakimov built a fourth mosque, a two-story building of stone with two minarets, in the Russian part of the city, near his house. The Muslim community began to build a 5th mosque in 1914. However, the outbreak of war, and its opening was delayed for four years.

The first madrasah in Ufa was founded in 1887 by the imam of the First Cathedral Mosque Hayrullah Usmanov (1847–1907). It offered education to the children of Ufa residents and Muslims from across the Ufa Uyezd. In 1891–1892, it moved to the OMSA neighbourhood. The brick building of the 'Usmaniya' Madrasah appeared here in 1905 [Shirgazin, 2007, pp. 314–315]. The second madrasah, 'Khusainiya', appeared in 1903 [Ütäbay-Kärimi, 1997, p. 101]. The third madrasah, 'Galiya', was founded in 1906 by Zuya Kamali, (a graduate Usmaniya) who studied at the University of Cairo at the expense of the local Muslim charity organization [Ütäbay-Kärimi, 1996, p. 191]. In 1910, the city had 9 active Tatar schools—4 madrasahs and 5 maktabas.

The Orenburg mufti, OMSA members, and Tatar noblemen played a significant role in the community's socio-cultural life. Merchants cooperated with noblemen to protect their poor coreligionists and the education of the younger generation in the Ufa Poor Muslim Protection Organisation (1898, first chairman akhund: Kh. Usmanov) [Otchet pravleniya, 1901], the Ufa Muslim Charity Association (1915, chairman,



In the bazaar square of Ufa. Photo from the early 20th century.

merchant Muhammadnazip Khakimov) [Otchet, 1916], and the Ufa Muslim Consumer Society (1915) [Ustav, 1916].

The Ufa Muslim Ladies' Society (1907, president: Mariam Sultanova) founded a girls' orphanage and ensured training for 'several hundred of Muslims' daughters at ethnic women's schools,' for which purpose it raised funds from the zemstvo, the city administration, and other donors [Otchet, 1912a].

In the early 20th century, Ufa was a major Tatar urban cultural centre. In 1906–1907, the newspaper 'äl-Galämel-islami' ('Islamic World', first editor: D. Abylgildin) was published there. 'Tormış' ('Life') appeared in 1913–1918. Such magazines as the 'Mäğlumate mäxkämäi şärgıyayı Orenborgıya' (Proceedings of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, had found their niche in the Tatar informational expanse, it was published from 1908–1911, 1916–1917),²³ the weekly 'Mäğlumate cädidä' ('New Information', 1911–1912), and 'Ufanıñ avıl könküreşe jurnalı' ('Ufa Journal of Country Life', 1914–1917) [Tatar wakıtlı, 1999].

The first Tatar printing house 'Şarık matbası' ('Oriental press'), 1908, was a branch of the Partnership of Karimov, Khusainov, and

Co., Orenburg. It published about 200 books, mostly authored by local artistic intelligentsia [Karimullin, 1974, pp. 165–168]. The second private printing house, owned by Usmanov, was founded in 1911 and remained active for 2 years [Khayrullina, 2004, p. 207].

To sum up, in the early 20th century Ufa was the Muslim center of Southern Ural. It had

madrasahs, adequate, newspapers, magazines, and publishing facilities. The cooperation of the city's bourgeoisie and Tatar intelligentsia accelerated the modernisation of the ethnic culture.

In conclusion it should be noted that the development of Russian cities in the late 18th century, in particular the Tatar urban communities in the south-east of Russian resulted from the policy of the government. The key frameworks within Tatar urban communities developed from the end of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century were largely determined by how rapidly capitalist relations developed, how rapid the progress of Russian modernisation was, and what socio-economic processes took place far from the country's centre.

In most Volga-Ural and Siberian cities, Tatars were the second largest ethnic population group after Russians.

Cities were centres where close contacts of various confessional population groups took place and a new intelligentsia, represented by Tatar elites with European education, formed. They concentrated the ethnic capital and merchantry as the regional elite, whose modernisation efforts brought about social innovations in the Tatar communities.

²³ The first editor (1908) was the imam of the 3rd mosque M. Khasanov, after whom it was the heads of the OMSA Khasangat Gabyashi, Nurmukhamed Mamleev and the honorary citizen by birth Giniyatulla Kapkaev.

CHAPTER 2

Provincial Tatars

§ 1. Western Siberia

Svetlana Korusenko, Nikolay Tomilov

By the beginning of the 20th century, the following three groups constituted the core of the contemporary Tatar population of Siberia: the local Turkic-speaking population, Bukharans, and the Volga-Ural Tatars.

By the end of the 18th century, the territories of the following native Turkic-speaking ethnic units had formed:

- the Tobol-Irtysh Tatars, including the Tyumen-Turinsk, Tobolsk, Yaskolba, Kurdak-Sargat, and Tatar Tatars;
- the Baraba Tatars;
- the Tomsk-Ob Turkic-speaking group, which included the Eushta Tatars, the Chats, the Ob Tatars, and the Kalmaks.

As a result of the changes in the settlement of Siberian Tatars that took place from the late 16th to the middle of the 18th century and were caused by the colonisation of Siberia, striped settlement patterns of population groups coming from the European Russia, and the volatile situation in a number of regions brought about the discontinuity of territories between the Tyumen, Kurdak-Sargat, and Tara Tatars on the one hand and the Tyumen and Turinsk Tatars on the other hand: the Chats' migration to the Cis-Ob region broke the ethnic Baraba and Turkic territory in the Middle Cis-Ob region into separate fragments. The territory of the Tobolsk, Tyumen, and Yaskolba Tatars was coherent. The Tobolsk Tatars lived next to the Kurdak-Sargat Tatars. The latter group's territory was adjacent to that of the Tara and Baraba Tatars. The two groups also shared a border area. In the east, the Kalmaks, the Ob Tatars, the Chats, and the Eushta Tatars were within a coherent territory, where individual representatives and small groups of Tobol-Irtysh and Baraba Tatars also lived. Such a geographical

arrangement of different Siberian Tatar groups in principle remained unchanged from the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century. Administratively, the territory inhabited by Siberian Tatars consisted of southern areas of the Tobolsk (the Tara, Tobolsk, Tyumen, and Yalutorovsk districts) and Tomsk (the Kainsk and Tomsk districts) guberniyas.

In the 19th century, each group lost some old settlements and developed new ones; some of the existing localities expanded. Major shifts in the dispersal of Siberian Tatar groups were attributable to the Russians' reclamation of the region for the purpose of farming. This primarily led to a striped pattern in the arrangement of their settlements and agricultural lands. In the Turinsk and Ob Tatar groups, Russians settled directly in their villages. It was not uncommon for Ob Tatars to live in Russian villages. Other Tatar groups had no practice of the kind. Only in the late 19th century, the Russian percentage began to grow in a number of Tatar settlements. It was the highest in the Ob Tatar localities. In the 18th century, the Russian concentration was relatively high in certain Tomsk Tatar villages, which was largely determined by the presence of baptised Tatar groups within them. In the Tobol-Irtysh Tatar groups, the percentage of baptised Tatars was so small that they tended to move to Russian localities. Even though the government supported the Tatar population in terms of protecting the integrity of their land, the re-allocation of land between Tatars and Russians through sale and lease became common. Russians came to greatly outnumber the indigenous population of Western Siberia back in the 17th century, and over the course of the 18th century their number increased 2.4 times [Kabuzan, Troitsky, 1962, p. 146]. In a num-

Tatars
on the porch
of a house.
The Tyumen
Uyezd.
Photo from
the early
20th century.



ber of places, an inflow of Russians narrowed down the Siberian Tatar habitat and aggravated the territorial disunity of certain groups.

As Russian cities emerged and developed in Siberia, part of the Siberian Tatars became their residents. For instance, the Tatar Sloboda was founded during the construction of Tobolsk. In 1816, the Tatar population 'consisted of 23 yasak people of both sexes and 134 Tatars (men) from the Tatar Cossack team' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1264, inv. 1, file 4, s. 155]. 185 indigenous dwellers resided in Tobolsk in the 1880s [Golodnikov, 1882, p. 29]. 23 Serving Tatars resided in Tyumen in 1816. The Tatar population of Turinsk numbered 12 in 1835 [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1264, inv. 1, file 71, s. 49]. 72 people resided in Tara in 1816 [Government Institution of Tyumen Region State Archive in Tobolsk, f. 154, inv. 8, file 354]. A Tatar Sloboda was also founded in Tomsk, where Serving Tatars resided together with the Bukharans. In the early 1820s, the Tomsk Tatar team numbered 54 people (about 100 people including wives and female children) living directly in the city [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1264, inv. 1, file 4, s. 148 reverse–149, 156 reverse; inv. 546, s. 18]. It is entirely possible that some Siberian Tatars (mainly coming from the Tobolsk guberniya)

in the 18th to 19th century took residence in Petropavlovsk, where Volga Tatars, Bukharans, and Kazakhs also resided [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1265, inv. 9, file 226, s. 2–7; Slovtsov, 1881, p. 9]. By the end of the 19th century, the total urban Siberian Tatar population numbered 653. However, they were clearly a minority as compared to the non-indigenous Volga Tatars in terms of percentage.

The population dynamics of the three key Siberian Tatar groups—the Tobol-Irtysh, Baraba, and Tomsk Tatars—over the 19th century is presented in Table 12. The table largely refers to consolidated and primary records of the 5th (1795), 8th (1834), and 10th (1858) censuses, as well as those of the First All-Russian Census of 1897, which S. Patkanov processed to single out data on certain peoples and ethnic population groups.

The data in Table 12 indicates that the Baraba Tatar population decreased. It has been argued that the decrease in the Baraba Tatar population is attributable to a deterioration in living conditions (in particular, heavy murrains) and the spread of epidemic diseases. The Baraba Tatars remained semi-nomads in the 19th century. Livestock breeding was their primary occupation. In the 19th century, the Tomsk Tatar population increased insignificantly. It is at-

Table 12

Dynamics of the number of Siberian Tatars in the late 18–19th centuries

Groups of the Tatars	1795	1834	1858	1897
Tobolsk-Irtysh	21,482	28,195	30,325	37,648
Barabinsk	(5060)*	4876	4411	4433
Tomsk	2723 (as of 1805)**	2764	(1770)***	4016
Total:	29,265	35,835	36,506	46,097

* The total number of the Baraba Tatars was calculated based on the number of males. ** The number of the Chats and Eushins given is from 1795 (materials of the 5th revision of population), the number of the Ob Tatars and Kalmaks was taken from the Bulletin of the Tomsk District on the Population from 1805 [State Archive of Tomsk Oblast, f. 144, inv. 1, file 1]. *** The number was stated without the Ob Tatar group and was calculated based on the number of males.

tributable to the partial Christianisation of the Tomsk Tatars. Those baptised eventually assimilated with the Russians. Population growth was the highest in the Tobol-Irtysh Tatar group, though there were periods when some of the local groups dwindled. The Tobol-Irtysh Tatars were less inclined to convert to Christianity because Islam was strongly entrenched in their communities. This is especially true with the Tara and Tobolsk Tatars.

The Bukharans, who had begun to move to Siberia before the Muscovite State annexed it, also lived within the Siberian Tatar habitat. Their inflow was the largest in the latter half of the 17–18th century. The following four territorial groups of Siberian Bukharans were formed: 1) Tyumen; 2) Tobolsk; 3) Tara; 4) Tomsk. The Tomsk Bukharans were largely an isolated group. The remaining three groups often consolidated, which happened in the early 19th century, when new duties were imposed on the Bukharans. To quote an address to Governor-General of Siberia I. Pestel: 'Most humble request by the Tobol, Tyumen, and Tara Bukharans and Tashkent people's attorneys Mament Shikhov and Magomet Shikhov' [State Historical Archive of the Omsk Oblast, f. 2, inv. 1, file 158, s. 1a]. This indicates the Bukharans living in the territory of the Tobol-Irtysh Siberian Tatar groups to have been closely interconnected. These groups can be singled out because the Bukharans tended to form groups around large cities as their primary occupation was initially commerce. They lived in the Siberian Tatar territory. Part of the land was in hereditary use of large Bukharan family

groups (such as the Imyaminovs', Shikhovs', and Aytykins' land in the Tara uyezd, the rights on which were confirmed by 'excerpts' from patrol books dating back to the end of the 17th to the first half of 18th century and shajara genealogies). The Bukharans originally had close contacts with the Siberian Tatars, including marital relationships. The Bukharan population included small groups of indigenous Siberian Tatars, migrants from the Kazan guberniya, Kalmyks, and Kazakhs (for instance, in Petropavlovsk, where the Bukharans were controlled by the head of Tobolsk). This is attributable to the privileges that Russian rulers granted to the Bukharans from time to time. The Bukharan population of the Western Siberia was divided into administrative districts, each controlled by an elder. For instance, at the end of 18th century, the Bukhara volost was established in the Tara district, while the Bukharan population of the Tobolsk and Tyumen districts were administered by the Bukharan elder. By the middle of the 19th century, the Bukhara volosts of the Tobolsk and Tyumen districts had been established. There also was a Bukhara volost in the Tomsk district.

As is indicated in Table 13, the Siberian Bukharan population grew constantly; a significant level of growth occurred in the first half of the 19th century. The first half of the 19th century was a period of a focused eastern governmental policy and the Empire's expansion into the Central Asian region, which favoured further migration from Central Asia to Siberia, which primarily attracted farmers. However, at that time newcomers were no longer enti-

Table 13

**Dynamics of the population of the Siberian Bukhara Tatars
in the last quarter of the 18–19th centuries**

Territorial groups of the Siberian Bukhara Tatars	1782	1834	1858	1897
Tyumen guberniya	1547	(2548)*	3147	3412
Tobolsk	1888	3156	3422	3308
Tara	1243	2424	3339	4515
Tomsk	(150)*	267	307	210
Total:	4678	8395	10,215	11,517

* The total number was calculated based on the number of males.

tled to land. Most of the migrant Bukharans resided in indigenous territories and those of the Bukharans to whom land was assigned in the 17–18th century. This is why mid–19th century land management documents provide information on the land owned by this or that Bukharan clan (like the Shikhovs, the Imyaminovs, the Burgutovs, and others in Tara) and report a lack of land, limiting ownership opportunities to livestock plots. In the late 18th century, the Tobolsk group of Siberian Bukharans was prevalent, while in the late 19th century the Tara group became the largest because a branch of lake settlements in the forest-steppe zone was founded by Bukharans in the late 18–early 19th century [Korusenko, 2006, pp. 47–51]. While in the early 18th century Bukharans tended to live around cities, such as Tyumen, Tobolsk, and Tara, in the 19th century remote territories of the Tara district also had a very compact population; the Tyumen and Tobolsk Bukharan groups scattered among the local Tatars. For instance, the journal of the Tobolsk District Office for Peasant Issues (Record No. 91, dated 1 July 1895) reads as follows: 'Tatar volosts have the following features: Bukharans live in nearly all Tatar yurts; it is a most peculiar group of Tatar-populated volosts "consisting in the fact that nearly in each Tatar settlement its dwellers belong not to a single indigenous volost but to very nearly all of them'... The population of the Bukhara volost, which also has its indigenous population in the city of Tobolsk, while the most remote yurts of the volost lie within the Tyumen and Tara districts, is even more scattered' [Government Institution of Tyumen

Region State Archive in Tobolsk, f. 479, inv. 2, file 51, s. 37, 38].

The fact that the 1926 census reported nearly all Bukharans residing in the Tara district—11,517 people (of whom 497 were Tara residents)—is attributable to the changing size of various Bukharan groups and their dispersal. The census recorded 3 Bukharan residents of the Tobolsk district and 81 in the Tyumen district [Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1926 goda]. Therefore, the process of Bukharan Tatarisation had already begun by the early 20th to be completed by the mid–20th century.

The Volga Tatars had begun to move to Siberia even before it became part of Russia. Following the annexation of Siberia, Volga and Ural Tatars tended to migrate to Tobolsk and Tyumen Tatar territories. However, 'Kazan people' were occasionally in other Turkic-speaking groups. For instance, the 1701 Patrol Book of the Tara uyezd mentions, apart from yasak, service class, and zakhrebetnik Tatars and Bukharans, representatives of the non-indigenous Turkic-speaking population, namely people from Kazan—10 adults and one child (1.0% of the uyezd's Turkic-speaking population). They resided both in villages around Tara and in Tara itself and in remote localities, primarily small ostrogs. Most of them owned no land; some did not even have livestock.

It is assumed that in the 18th century a group of Tatar migrants from the European Russia settled among the Tobolsk Tatars in the Tobolsk district to be later known as 'obrok Chuvalshhiks' (non-Russians) [Patkanov, 1912, p. 120; Tumasheva, 1977, p. 15]. Most of them were Tatars from the Kazan, Samara, and other

guberniyas who had moved to Tobolsk. They gradually took residence in local Tobolsk Tatar yurts. The city's population was as small as 24 people in 1782 [Government Institution of Tyumen Region State Archive in Tobolsk, f. 154, inv. 8, file 4, s. 1218]. The first Chuvalshhiks came to Siberia in the latter half of the 17th century. Unlike yasak Tatars, Chuvalshhiks paid obrok and not yasak. This is why they formed a special obrok Chuvalshhiks volost. However, administrative documents sometimes referred to obrok Chuvalshhiks as yasak Tatars. Part of the yasak and zakhrebetnik indigenous Siberian Tatars must have been included in the obrok Chuvalshhik group. Therefore, we believe this Tatar category to be a mixed Siberian and Kazan population group. Unlike 'pure' Volga-Ural Tatar migrants, who remained peasants, they became sedentary indigenous dwellers within the framework of M. Speransky's reforms. At the same time, the indigenous obrok Chuvalshhik volost existed until the 20th century. It was dissolved in 1910 [Bakieva, 2003, p. 59].

It was not until the latter half of the 19th century that a mass migration of Volga-Ural Tatars to Siberia took place, which affected the culture and ethnic development of the Siberian Tatars. Most of the Tatar newcomers belonged to the Kazan Tatar groups. However, some of them were Ufa Tatars, Mishars, etc. Many of them continued to take residence in indigenous Siberian Tatar villages or found new localities near them.

The number of Tatar migrants in Siberia grew slowly and remained generally insignificant until the 1860s. Speaking of the Tomsk Kazan Tatar group in the last quarter of the 18th century, J. Falk (1771) reported the Tomsk Tatar and Bukharan population to number 200 people of both sexes [Falk, 1824, p. 54]. In 1816, the Tatar population of the Kazan volost, Tomsk district numbered 107 people, namely 59 men and 48 women [State Archive of the Tomsk Region, f. 321, inv. 1, file 10, s. 5–13].

Documents report 91 Kazan Tatars to have lived in three districts of the Tobolsk guberniya—Tara, Tobolsk, Tyumen—in 1782; this number had decreased to 27 by 1816. In fact, there were more of them in the districts, especially in that of Tobolsk, because they were not

recorded by ethnic affiliation within the yasak, zakhrebetnik, house-serf, and service groups. Part of the Kazan Tatar population was included in the obrok Chuvalshhik group. However, it is impossible to single them out because they assimilated with the Siberian Tatars. According to different statistics, the number of obrok Chuvalshhiks in the Tobolsk guberniya in 1782 was 254 male individuals [Russians State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 248, inv. 53, file 4342, s. 466 reverse; Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1341, inv. 1, file 295, s. 146 reverse] or 249 people [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1341, inv. 1, file 295, s. 92–92 reverse]; in 1812, 325 people on the census list; in 1816, 376 male individuals, or 622 people; in 1858, 920 individuals of both sexes [Government Institution of Tyumen Region State Archive in Tobolsk, f. 154, inv. 8, file 427, s. 1–57; file 804, s. 1–185]. If we assumed that the Kazan Tatars account for half of the total obrok Chuvalshhiks, this would yield their approximate number, data on migrants included. This would be 340 individuals of both sexes for 1782; 500 for 1834; and 600 for 1858.

Records report the Tatar migration from Europe to Siberia to have not become mass-scale until the last third of the 19th century. Even in 1858, non-indigenous Tatars in the Western Siberian Plain were only 700 people (or a little more). Their number grown rapidly to 14.4 thousand people by 1897 (Table 14).

Volga and Ural Tatars tended to co-reside with local Tatars. They came to prevail in some localities. For instance, the 1897 census revealed a non-indigenous Tatar percentage of about 55% in a number of villages in the Tara uyezd, Tobolsk guberniya (Bayby, Tashetkany, etc.). They came in family clans. It was common for families from the same uyezd to live together. In Tashetkany, most non-indigenous people came from the Bugulma uyezd, Samara guberniya. New villages were founded from time to time. For instance, the villages of Molodtsovo and Malye Murly were founded in the same uyezd in the last quarter of the 19th century. Kazanka was founded in the early 20th century.

Thus, mass Volga and Ural Tatar migration brought about major changes to the dispersion

Table 14

Number of Volga and Ural Region Tatars in the West Siberian Plain in 1897

(calculated based on [Patkanov, 1911, pp. 2–3, 130–131])*

Group of Tatars, district	Urban population	Rural population	Urban and rural population
<i>Tobolsk guberniya</i>			
Tobolsk, Tura, Tyumen, Yalutorovsk and Tara (lived with the Siberian Tatars)	745	5452	6197
Beryozovsky, Ishim, Kurgan, Surgut, Tyukalinsk (lived without the Siberian Tatars)	110	1767	1877
Total:	855	7219	8074
<i>Baraba Governorate</i>			
Kainsk	113	1251	1364
<i>Tomsk guberniya</i>			
Tomsk	1335	2237	3572
Mariinsk	113	1251	1364
Total:	1448	3488	4936
Total:	2416	11958	14374

* The data of the 1897 census offers us information on the ratio of native and immigrant groups (Volga-Ural Tatars and Bukhara Tatars) as of the late 19th century.

of indigenous Tatar groups by the end of the 19th century. Already in that period, Tatar migrants made up over one third of the Tomsk Tatars and almost one fourth of the Baraba Tatar population. However, the groups remained small as compared to the Tobol-Irtysh Tatars. Non-indigenous Tatars made up a little more than 14% of them in the late 19th century. Table 15 indicates Tatars from the Volga and Ural Regions to have accounted for most of the urban Tatar population, namely 52.2% in the Tobol-Irtysh group, 99.1% in the Baraba group, and 82.1% in the Tomsk group. In general, the Tatar population expanded greatly over the last third of the 19th century, primarily due to migration.

Tatar population growth rate was even higher in the first 15 years of the 20th century due to more intense migration from the Volga and Ural regions. For instance, 1911 statistics report the Tomsk guberniya alone to host over 36,000 Muslims, most of whom were non-indigenous

Volga-Ural Tatars [Pamyatnaya knizhka Tomskoj gubernii za 1912 god, p. 184]. In the Tobolsk guberniya, an increase in the number of non-indigenous Tatars in the early 20th also caused a rapid growth of the Tatar (both indigenous and non-indigenous) population. It numbered over 66,000 people in the governorate in 1907 [Dunin-Gorkavich, 1909, p. 6].

To limit our analysis of Tatar population size in the late 19th century to the territory inhabited by certain groups would yield incomplete results. Tatar migrants from the European Russia formed their localities and even founded enclaves in the Tomsk guberniya (Altai regions), the Irkutsk guberniya, and further to the east. The number of Volga-Ural Tatar migrants to Siberia and the Far East by the late 19th century is provided in Table 16. According to S. Patkanov, 1,515 Tatars were found on Sakhalin, who were not included in the table.

Table 16 suggests a high percentage of urban dwellers among non-indigenous Tatars—

Table 15

The number of Siberian Tatars, Bukhara residents and Tatars transplanted from the Volga and Urals Regions in the late 19th century (according to the 1897 census data)
(calculated based on [Patkanov, 1911, pp. 2–3, 130–131])

A Tatar group	Total	Turkic descendants (Siberian Tatars)		Volga and Ural Region Tatars		Bukhara Tatars	
		people	%	people	%	people	%
Rural areas							
Tobolsk-Irtysh	55391	37217	67,2	7219*	13,2	10956	19,6
Barabinsk	6576	4421	77,9	1251	22,0	4	0,1
Tomsk	5015	3795	75,7	1078	21,5	142	2,8
Total:	66082	45433	68,8	9548	14,4	11101	16,8
Urban areas							
Tobolsk-Irtysh	1638	431	26,3	855	52,2	352	21,5
Barabinsk	114	1	0,9	113	99,1	—	—
Tomsk	1611	221	13,7	1322	82,1	68	4,2
Total:	3363	653	19,4	2290	66,0	420	12,5
Rural and urban areas							
Tobolsk-Irtysh	57029	37648	66,0	8074	14,2	11307	19,8
Barabinsk	5790	4422	76,4	1364	23,5	4	0,1
Tomsk	6626	4016	60,6	2400	36,2	210	3,2
Total:	69445	46086	66,4	11838	17,0	11521	16,6

* This number does not include the arriving Tatars spread around the Tobolsk guberniya, outside of the districts with Siberian Tatars.

Table 16

Number of the Volga and Ural Region Tatars in Siberia in the late 19th century (according to the 1897 census)

(calculated based on [Patkanov, 1911, pp. 2–3, 130–131, 435, 551, 711, 845, 866])

Territorial units	Total	Urban areas		Rural areas	
		people	%	people	%
Tobolsk guberniya	8074	855	10.6	7219	89.4
Tomsk guberniya	9423	1812	19.2	7611	80.8
Yeniseisk Guberniya	3640	1107	30.4	2533	69.6
Irkutsk guberniya	6467	921	14.2	5546	85.8
Trans-Baikal Oblast	2512	259	10.3	2253	89.7
Yakutsk Oblast	1476	610	41.3	866	58.7
Amur Oblast	552	217	39.3	335	60.7
Primorskaya guberniya	1053	402	38.2	651	61.8
Total:	33,197	6183	18.6	27,014	81.4

from 10 to 40%. However, it did not exceed half in any region.

By the end of the 19th century, the Russian to indigenous ratio in the population of Siberia changed. According to the 5th census, in the late 18th century, Russians accounted for about 70% of the Siberian population [Kabu-

zan, Troitsky, 1962, p. 146]. The 1897 census revealed a Russian percentage of 80.7% in Siberia (including the Far East). However, the Russian to indigenous ratio in the Western and Eastern Siberia was different: 91.4% in the Western Siberia and 65.8% in the Eastern Siberia (including the Far East); indigenous

and non-indigenous Tatars in Eastern Siberia numbered 63,583 (1.9% of the total population), which value was 17,215 people (0.7%) for the rest of the Asian part of Russia. That is, over 80,000 Tatars resided in Asian Russia in the late 19th century.

The multicomponent structure of the Siberian Turkic-speaking population determined its social complexity dating back to the period when the Russians began to develop the territory of Siberia (late 16–17th century) and first local and then indigenous groups

were integrated in the administrative system through newly-established volosts representative of social changes (like the Podgorodnaya volost for former Serving Tatars transferred to the yasak class). Most social unification took place in the latter half of the 19th century, when the three groups belonged to different census categories: indigenous dwellers (indigenous Tatars), state peasants (non-indigenous Tatars), and Bukharans. Yet, representatives of this or that group could cross social borders.

§ 2. Kazakhstan

Marat Sdykov, Nayla Khamitbaeva

The Tatars began to come to Kazakhstan and take residence there in the 18th century, within the framework of the formation of the multinational population following the Russian colonisation of the Kazakh land.

In the 18th century, the population of Kazakhstan was divided into three clan units, namely the Junior Zhuz, which covered the western part, the territory between the Ural and the Emba; the Middle Zhuz in the central part; and the Senior Zhuz around Lake Balkhash. The Junior Zhuz Khan Abulhair's request to Empress Anna Ioannovna to accept him as a Russian subject was enshrined in a decree of 1731. The administrative reforms of 1822–1824 abolished khan government in the Junior and Middle Zhuzes. The rest of the Kazakh land was annexed by Russia by the mid-19th century following the military colonisation of the Central and Southern Kazakhstan. The process was over when the Regulations on Steppe Area Administration were adopted to complete the introduction of the Russian administrative system in Kazakhstan. In the middle of the 1850s, when Russian task groups entered the Syr Darya region, the territory of Kazakhstan was fully included in the Russian Empire. The annexed regions of Kazakhstan formed the Steppe Governorate-General, consisting of the Ural, Turgay, Akmola, and Semipalatinsk oblasts. In 1882, the Semirechye oblast was included in the Steppe Governorate-General.

The following key migration flows from Russia to Kazakhstan can be singled out. The most important one consisted of state-controlled migration waves. Here the parent country established a system of measures to encourage the necessary social and ethnic population group to move eastward. The Orenburg, Siberian, and Semirechye Cossack Armies were established under the emperor's decree in the territory of Kazakhstan and the adjacent land as a military and police force in the steppe areas. In the first half of the 19th century, the second migration flow consisted of migrants looking for shelter and relief of their burdens. The second component of migration to Kazakhstan was the voluntary migration by entrepreneurs, merchants, peasants, and burghers, who tended to reside in urban settlements or near them, founding slobodas and populating the outskirts, which stimulated the local economy and culture. Thus, the colonisation of Kazakhstan and Russia's policy of encouraging central area dwellers to migrate to the newly annexed land caused a multinational population to form by the end of the 19th century.

The governmental migration policy for Kazakhstan focused on ensuring settling for Tatars as a people having a culture, language, and religion similar to those of the Kazakhs. Back in the 18th century, Tatars had been engaged in the 'acculturation' of the nomads of the Kazakh Steppes, which were undergoing a transi-

tion to the Russian Empire. The Volga Tatars were encouraged to carry out commercial activities among the nomads of Kazakhstan. The governmental treasury funded mosque and confessional school building, sent Kazan Tatars to the steppe as mullahs, teachers, etc. The Tatar language became the official language in which tsarist authorities communicated with the nomadic population of Kazakhstan in that period. Religious and linguistic affinity determined close contacts between Tatars and the indigenous steppe people [Zagidullin, 2006, pp. 162–197].

A new flow of migrants during intense colonization of the Kazakh land resulted from the need for political, administrative, and military arrangements in the new colonies. Key new migrant groups included military personnel, service people, public officials, and Cossacks. Suffering a lack of experienced translators, boundary authorities engaged Serving Tatars in the translation of written correspondence in Turkic languages, diplomatic negotiations, and collection of information on events in the Steppe. Tatars served as interpreters and public officials to communicate with the indigenous population.

Tatar mullahs also played an important role because they contributed to the establishment of new mosques and madrasahs, especially where new migrants lived.

Uralsk was the administrative centre of the Ural Cossack Army, which affected the social composition of the Tatar community. It had a high percentage of Cossacks with 10.9% (with a city value of 31.2%) [Pervaya vseobshhaya, Vol. 88, pp. 26–27].

The first reports of a mass Tatar migration to the region date back to the middle of the 18th century. The Tatars initially resided in Uralsk in the second half of the 18th century. In 1760, the government permitted them to inhabit the Irtysh Pale, and groups of Tatars came to the Petropavlovsk and Semipalatinsk fortresses there. The Tatars were attracted to the region to transport cargo between Siberian cities along the Irtysh River. In 1836, the Tatar population of Petropavlovsk numbered 459 people; Semipalatinsk, 1,451; and Ust-Kamenogorsk, 210 [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 3, inv. 1,

file 1630, s. 49–53]. Already by the end of the following century, the cities had a wide network of Tatar neighbourhoods, mosques, madrasahs, and maktab schools.

In 1832, the first Tatar settlement in Central Kazakhstan was founded in the territory of Ak-molinsk. The settlement became a large locality where in 1864 130 Tatars, 245 Kazakhs, and 1,319 Central Asian merchants resided. It had a mosque and a Tatar school providing education to 40 children of various ethnic affiliations on its premises [Kosymbaev, 1998, pp. 58–59]. The total Tatar population of Kazakhstan numbered 3.9 thousand people, or 0.23% of the region's total population, by the middle of the 19th century [Vostrov, 1980, p. 18].

Until the mid-19th century, the Tatars tended to reside in Tatar slobodas, which suggests them to have been somewhat isolated from the local population. This is attributable to not only religious differences from other citizens but their occupations, because commerce and mediation were not traditional in the steppe at that time. Therefore, the Tatar population grew mostly due to an influx of migrants. The main reasons that caused Tatars to move to the East were recruitment, forced Christianisation, and dramatic deterioration of living conditions, famine. The government sent part of the Tatar population to Kazakhstan when fortresses and outposts were being built there.

Starting in the middle of the 19th century, the Tatar-inhabited territory began to expand toward southern Kazakhstan because the Russians had occupied the Syr Darya and Semirechye Regions. That is how the settlements of Kokpekty and Zaysan arose. After the Alatau External District was founded in Semirechye in 1856, Tatar and Chala-Kazakh migrants, that is, representatives of the Turkic-speaking sedentary population of the region, descendants of mixed Kazakh and Tatar, Kalmyk, and other families headed there. They founded a commercial sloboda specialising in leather production near the Verny fortification. A madrasah and a mosque opened soon [Asfandiyarov, 1998, pp. 329–330, 333].

However, the largest migration flows in the 19th century moved from the Volga region and Central Russian to Western Kazakhstan. Some



A Tatar mosque in the town of Lepsinsk in the Semirechensk Region.
A photo of the early 20th century.

Tatars lived in Uralsk, which had one of the largest Tatar communities in Kazakhstan.

The key Tatar migration destinations in the post-reform period were the city of Aktyuba, founded in 1869—the city's upper part is known as Tatar—and the Kostanay uyezd, Turgay oblast, where a large local Tatar community of 1,725 people formed within a short time [Troynitsky, 1905, Ed. 7, p. 37].

Tatar migration to Kazakhstan and Kirghizia from the Middle Volga and Northern Ural regions, as well as Western Siberia, was more intense in the post-reform period.

The statistics indicates the Tatars became the most influential population group in Kazakhstan by the end of the 19th century.

In the late 19th century, the Tatar population of Kazakhstan numbered 50,114 people, or 1.45% of the region's total population. Tatars were the most numerous in the Ural and Ak-mola regions. Large communities also existed in the Semirechye and Semipalatinsk oblasts. Tatars were the fewest in the Turgay oblast. The 1897 census records for the Turgay oblast reported that 'Tatars, Mordvins, Cheremis, and Bashkirs, belonging to the sedentary part of the population, tend to reside, as Russians do, in northern uyezds, that is, those of Kostanay and, partly, Aktyubinsk' [Pervaya vseobshhaya, Vol. 87, p. LXXXVII]. The largest uyezds,

those of Turgay and Irgiz, in the southern area of the region, were very hard to live in as they largely consisted of salt marshes and sandy soil, which would greatly challenge arable farming.

In terms of total population size, the Tatars were the third largest expatriate community of Kazakhstan after Russians and Ukrainians. They lived in nearly all areas of Kazakhstan.

The Tatars had become a large group of the urban population of Kazakhstan by the late 19th century. The urban population of Kazakhstan at the end of the 19th century numbered 28,875 people, or 57.6% of the region's total Tatar population. The Tatar population of Petropavlovsk numbered 6,129; Semipalatinsk, 5,678; Uralsk, 3,461; Kostanay, 1,411; Iletsk, 1,341; Verny, 1,211. Tatar populations were smaller in such cities as Kopal (961), Lepsinsk (900), Omsk (789), Guryevsk (655), Przhevalsk (539), and Pavlodar (561). Atbasar, Kokchetav, Kokpekty, Kargaly, and Ust-Kamenogorsk were home to less than 500 Tatars each. Other cities in the region had Tatar populations of 100 to 300 people.

Socially, most of the migrants were burghers (18,773 people, or 37.5%), who tended to reside in cities. The second largest Tatar population group consisted of peasants (18,156 people, or 36.2%) and Cossacks (7,637 people, or 15.2%), most of whom lived in uyezds. There were few Tatars that belonged to the

Table 17

Population size in the regions of Kazakhstan in 1897 [Pervaya vseobshhaya, Vol. 81, 84, 85, 87, 88]

Regions	Entire current population of both sexes	% of the total	Tatar population of both sexes	% of the total
Akmola	682,608	19.8	10,819	21.6
Semipalatinsk	684,590	19.8	9940	19.8
Urals	645,121	18.7	17,805	35.5
Turgay	453,416	13.1	3197	6.4
Semirechensk	987,863	28.6	8353	16.7
Total:	3,453,598	100	50,114	100

higher levels of society: only 207 noblemen by birth, 52 personal noblemen, 4 clergymen, and 30 honorary citizens resided in the region. Just as the Tatar merchants (1,225 people, or 2.4%), they tended to live in cities.

Tatar public officials and military servants were only 892 people, or 1.8%. Tatar clergymen and professionals numbered 1,205 (2.4%). A large portion of the Tatar population was engaged in commerce—14,875 people, or 29.7%. Private employees, servants, and day-labourers made up a considerable group of 5,137 people, or 10.2%. The majority of them lived in cities. A small part of the Tatar population worked in city, water, and railroad transport. Most of Tatars engaged in transport were cab drivers (1,710 people). As few as 41 Tatars worked in water and railroad transport. A large part of the region's Tatar population—24,420 people, or 48.7%—was employed in agriculture and industry. Agricultural workers numbered 16,840, or 33.6% of the Tatar population, while industry employed 7,580 people, or 15.1%.

The major economic and social transformation in Kazakhstan that were caused by the entrance of Russian capital to the Steppe and the beginning decay of the traditional Kazakh economy changed the ethno-social structure. Entrepreneurial opportunities attracted to Kazakhstan representatives of new social groups: merchants, industrialists, etc. The urban population had become predominantly 'nonresident' by the late 19th century. At that time, Kazakhstan had 34 cities: 6 oblast centres, 26 uyezd centres, and 2 non-uyezd cities. Tatars formed a new population group in Kazakhstan, primarily in cities.

The Tatar population continued to grow rapidly in the early 20th century. While in 1897 Kazakhstan had 50.1 thousand Tatar residents, in 1917 there were as many as 97.4 thousand. Tatar percentage increased from 1.45% to 1.82% [Bekmakhanova, 1986, Table 35, p. 172; Table 36, p. 173; Table 37, pp. 175–176]. This is attributable to both natural change and migration. However, migration remained the main reason for population growth in the early 20th century.

As industry, especially small businesses and the railroad network, developed in Kazakhstan, the population of oblast and uyezd cities, which were becoming not only administrative and commercial but industrial and cultural centres, began to grow at a higher rate. Having a population of 31,000 people, Semipalatinsk became a commercial and industrial centre of Eastern Kazakhstan in 1900. Petropavlovsk in the north of Kazakhstan had 21,000 residents and 66 agricultural produce processing plants with a capital of over 1 million roubles. The plants employed 1,375 workers of various ethnic affiliations, including Tatars. The population of Kostanay, which was founded in 1879, grew by a factor of 2.5, to 14.3 thousand people over 18 years. That of Akmola, which became a commercial centre, increased at a similar scale. Uralsk was the commercial and industrial centre of Western Kazakhstan. In 1900, its population numbered 39 thousand people. The construction of the Uralsk-Pokrovskoe Railroad in 1895–1896 favoured the city's growth. The population of Pavlodar, Guryev, Ust-Kamenogorsk, Karkaraly, Kokshetau, and other cities grew rapidly.

Table 18

The number and relative share of the Tatars in Kazakhstan in 1897–1917

[Pervaya vseobshhaya, Vol. 81, 84, 85, 87, 88]

Regions	Number, '000 people		Share, %		Increase, % (+, –)
	1897	1917	1897	1917	
Akmola	10.8	24.0	1.59	1.55	– 0.04
Semipalatinsk	9.9	38.3	1.45	1.45	0
Urals	17.8	14.5	2.76	1.81	– 0.95
Turgay	3.2	7.6	0.70	2.01	+ 1.31
Semirechensk	8.4	13.0	0.84	0.98	+ 0.14
Total:	50.1	97.4	1.45	1.82	+ 0.37

The urban population largely consisted of craftsmen, industrial workers, and low-rank employees. At the same time, a lot of public officials and merchants lived in cities that were economic and administrative centres. An intelligentsia stratum developed. The Tatars continued to populate the Semipalatinsk oblast. They concentrated in the Semipalatinsk (growth by 8.46%) and Trans-Caspian (growth by 3.43%) uyezds. The percentage of Tatars was high in the Uralsk oblast, though it decreased somewhat from 1897 to 1917. Part of the Tatar population served in the Ural Cossack Army. Those were Christians who gradually became russified. Migrants continued to arrive in the Semirechye and Akmola oblasts, where Tatar population grew from 19.2 to 37 thousand people.

Before the revolution, Tatars were engaged in various spheres of urban economy, including petty handicrafts, furriery, and urgent domestic services. As Tatars grew involved in the social life of the new territories, expatriate group leaders, usually wealthy migrants, became distinct. They initiated the founding of Muslim communities and, later, ethnic centres for religious, cultural, and educational issues. Madrasahs at the premises of mosques, secular schools, clubs, beneficiary and charity partnerships were established. In the most advanced centres of that time—Uralsk, Petropavlovsk, and Semipalatinsk—newspapers and books were published and an ethnic intelligentsia developed.

Tatars were also important for Kazakhstan's economy. The merchants Khusainovs, Yaush-

evs, Abdrashitovs, and others opened rendering houses, soap plants, slaughter houses, and houses of commerce in Kostanay, Aktyube, Irigiz, and Karabutak. Outstanding entrepreneurs from Kazakhstan include Birushev, Muratov, the Akchurins, the Tyumenevs, the Shamsutdinovs, the Davletkildeevs, the Brothers Tabeev, Valit Yanguzarov (Petropavlovsk), Iskhak Gabdelvaliev, and father and son Kaipovs (Verny). However, the most famous merchant and industrialist dynasty was that of the Musins from Semipalatinsk, who were on the list of the Russian Empire's 150 richest families in the early 20th century.

A Tatar subculture developed in the Kazakh land. Its most outstanding representative is Ğabdulla Tuqay, who lived in Uralsk when aged 9–21, which had formidable influence on his personality and poetic oeuvre. Ğ. Tuqay was brought up in merchant Galiaskar Usmanov's family. Born in the village of Kaybitsy, Kazan guberniya, Mutygulla Tukhvatullin became Ğ. Tuqay's spiritual advisor. The poet studied and worked at his madrasah 'Mutygilya' for 11 years, at the same time attending Russian classes. His academic performance suggested high aptitude. Tuqay's first works partly appeared in the handwritten magazine 'Āl-Gasrel-cādid' ('New Century'), 1904.

In 1906, the Statute of the Uralsk Muslim Charity Society, presided over by M. Tukhvatullin's son Kamil, was registered [Ustav, 1908].

Kamil Tukhvatullin, along with Ğ. Tuqay, actively participated in the revolutionary events of 1905. They jointly edited the Tatar



The house where G. Tukay used to live in Uralsk.
Photo from the late 19th century

newspaper 'Fiker' ('Thought') and magazines 'äl-Gasrel-cädid' ('New Century') and 'Uklar' ('Arrows'), which were published in Uralsk at that time. After the revolution and the closure of newspaper, both went to Kazan in 1907 to continue their activities.

Thus, the development of the Tatar diaspora had several stages and was a component

of complex socio-political, economic, cultural, and demographic processes resulting from Russia's colonisation of Kazakhstan. Radical changes in every aspect of the traditional society and the emergence of new structures caused large masses of population to move to new territories. The first representatives of the Tatar diaspora arrived in Kazakhstan in the late district century. In the 18th century, a mass Tatar migration, in particular to the Kazakh steppes, began. After the Russian government permitted Tatars to trade, the merchant stratum of the Tatar popula-

tion increased, and their inflow in Kazakhstan became more intense. From the 19th to the early 20th century, Tatars volunteered to move to boundary lines. Tatars were widely sent to such areas under orders and contracts. Adaptation enabled the Tatars to find a niche and play a major role in the economic and spiritual life of Kazakhstan.

§ 3. The Lower Volga Region

Viktor Viktorin, Leonid Arslanov

Tatars enjoyed broad settlement opportunities in Russia. They were able to gradually populate the country's southern frontier, its forest-steppe, steppe, and semi-desert territories up to the Caspian Sea. They do so both on their own initiative, sometimes without obtaining a permission, and within public service (in particular, in the military, navy, etc.).

The lower reaches of the Volga witnessed a rapprochement between various ethnic elements, both Tatar proper and Tatar-influenced, adhering to different economic and cultural traditions. Those included crop and vegetable farming, semi-nomadic livestock breeding,

sometimes fishing, etc. Various Turkic-speaking groups began to interact at a large scale. Tatar migrant farmers from the Middle Volga Region established close contacts with those who had been semi-nomadic livestock breeders until recently, resulting in numerous mixed families and a very curious combination of traditions.

While it was the Tatar peasants (from the Northern Trans-Kazan Region and the Tetyushi-Buinsk Region in the south of the right Volga bank) who dominated the migrant community south of Tsaritsyn until the early 19th century, the territory between Penza and Sara-

to be dominated by Serving Tatars. The Nogai ethnic group that had been living in the territory for some time presented the substrate for all rural and urban migrants in the Lower Volga Region [Arslanov, 1995, pp. 1–12, 16, 23, 36, 48, 122, etc].

Various Tatar ethnic groups moved towards the south of Russia in a number of ways. At first, there was hardly any contact between them. By the middle of the 19th century, the migration waves met between Tsaritsyn and the Caspian Sea (often in the same or neighbouring localities).

The service class, other serving, simply initiative and authorised, or unauthorised (run-aways, sometimes persecuted) Tatar migrant waves merged in the lower reaches of the Volga and then in the Cis-Caucasian Region, yielding various ratios. According to M. Poluboyarov, the new Tsaritsyn Zasechnaya Cherta (Abatis Line) was to be established in the steppe between the Don and the Volga under Peter I's decree dated 3 March 1718. The guardians of the previous Penza Abatis Line, including Tatars and Mordvins, were eventually sent there [Poluboyarov, 1995, pp. 180–181].

No detail of the decree is available. However, the tendency seems highly possible, and there is some evidence confirming this assumption. After the Astrakhan guberniya was established in late 1717, a defense line was built in the interfluvium (20–30 km). However, when the direct external, military threat was eliminated, migration patterns soon changed.

In particular, those were connected with laying, populating, and maintaining the state's main roads: strategic, cart, post, commercial, and military routes. Two Moscow roads can be singled out as being formed in the 18th century, from Ryazan via Tambov and via Penza; and the Kizlyar, or Linear, Road, which was primarily built for military purposes. A road from Tsaritsyn to the Caucasus, that is, leading to the newly annexed Azov Sea Region, primarily occupied by Cossacks, and further to the foothills, was to be laid by the end of the century. This is why reports on formal establishment of large Tatar settlements mentioned this to be done under the tsar's edicts in order to populate the steppe from Tsaritsyn to the Caucasian Road.

This is why Tatar localities emerged along the roads with new settlements around them thus forming a far-reaching network of local roads.

For instance, lower class Mishar Tatar migrants followed the road from Penza via Petrovsk to Saratov and further via Tsaritsyn to Astrakhan. Under the new conditions, the 'service' status of its participants was soon replaced by that of peasants according to census records (1811, 1833, 1835, etc.). Near Tsaritsyn, the flow merged with the Middle Volga–Kazan one (partly represented by temporarily Orthodox Christian Kryashen Tatars). Together they moved far to the south, also to the Kizlyar ('Linear') Road, which became especially important during the large-scale Caucasian Wars, by the end of the 18th to the early 19th century.

Both external political processes and domestic transformations affected the migration of various Tatar ethnic groups. After the Penza–Sura Abatis Line was established, the border became an area of inter-Turkic ethnic contacts, where migration flows moving in opposite directions met. In the early 18th century, Crimean Tatar raiders gave way to Kuban Nogais. Nogai groups in the Russian army participated in the colonisation of the territories in question [Viktorin, 2006, p. 160].

Under Peter I's decree of 18 December 1708, the Kazan guberniya was established. That of Nizhny Novgorod followed in 1714. The Astrakhan guberniya was formed of territories within these governorates in November 1717.²⁴ The purpose was always to extend Russian influence south- and eastward, to the Caucasus, West and Central Asia. It is no coincidence that Peter I led his Persian Campaign of 1722–1723, which played a major part in populating the region, through Astrakhan. A large group of Kazan Tatar, state peasants—or, more specifically, *laschmanns*, recently assigned to the Admiralty, woodcutters and carpenters, sailors and landing soldiers, and ship maintenance staff—was

²⁴ In the 18th century, Astrakhan guberniya included large areas, 'From Zhiguli to Terek', from Kizlyar to Guryev on the River Yaik, and to Petrovsk, Saratov, Simbirsk and Samara with Syzran. From 1769–1780, Saratov and Penza guberniyas were gradually allocated some of these territories. In 1797 Penza guberniya was renamed to Saratov.

moved southwards, up to Astrakhan and the so-called ridges, that is, foothills of Dagestan and Chechnya.

The Kazan Trade Sloboda developed in Astrakhan. Major changes took place in the life of the nearby Yurt and the Jetisan Nogai Tatars, who settled near Astrakhan in the mid-18-beginning of the 17th century. They began to establish contacts with migrants from the Middle Volga Region.

In a 1877 questionnaire, the elder of the Zatsarevo volost Iskhak Mukhammedov wrote, 'The first settlers were Yurt-Nogai people from Asia, who were not sedentary and roamed in tents...; however, the (Yurt.—V. V., L. A.) Tatars went separate ways, chose special places for themselves, and founded sedentary settlements, in which they built houses for themselves, following Tsar Peter I's visit to Astrakhan [Astrakhan State Record Archive, f. 32, inv. 1, file 382, s. 155–156]. About ten sedentary Yurt Tatar locations had been established by the 1750–1770s. Those included Zatsarevo (Tiyak-aul), Moshai (Kazy-aul), Staraya Kucherganovka (Kanga-aul), Solyanka (Sulänkä), Kargali, Yaksatovo (Maylegul), Tatarskaya Bashmakovka (Kizan), and others. The Jetisan people continued to lead a semi-nomadic life (until the very end of the 18th century), also roaming in the Volga delta, near Astrakhan [Vaskin, 1973, p. 33].

Then the majority of Kalmyks (Turguts) fled back to China. The migration of (the Dörbets) previously staying on the left bank began in January 1771, creating very unusual conditions in the lower reaches of the Volga River. At that stage, a small semi-nomadic group of livestock breeders and fishers, Tatars from Kalmykia (0.6–0.8 thousand people) living on the Caspian Sea shore, 'the Utars of the Alabuga village', was formed. It was a Yurt Tatar group preserving the nomadic lifestyle but with multiple ethnic additions. Essentially Nogai (the Jemboiluk and Beshogul clans), it was joined by the 'Kyrgyz/Burut people' who came along with the Kalmyks, the right-bank Cossack Horde ('Tomud, Tomut/Togmut'), largely kalmykized, partly Buddhist Turkmen from Stavropol, Tatar migrants, Kalmyk foster children, and by the middle of the 19th century, also Bukharan mer-

chants—'Sarts' from Astrakhan, who wanted to merge with the semi-nomads. The group was first mentioned in the 1782 census book as '401 families', a mixed ulus controlled personally by Captain Mullah Abdullah Zhangurshin [State Archive of Astrakhan Oblast, f. 394, inv. 1, Vol. 1, file 5521, s. 226–229].

The 'Alabuga Utars' had their administrative centre, Ish-Tube (Öş-tübä), not far away on the right bank, near Astrakhan, at the beginning of the Kizlyar ('Linear') Road, at the healing lake ('Ta'arat-kül') and the holy Sufi tombs 'Öräk/Ürdäk-aje', 100 km south-east of their basic territory, on the 'Mochagi' coastland.

The following sedentary settlements of the Utars became well-known from the end of the 19th to the early 1930s: Alabuga (1876–1929) and Ish-Tube (1878–1929). The dwellers of the former moved to Lagan and to the Ulan Khol railroad station, Kalmykia.

Russia's annexation of the Crimea and Kuban in 1783 dramatically changed the ethno-cultural situation in the region. The Nogais and Muslim Kalmyks ('Kazlar', 'Shered/Sheret') became Russian subjects. Turkic subjects of the former Kalmyk Khanate, more Nogais and a small group of Kazakhs ('Tomud, Tomut/Togmut'), became a detached group. Nearly all of them met Middle Volga Tatar migrants on their way and established ethnic contacts with them.

The Tatars then moved to the steppe and semi-desert area of the Lower Volga Region. They often served as guards at the boundaries of the Kazakh steppes. But in the Steppe Trans-Volga Region, along the rivers Irgiz and Kameilik, the western Bashkirs, to be later known as 'Samara-Saratov Bashkirs', led a semi-nomadic life [Viktorin, 1988, pp. 10–11]. New Kazakh subjects were unstable, which motivated Catherine II to issue the decree of 21 August 1788, under which fortresses were to be built 'between the Uzens'.

In 1786, the Tatar village Malye Chapurniki (Kechе Chapurin) was founded south of Tsaritsyn, Astrakhan guberniya, 'under Her Majesty's edicts in order to populate the steppe... of the Kazan and Sviyazhsk vicegerencies with serving,... newly baptised, and, from the Penza vicegerency, yasak Tatars...'

It supplied the grass-root Moscow to Astrakhan Road and its branches to Kalmykia and the Northern Caucasus. A 1811 document reported '30 households of non-Christian Tatars and 49 households of Christian Tatars in the settlement of Malye Chapurniki' [State Archive of Astrakhan Oblast, f. 687, item 522, s. 289–292]. The number of Muslim Serving Tatars increased rapidly at that time.

The attempts at supplying Mokry Karasal near Manych Lake and the Don River, on the way from Tsaritsyn to the Rostov Fortress and further to the Caucasus, by founding there three settlements—Mordvin, Chuvash, and Tatar—also failed. The settlers demanded that they should move to the Volga for lack of drinking water. In 1787–1788, the village Kamenny Yar (Tashly Yar) 'with settlements of the three ethnic groups' was founded [State Archive of Astrakhan Oblast, f. 498, inv. 1, file 327, s. 2]. By the early 19th century, the Mordvins and the Chuvash had moved to the left bank of the Volga. The Tatars from the right bank of the Middle Volga stayed in the settlement and founded 2–3 khutors. Tatar poet Gaziza Samitova (1862–1929) was born here.

However, the large group of Tatars that returned from Karasal (almost 600 house-owners as compared to the 177 remaining) was moved to the Linear (Kizlyar) Road, to steppe ilmens near Astrakhan, at once. The village of Lineynoe (Kämenni aul) was founded there in 1788. In 1864, the village of Turkmenka (Tölke aul), situated along the main road, stemmed from it.

Some Kryashen Tatars from Malye Chapurniki did the same without asking for permission. Over 300 migrant Tatars rafted downstream the Volga river for as long as 270 km until they reached merchant Kurochkin's land and the locality of Kurchenko (Kartuzan aul) [State Archive of Astrakhan Oblast, f. 476, inv. 1, file 113, s. 2], where the newly baptised migrants converted back to Islam straightaway. The Orthodox Christians from Malye Chapurniki did not follow their example until 1905–1911 [Arslanov, 1995, pp. 76–77].

Another, multi-ethnic village, Zenzeli (Ci-däle) emerged in 1771 as a Cossack cordon at the very border with the Kalmyk camping grounds, following their tribesmen's escape.

However, it did not have any residents until 1791 when several Tatar families from Kurchenko moved there.

Apart from the Tatar settlement, a Russian locality and a Kalmyk one emerged there. Kazan Tatars, Chembar Mishars—'Kara-Kalpaks' from the settlements Bishtyubinka and Novaya Kucherganovka—several families of the neighbouring 'Utars' and Nogais from Dagestan, who had also adopted the Tatar traditions (referred to as 'Kyzylbash'), joined the former. Those representatives of the diverse Tatar rural group who had emigrated moved westward, to the steppes of Stavropol.

The Tatars of Astrakhan and other localities in the governorate coined an umbrella term for all their tribesmen from the 'Linear' (Kizlyar) Road and the 'steppe ilmens': 'kändi, kändilär', referring to certain features of their household utensils.

On the whole, the 19th century Tatar migrant flow went down the Volga River, from which part of it went westward to found new localities in the steppe (primarily the Stavropol guberniya) and bring another migration flow to the existing ones (Kamysh Burun, Kulikovy Kopani, Maly Barkhanchak, etc.).

Kazan Tatar migrants did not make multiple 'transfers'. The migration route of Serving Tatars was more complex as they moved along the road southward from Penza. At the very beginning of the large road, service class people from Mordovia founded three large villages about 1700. Those were Verkhny Yelyuzan (Äläzän), Srednyaya Yelyuzan, and Nizhnyaya Yelyuzan. After about 50 years, migrants from Yelyuzan founded the village Yakovlevka (Änkä aul) 120 km south-east of it, then the settlements Novaya Yelyuzan (1829), Verkhazovka (1848), and others in the Trans-Volga steppe, near the Bashkir and Kazakh land.

From the end of the 17th century, a Temnikov Serving Tatar group undertook multiple attempts at moving to the village Ust-Uza between Penza and Petrovsk. However, Crimean-Kuban invaders damaged it heavily. Migrants from Ust-Uza founded the village Novaya Ust-Uza (1789) near Petrovsk and Altata (derived from 'alty at', the legendary 'six founding fathers'), in the Trans-Volga steppe (1840).

The village Stary Vershaut emerged in around 1708. Captive Kuban Nogais (which seem to have been initially converted to Christianity) were among the legendary 'seven families' of its first settlers. Representatives of other Turk-Kipchaks (both 'Kazakhs' and 'Kyrgyz' people in legends on the origin of the local 'Tukums') joined them later [Polevy'e materialy' V. Viktorina, 1998], followed by numerous Serving Tatars, probably from Kuznetsk.

After fifty years, even closer to Petrovsk, the village Tatarskaya Pokaevka was established, followed by Novy Vershaut at the very beginning of the 19th century. At the same time, the inter-Turkic group continued its migration far to the south [Viktorin, 2008, p. 3].

In the Trans-Volga steppe near Kazakhstan, Serving Tatars from the Kvalynsk and Kuznetsk uyezds took residence in the Osinov Gay (Iske Uzin) fortress in the early 19th century. They founded the Mechetnaya Sloboda, later known as part of the city of Nikolayev (now the city of Pugachyov) in the late 1830s and the village Safarovka (1842) [Viktorin, 1988, p. 8].

From the 1830s, large groups of Chembar Mishars inhabiting six settlements (Kikino, Kochkarovka, Kobylino, Mochaleyka, Reshetovo, Telyatino) began to migrate southward.

In the steppe ilmens of the right bank of the Volga, near Astrakhan, Chembar Mishar deserters secretly founded the settlement Yango-Asker (Soldat Avıl); they took residence near a healing lake, where the Nogai Tatars, or 'Utars', also had a winter camp, and began to form mixed families by marrying representatives of the latter.

Near Tsaritsyn, the Chembar Mishars of the six settlements inhabited the villages Malyayevka (1834) and Bakhtiyarovka (1836). A third Mishar settlement, Lyatoshinka,²⁵ had been founded by 1840 (probably due to the population's migration along both Volga banks), between Tsaritsyn-Saratov and the very border of the Kazakh steppe. Its founders were Temnikov Mishars (in particular migrants from Yakovlevka—Änkä aul) and those from four to five settlements near Kuznetsk and Khvalynsk. However, part of its population escaped to Bu-

keev Dzhangir Khan as 'Kara-Karpak Mishars' straightaway. They spent there 2–3 years (until 1842). Two large uyezds, both containing Mishar Tatar and Bashkir settlements, namely those of Nikolayevsk and Novouzensk, were transferred from the Saratov guberniya to the new Governorate of Samara in 1850.

In 1843, those Tatars who had left Zhan-gir Khan crossed the Volga and founded their settlements Bishtyubinsk (Bish tübä) and Novaya Kucherganovka (Keldermesh, or Kara-kalpak aul) 250–260 km south of the territory, on the right bank, near Astrakhan and not far from the village Yango-Asker [Viktorin, 2003, pp. 74–81].

By the middle of the 19th century, a community consisting of representatives of all the aforementioned Mishar Tatar groups had developed in Saratov ('Glebuchev Ovrag'). At approximately that time, Mishar Tatars made up to one third of the Tatar population of Astrakhan (that is, about 3 thousand people). They founded several villages on the Volga banks, near the governorate centre.

Large-scale migration of Kazakhs across the Ural River from the so-called Bukey Horde in the early 19th century changed the ethnic composition of the Lower Volga Region dramatically.

The population of the Lower Volga Region grew as a result of the addition of other ethnic groups such as the Nogai (the so-called Nogai Cossacks) and adjacent Tatars (the so-called Kalpaks, Kara-Kalpaks) to it. Groups descended from the Tatars, such as the Kazanchi, were well-known in the Junior Zhuz from the late 1790s [Arslanov, 1995, pp. 93–110; Arslanov, 1998, pp. 116–121]. They were descendants of soldiers who had deserted from near Bugulma, Belebey, and Buguruslan to the steppe. While part of Sultan Bukey's Horde, they became semi-nomads, crossed the Ural River together, and adopted the name Kalpak, or Kara-Kalpak, as a kind of 'disguise'. In 1817 they were accepted as full-fledged residents of the Horde. However, in 1827–1842 they argued with Bukey's son, Zhan-gir Khan, which resulted in their exile to the Russian border, where they spent several years as semi-nomads [State Archive of Astrakhan Oblast, f. 2, inv. 1, file 238 (1836–1849), s. 459].

²⁵ Changed to Nikolaev district.

In the area around Segir Kuduk and Sarbasta, a small Mishar Tatar group from the village of Lyatoshinka that had remained in the steppe joined the Kazan 'Kara-Kalpaks', who, by the end of the 19th century, were comprised of native Kazakh and Karagash Nogai clans under the name 'Karakalpaks'²⁶. This partly forgotten group, which emerged in the 19th century and had a very wide network of ethnic contacts, still exists, undoubtedly, within the Tatar ethnos.

At the very beginning of the 19th century, semi-nomadic Jetisan Nogai tribes, who had joined the Yurt Tatars, became sedentary. There appeared settlements such as Kilinchi (Kiläçe), which belonged to the Murzas (Princes) Urusov, and Semikovka, which belonged to Batyr Semek Arslanov, as well as several villages inhabited by the yemek-jemek, who were of mixed descent, that is, mostly offspring of prisoners of war from the Northern Caucasus. These included Tri Potoka (Cämäli, Yamele-aul), Kulakovka (Kolakau), and Osypnoy Bugor (Yarlı Tübä) [Vaskin, 1973, p. 33]. In this manner the Yurt ethnic group (the 'Tatar', 'Nogai', 'Nogai Tatar' people), who shared the tradition of celebrating the Amel/Amil spring holiday sometime between 1st and 10th March O.S., depending upon the respective village, was formed.

By the middle of the 19th century the Alabuga Utar, who had appeared in 1771 and whose descendants were the same Yurt Tatars that remained semi-nomadic until 1929, became an established group. Their ranks grew as Uzbeks from the Bukhara Merchant Court and traders from Astrakhan known as 'Sarts' joined them [see Idrisov, 2011, pp. 315–316].

Differences between the lifestyles of the Yurt Tatars and the Utars versus urban and rural migrant Tatars offset one another with time. Migrant Tatars in Yurt settlements easily switched to the local dialect. In the late 19th

century, it became more common for young Yurt men to marry girls from Kazan and Mishar families (the dowry was replaced by a gift) [Sharifullina, 1992, pp. 109–110].

Another group of Kazan migrants settled in the Bukey Horde, but remained subjects of the Astrakhan guberniya. They resided at a guard settlement that had been liberated by Ural Cossacks and from where the villages of Novaya Kazanka and Jangala (Zhankala), now a district center in the West Kazakhstan region, emerged in 1871.

Finally, at the end of the 19–beginning of the 20th century, a large group of migrants from Kazan's poorest suburbs came to Astrakhan for work. While keeping in contact with each other, they worked as day-labourers in ten Yurt Nogai (and former Jetisan Nogai) settlements around Astrakhan. They remained on a permanent basis and united during the Revolution to found a new Tatar village on an island between two affluent branches of the Volga River known, after 1918, as Novye Bulgary (Yaña Bolgar).

Thus, occupation of the Lower Volga region by the Tatars was completed by the end of the 19th century. The nature of the ties between various ethnic Tatar groups became stronger, independently of whether they sprang from their previous localities or were acquired in their new home.

According to statistics for the 1880–1890s, there resided in the Astrakhan and Saratov guberniyas, apart from the nearly 600 thousand city and fortress dwellers, over 1.5 million rural Russians (including over 50 thousand Cossacks), 300 thousand of which lived in the bottom-lands and in the delta between Tsaritsyn and the Caspian Sea. The population also included up to 170 thousand Germans, over 150 thousand Ukrainians (primarily peasants hauling salt, that is, the so-called Chumaks), approximately 120 thousand Erzi Mordvins, and others.

Approximately 150 thousand Tatars representing various ethnic groups lived in this region. These include those who resided along the Saratov-Penza Border, around 90 thousand people. In the Trans-Volga steppe, in two uyezds (Nikolayevsk and Novouzensk), which became part of the Samara guberniya in 1850s, there were 16–17 thousand Tatars; in Astrakhan

²⁶ In the Ural District of the Kazakh SSR in 1926, there were 845 male 'Karakalpaks' as the heads of households, i.e. only 3–4 thousand people with their families. A little less might have lived from the turn of the 19–20th centuries near the Alexandrov Gay (after its construction in 1895), Pallasovka and Kaysatsk railway stations (both in 1909) in the Russian governorates. Some were not taken into account, as (even in the same family) they were recorded as 'Karakalpak' and 'Kazakh' and 'Tatar' and 'Bashkir' [Arslanov, 1998, p. 116–120].



An Astrakhan Tatar man.
Photo from the early 20th century.

and the 'lower' uyezds, at least 35 thousand; in the 'substeppe ilmens' and the adjacent Kalmyk steppe, up to 5 thousand; and in the 'upper' uyezds and the Tsaritsyn area, over 6 thousand. There were approximately 8 thousand Tatars among the Kazakhs of the Bukey Horde (including, of course, the 'Kara-Kalpaks').²⁷ Other Turks inhabited neighbouring territories in the Lower Volga region, in particular a number of Anatri Yenchi Chuvash in its upper regions.

About 200 thousand nomadic Bukey Kazakhs lived in the lower reaches of the river. A small Bashkir group inhabited the eastern part of the area; 10–11 thousand semi-nomadic Nogai Karagash and 2.5 thousand Turkmen lived even closer to the delta.

The Mongolian-speaking Oirat-Kalmyks (more specifically, those located in the Cis-Volga area, namely the Torghuts, Khoshuts, and 'Lesser' Dörbets), who were both nomadic and 'lake people', that is, Cis-Caspian fishermen, comprised a separate group of at least 100 thousand people. [compare with Vaskin, 1973, pp. 11–20, 27–34, 41–46, and others]. Ethnic contacts with their neighbours were quite diverse.

Thus, the Tatar population of the Lower Volga Region played an integral part in the multi-ethnic composition of the region. But the 19th century was key to its development in both rural and urban localities. Each of the 50 Tatar settlements discussed previously possesses unique features that might serve as the basis for further historical, regional, and ethnographic studies.

The history of the Lower Volga Tatars can be regarded as an integral part of the history of the Russian State and its southern expanses. This concerns both 'voluntary' Tatar migration, as well as the governmental practice of settling people 'along roads', which played a special role in the military and administrative management of the newly populated territories. It is also a notion essential to this section of our text.

§ 4. Turkestan

Western Turkestan

Nayla Khamitbaeva

Tatars came to Turkestan long before it was settled by the Russians. Even in the 17–18th centuries, Tatars were of great use to their Russian counterparts in their dealings with Near

Eastern and even East Asian states. Thanks to Tatars in service to the Russian government, the Russians had trained interpreters. And the Tatar language was used, for a while, in diplomatic relations between Russia and Persia.

In the early 19th century, the tsarist government encouraged Tatar merchants to trade in Central Asia. In fact, there existed a dis-

²⁷ The calculations were made according to data released earlier, as well as very detailed statistical information from the 'polls' in 1901, which are stored in the AAGOIAmz.

tinct group known as the 'Bukhar Yurtuchi' or Bukharan traders. Tatar merchants had connections, however, not only with Bukhara, but 'some of the wealthiest Tatars also traded in Bukhara, Khiva, Persia, and Turkestan' [Rybushkin, 1848–1849, p. 87].

A new wave of Tatar migration to Central Asia began during the Crimean War. Apart from Tatar recruits who were reluctant to fight against Turkey and fled to Central Asia, Tatars condemned for various crimes went there to avoid repression by the tsarist government. A large number of Tatars came to Central Asia as madrasah students studying in Bukhara and Samarkand, which had long been famous as Islamic centres for theological education. According to V. Bartold, the Tatar population of Turkestan numbered approximately 5,000 at the time of the Russian conquest [Bartold, 1927, p. 158].

In the middle of the 19th century, Russia began to attack Central Asia in order to obtain cheap raw materials and market outlets, and to extend its sphere of influence. In 1853, the Ak Mechet Fortress fell, followed by Chimkent in 1854; Tashkent on 17 May 1865; in 1866, Khodzhent, Ura-Tube, and Jizakh in the Khanate of Bukhara; and Samarkand was captured on 2 May 1868. Thus, from 1864 to 1868 two Khanates were overrun by the Russians, namely, those of Kokand and Bukhara, although they remained formally independent. The newly conquered areas in Central Asia formed the Governorate-General of Turkestan with its centre in Tashkent. The Governorate-General of Turkestan was divided into the following five oblasts: Syr Darya, Fergana, Samarkand, Semirechye,²⁸ and Trans-Caspian. In 1886, it was officially named Turkestan²⁹.

Many Tatars arrived in Turkestan along with the Russian troops: some came as soldiers and officers, others as interpreters and provisioners [Gubayeva, 1991, p. 111]. Following its annexation by the Russian Empire, a new wave of Tatar migrants flowed into Turkestan from Russia's inner governorates. Thus, in the

late 19th century, the population of Turkestan reached 5,280,983. The Tatar population numbered 18,432, or 0.35% of the region's total. A large part of the region's Tatar population lived in cities (11,609 people, or almost 63% of the population of Turkestan). Only three cities had a Tatar population of over 1,000 people. These were Tashkent, Verny, and Ashgabat. It should be noted that the Tatar population of other cities in the region grew rapidly. For instance, that of Kopal numbered 961; Lepsinsk, 900. The cities of Kazalinsk, Przhevalsk, and Turkestan had over 500 Tatar residents [Pervaya vseobshchaya, 1897, Table 1, 13].

The tsarist administration's colonial policy, which aimed to populate newly annexed territories with Russians, influenced Tatar migration significantly. The government resolved that 'only native Russians of the Orthodox Christian Faith' could move to Turkestan [Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, f. 1, inv. 31, item 123, s. 37]. This is why there were more Russians than Tatars in Turkestan in the late 19th century. For instance, 3% of the population in Syr Darya oblast were Russian, as compared to only 0.3% Tatar. Figures for Samarkand oblast are similar: 10.4% and 0.3% respectively.

Following the colonization of the region, the Russian administration began to receive demands from across the Empire that runaway recruits should be found and extradited. In a report dated 3 May 1868, Assistant Governor General Gomzin of the Turkestan Region wrote that State Counsitor Rossitsky, in order to appease the indigenous population, requested 'permission to ignore prosecution of all those from Russia who had come to reside in Tashkent before the city swore an oath to Russia' [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 1, inv. 19, file 3, s. 1–1 reverse]. Later, on 6 June 1871, Governor General Kaufman of the Turkestan Region wrote to the head of the military that most of the runaways were Tatars who had emigrated from Russia before the region was colonized. 'now that the new order has been introduced in the region,' he noted, 'these people are not only harmless but, taking into account their knowledge of Russian trades, by remaining they also pass on this knowledge to the native population with whom they have become

²⁸ The Semirechensk region from 1882 to 1899 was a part of the Stepnoy general governorate.

²⁹ Until 1917, this territory was nominally referred to as Russian or Western Turkestan in terms of its administrative conditions



Kallahon Mosque built in Tashkent on funds provided by Tatar merchants.
1st quarter of the 19th century Photo, 2010

closely acquainted'. He continued, '...I ask Your Excellency to request' from the Tsar 'permission to relieve from prosecution all those from Russia who have come to reside in Tashkent before the city swore an oath to Russia, based upon the skills and qualities possessed by these emigrants'. This permission was granted on 29 July 1871 [Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, f. 1, inv. 19, file 3, s. 6–9]. Like other emigrants, Tatars were granted the same rights as local residents and relieved from conscription in the army; they could own property, hold some elected offices, attain higher social class, etc.

Tatars were actively involved in nearly all spheres of the region's economic life: they worked as translators for Russian administrators, as tax collectors and volost officials, and managed and led survey parties. They were some of the first workers at the region's new plants, oil fields, and mines.

Tatars played an important part in reinforcing commercial contacts. In 1872 in Bukhara, according to V. Bartold, one noticed a lot of Russian goods, but no Russian merchants: 'all trade in Russian goods in Bukhara was conducted by either local inhabitants or Tatars' [Bartold, 1927, p. 252].

In Semirechye oblast, the main items exported were sheep and goat skins, which sold

well not only in Russia but also abroad. Tea was an essential import item. One of the main suppliers of tea was the Tatar merchant Chanyshhev. In 1899, for example, his representatives purchased 50 thousand roubles worth of tea in Hankou. In 1900, his purchase amounted to 98,766 roubles. The total value of tea on the market in 1899 was 54,450 roubles; in 1900, 175,612 roubles [Pamyatnay knizhka, 1901, pp. 3–16].

Tatar merchants in the Syr Darya oblast also supplied wool to cloth mills in the Volga River area. From

Chimkent they exported not only wool but also lambskin to Moscow, leather for foreign factories, entrails for sausage and toolmakers, and a drug named Santonin to European and other countries. To quote I. Geyer, 'Kazan Tatars control all of the aforementioned branches of trade' [Geyer, 1909, p. 308].

By the latter half of the 19th century, most trade was concentrated in the commercial centres of Kazan, Orenburg, and Ufa. Delivering goods to Central Asia became the main occupation in some villages, such as Mengeri and Atnya in the Kazan guberniya. For instance, the Yaushevs from Troitsk, the Khusainovs from Orenburg, and the merchants Salimzyanov and Karimov from Kazan all traded in Kazakhstan and Central Asia.

A large part of Turkestan's Tatar population, namely 5,446 people (or 31.0%), was engaged in commerce [Pervaya vseobshchaya, 1897, Table 22]. Among them there were 1st-guild merchants Muhammad Bakirov, Abdulvali Yaushev, Murtaza Ibragimov, Gazetulla Bayazitov, as well as female merchants Shirinbana Khusainova, Saida Khusainova, and others from Tashkent, and 2nd-guild merchants. According to archive documents, over 30 Tatar 2nd-guild merchants resided in Tashkent alone in 1895 [Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, f. 87, inv. 1, file 25077, s. 7–32].

A total of 2,832 people, or 16.1% of the region's total population, were employed in industry in the Turkestan Region in the late 19th century [Pervaya vseobshchaya, 1897, Table 22]. Some Tatars in Turkestan were large factory owners. For instance, in Yu. Fuzailov's House of Trade there was a cotton-cleaning plant with a water engine, a manual press, and three gins (Peyshambe Kishlak, Kata Kurgan uyezd, Samarkand oblast). Salikhov owned a cotton-cleaning plant, in which there was a kerosene engine, two screw presses, and four gins (Chardor Kishlak, Mitn volost) [Geyer, 1909, p. 242]. The Yaushev brothers ran a cotton-cleaning plant in their 'Yaushev Brothers House of Trade', one of the few large facilities in the Turkestan Region. While in the 1890s the Yaushevs owned only one ginning plant with 20 workers, by the early 20th century they also ran the Keles Cotton Factory and two shops, managing over 300 employees and workers [Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, f. 98, inv. 1, file 15, s. 7–28].

In the late 19th century, 4,987 people, or 28.4% of the region's total population were employed in agriculture in the Turkestan Region [Pervaya vseobshchaya, 1897, Table 22] Fatikh Suleymanov, who won numerous awards at horse exhibitions, ran a horse farm in Semirechye oblast. He leased the land from Cosacks in the rural village of Nikolayesk, where they grew 187 desyatins of wheat, oats, and barley [Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, f. 1, inv. 17, item 1021, s. 6–10].

Tatars were one of the first groups to cultivate potatoes in Central Asia before the arrival of the Russians there. According to V. Bartold, potato cultivation was an essential indicator of European cultural influence. He mentions the settlement of Nogai-Kurgan, south of Tashkent, on the road to Chinaz, which was founded by Nogais—the term used by Tatars in Turkestan to designate Volga Tatars. According to his contemporaries, in 1866 it was the only village in the area where potatoes were cultivated. This proves, according to V. Bartold, 'that Tatars began to play a part in imposing European culture on their Turkish tribesmen and co-religionists even before their conquest by the Russians' [Bartold, 1927, pp. 105–106].

Tatars taught beekeeping to the inhabitants of the Turkestan region. I. Geyer noted that it was mostly Tatars and Tajiks who practiced beekeeping in Tashkent uyezd, especially in its mountainous regions. According to Geyer, a Tatar from the settlement of Brich-Mulla became a beekeeper back in the 1860s upon the order of Governor General K. Kaufman. From there, beekeeping spread along the tributaries of the Chatkal River [Geyer, 1909, p. 93].

I. Geyer drew from the textile industry to illustrate the influence Tatars had on the local economy. For example, women sewed hand-made robes that were then cut and sold by men. To quote I. Geyer, 'This was the situation in Tashkent approximately 25 years ago when a certain Tatar appeared and proceeded to revolutionize the entire textile industry'. This Tatar brought with him a sewing machine and used it to make robes. 'After a while... other Tatars began to follow his example'. When the local population learned machine sewing, the composition of the working staff changed: 'with the introduction of the sewing machine, women began to play a lesser role in robe production, while men came to dominate the trade' [Geyer, 1909, pp. 108–109].

Establishing themselves in various economic fields, Tatars and their Russian rivals became serious competitors.

Already in the 1880s, the Russian administration became concerned about the widespread role Tatars had begun to play in the region's economy: because they had become serious competitors, they were treated as an 'unwelcome element' in Turkestan.

In 1901, the Military Governor of the Syr Darya oblast wrote in his secret report to the Police Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs that this region had long been favoured by Tatar traders from eastern governorates in European Russia. Tatar merchants bought various raw materials from the local population, while selling textile and factory-made goods. According to the governor, the trade 'ensures high profit, especially for those individuals whom indigenous dwellers view as not only tribesmen but co-confessionalists who can be trade mediators and religious leaders.' In his opinion, the Tatars' influence on the local population increased after

the region was colonized, so they soon not only came to economically dominate the steppe but became the carriers of certain external forms of the Tatar culture. Thus, he reported the local administration 'has taken every measure to restrict the Tatars' freedom' [Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, f. 1, inv. 31, item 123, s. 37–37 reverse].

First of all, the registration of Tatar residents in the Turkestan region was heavily restricted. A Tatar could be assigned to an urban or rural community provided that the police issued a 'certificate' of political reliability. The only way to avoid the restriction was through a bribe. Public officials in Turkestan often impeded registration in order to get large amounts of money. It was essentially impossible to get registered without a bribe.

Article 262 of the Regulation on Administration of the Turkestan Region, dated 1886, read, 'Non-Russian subjects and all non-Christians, except for indigenous inhabitants, cannot acquire land and any real estate in the Turkestan Region' [Tärceman, 1886, No.48]. The article thus applied mainly to the Tatars, Bashkirs, and other 'non-Christian' and 'non-Russian' migrants. Article 207 of the Regulation prohibited real estate deals and notarial residential lease contracts for yearly periods. Therefore, Tatars coming to Turkestan after the Russians occupied it were not entitled to buy land or any real estate in the region. Even those Tatars who had taken residence there before the Russians came were affected by the restrictions after some time. They had to confirm their attachment to the local population.

The Military Minister of Russia received numerous petitions. While occasional requests by private individuals were granted, those raising the question of relieving all Tatars of restrictions always met with flat denial.

Tatar residents of the Turkestan region had to buy real estate with the help of straw persons, which was often challenged.

In the late 19–early 20th century, new ideas connected with the development of capitalism came to the wakening Muslim world of Russia. This raised the question of ethnic personnel and secular intelligentsia members capable of managing trade, not to mention industry.

The need for ethnic personnel necessitated improved education.

V. Bartold believes that 'only Tatars who had come from Russia's internal provinces' founded innovative schools in the Turkestan region [Bartold, 1927, p. 136]. He wrote that the tsarist administration believed Islamic culture to be doomed. However, 'life soon invalidated this opinion as Volga Tatars brought to Turkestan the idea of reforming the Muslim school to meet modern requirements while preserving the ethnic and religious principles, which was received well' [Bartold, 1925, p. 252].

It did not take long for innovative schools to become popular among the local population. Famous missionary N. Bobrovnikov wrote that such schools founded by Kazan Tatars 'were very successful and had more students that they could host' [Bobrovnikov, 1913, p. 80]. Their exact number in the Turkestan region is unknown. They opened in nearly every more or less important locality and were both for men and women [Tatar women taught at the latter].

At the end of the 19–the beginning of the 20th century, 'Tatars competed with Russians in introducing European educational techniques and European culture in general to Muslims. The competition grew tougher with time. However, the Russians ignored it until it had grown especially large-scale' [Bartold, 1927, p. 136].

Various measures were suggested to eliminate the influence of the enlightenment movement. One of the suggestions was that Tatars should be prohibited from teaching in the Turkestan Region.

In 1911, rules were issued in the Turkestan region, under which maktab teachers were to belong to the same ethnic groups as their students: 'a Sart cannot teach Kyrgyz people, and a Tatar cannot teach Sarts' [Bobrovnikov, 1913, p. 77]. 'Propagators of Pan-Islamism' were ostracized heavily. The Russian administration suppressed the Tatar maktab. Tatar teachers could work only in Tatar schools because they were prohibited from teaching in public ones.

The Russian administration was concerned not only with how rapidly innovative schools were spreading across the country. The Governor-General of Turkestan reported to the Ministry of Internal Affairs that, apart from

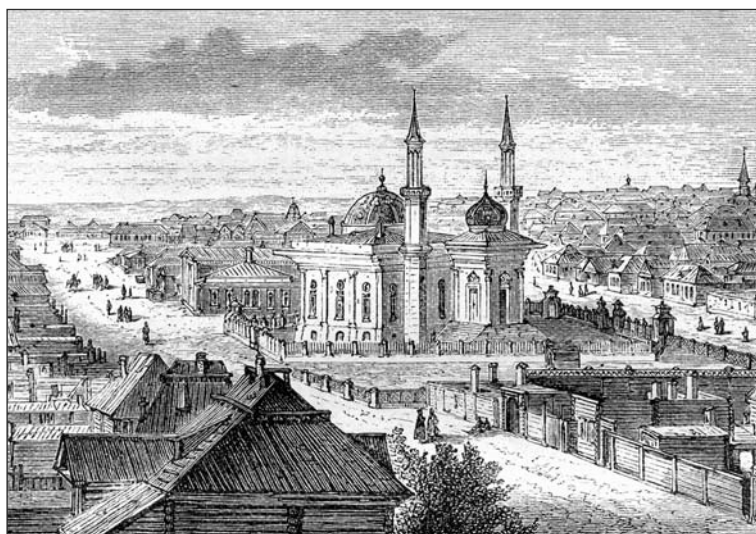
the innovative schools, 'the new Tatar movement is only manifested in their willingness to found Tatar charity societies, public reading rooms, and literary evenings in various cities...' [Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, f. 1, inv. 31, item 123, s. 12 reverse].

In 1908, the Tashkent Tatar intelligentsia decided to arrange a European-style theatre to perform in Tatar in order to break the ice of Muslim superstition and prejudice against European theatre in particular and European culture in general. However, they were unable to stage the first play until 1909. It was the Tatar comedy 'Berençe teatr' ['The First Theatre Performance'] in the theatre hall of the commercial assembly of Tashkent [Tatarskij, 1909, p. 172].

In the second half of the 19th century, a puppet theatre was active in Turkestan. Doctor Batyrshin, a Tatar city doctor, was one of the public's favourite theatre characters in the 1890s. 'Puppet and human performances usually took place on evenings during Ramadan when the month was in winter,' wrote V. Bartold, 'and attracted many Russians.' In the 1870–80s, 'even Russian governors and uyezd administrators appeared on stage, which later ended, probably on the authorities' demand' [Bartold, 1927, p. 174].

Tatar periodicals also contributed to the awakening of the Muslim population of the Turkestan region. 'Progressive daily periodicals, which only existed in Turkestan for two years [1906–1908], were wholly controlled by the Volga Tatars' [Bartold, 1927, p. 138].

The Military Governor of the Syr Darya oblast reported innovative literature to be extremely sought-after on the local book market [Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, f. 1, inv. 31, item 123, s. 38]. Apart from the newspaper 'Tärceman', such Tatar periodicals as 'Yoldız' [Star], 'Vakıt' [Time], 'Ölfät' [Unity], 'İdel', and others were popular.



The Tatar portion of Semipalatinsk. Lithograph from the late 19th century

The autocratic government had good reason to feel concerned. Public officials admitted that if Russians did not publish books and leaflets for the local population, 'the Tatar printing industry, whose goals and objectives are far from being consistent with the all-Russian state interests, will do so' [Bartold, 1927, p. 135].

Thus, the autocratic regime viewed the Tatars of Turkestan as 'conductors of Russian influence'. In spite of the government's vision, Tatar activities were largely aimed at ensuring the region's economic development, cultural awakening, and enlightenment of peoples living in Turkestan.

The Tatars' active involvement in the economic and cultural life of Turkestan was viewed both as competition, which was unwelcome, and as reinforcement of the Muslim world of Russia, which was even more unwelcome. The legal restrictions, which to some extent decreased the Tatars' competitiveness, decelerated the economic and cultural development of the Turkestan region. At the same time, they created conditions under which the Tatars of Turkestan had to seek greater ethnic, religious, and cultural unity to protect their ethnos from assimilation. The unification, solidification, and interaction enabled the Tatar community of Turkestan to preserve their place in the region's social and economic life in spite of legal restrictions.

*East Turkestan**Liliya Baibulatova*

East Turkestan [Kashgaria, Malaya Bukharia and the Six Cities, the Seven Cities; now the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the Republic of China] is a hollow nearly surrounded by the Tien Shan, Kun-Lun, and Karakorum mountain ranges [Kornilov, 1903, p. 67]. The landscape protects the territory from wet wind, making the air so dry that most of Turkestan is a desert. Only the peripheral foothills are suited for life and arable farming, of which the Ili Valley is of special importance [Pevtsov, 1949, p. 52].

Some travellers mentioned Tatars among the population of Western China. For instance, V. Radlov used the term to refer to the Taranchi and Qulja people [Radlov, 1989, pp. 515, 522], who are ethnically Uighurs. Iakinf Bichurin reported Tatars [Turks] to live in various provinces as a tax-paying class [Bichurin, 1842, p. 53].

The coming of Muslim Tatars to East Turkestan is primarily attributable to the development of Russian-Chinese commercial relations. In the late 18th century, Russian merchants had to turn to the Tatars to have their goods carried to East Turkestan, because Russian merchants could not enter Qulja and Qoqek. Tatars hardly faced any robbing, which enabled them to monopolize this trade situation [Shkunov, 2007, p. 199]. Apart from the caravan routes from Semipalatinsk and Petropavlovsk, Tatars discovered an easier and quicker way to bring tea from Troitsk to Qoqek [1844]. The Troitsk Tatars founded a company and did not need any support from the Russian and Chinese governments. They turned this operation of foreign trade into their private undertaking [Korsak, 1857, p. 427].

The Russian Tatars began residing in East Turkestan in the 1830s. The first Tatar migrants who wanted to avoid service in the Russian army came to the Altai oblast through their marriages to Kazakh women. They founded a small settlement in Balbagai, which later expanded with new migrants [تاتارلارنىڭ، 1988، س. 13، 17]. The local Cossacks later named their village Nogayskaya [Gosmanov, 1996, p. 26].

The second wave of Tatar migrants to East Turkestan was connected with the further development of commercial relations between China and Russia [تاتارلارنىڭ، 1988، 25]. On 13 July 1850, the two states signed a treaty establishing the legal framework for bilateral trade. From that date on, Russian merchants were to receive special tickets in Semipalatinsk, Petropavlovsk, Troitsk, Ust-Kamenogorsk, and Kopal, to trade in two cities, Qoqek and Qulja, where Russian consulates were established³⁰ [Moiseev, 2003, pp. 23–24]. This ensured many opportunities for Tatar merchants. Not a single caravan went to Qulja after 1865, essentially because the Taranchi were reluctant to let in Russian merchants, while the local authorities denied any responsibility for securing their caravans and prohibited Russian ships from navigating the Ili River. Only a few Tatar merchants, who connected Semirechye with Qulja, carried out some minor commercial activities [Kaulbars, 1874, pp. 142–143].

The inflow of Tatar merchants to East Turkestan increased after the Treaty of Petersburg was signed on 12 February 1881, under which Russian merchants trading there were entitled to enter and leave the territory freely and carry out duty-free trade [Moiseyev, 2003, p. 199; Chanyshchev, 2007, p. 6]. However, Tatars tended to trade in the frontier cities. The central city of the Xinjiang Province, Ürümqi, hosted 50 Semipalatinsk Tatars, Sarts, and ³¹ Taranchis in 1890.

A new wave of Tatar migration followed in 1905–1917. This involved representatives of the Tatar intellectual elite. At the same time, Tatar periodicals and books entered East

³⁰ On 21 July 1863, the Russian consulate in Kulja was forced to withdraw from Kulja factories, fearing an attack from the local population [Aristov, 1873, p. 170].

³¹ During M. Pevtsov's trip, the settled population of Turkestan was referred to as sarts, regardless of their nationality. Russian settlers in Turkestan called all of its settled and non-nomadic population 'sarts' [Pevtsov, 1949, p. 307, 308].

Turkestan. Due to Tatar intellectuals, the opposition of Jadidism and Kadimism began there [Gosmanov, 1996, p. 36].

In general, Russian Tatars were unevenly dispersed across East Turkestan. At the early stage of the migration, Tatars tended to take up residence in Qulja and Qoqek, and after 1905, in other cities, namely Ürümqi, Dörbiljin, Turpan, and Kashgar. In that period, Tatar emigrants also became rural residents, in particular near Qulja and in the Altai Region [Gosmanov, 1996, p. 36]. However, they were most numerous in Ili (over 1,900 individuals of both sexes in 1892) and Tarbagatay oblasts [Chanyshiev, 2007, p. 6]³². The customs and religion that they shared with the local Uighurs, as well as their linguistic affinity, made possible the peaceful co-existence and development of the commercial and cultural relations between the two peoples [Chanyshiev, 2007, p. 7].

Developing commercial relations brought about Tatar mahallah type communities in cities with a compact Tatar population, such as Qulja and Qoqek [Gosmanov, 1996, p. 35].

The majority of Russian Tatars living in East Turkestan were engaged in commerce. V. Radlov noted in the 1850s that Tatar merchants felt freer and happier there than they did in Russia because they were on friendly terms with the representatives of other ethnic groups [Chanyshiev, 2007, p. 7]. Trade, primarily the petty kind, was initially the source of subsistence for the Tatars. The most successful of them opened shops and resold livestock. Some were able to establish commercial relations with Russia [Gosmanov, 1996, p. 45]. One of these merchants was Ramazan Chanyshiev, who started his career as a representative of a Russian merchant who ran a tea company. Having raised capital, R. Chanyshiev cooperated with Nasyr Burnashev to establish a company in Ürümqi and became engaged in the tea trade with Russia. The Trade House of the Brothers Iskhak, Ibray, and Garif, which primarily exported leather and wool to Russia, and the Altai Company, founded by Fatikh Aldagarif and

Fazyljan Yunuchi, which sold everyday goods imported from Russia, were also very famous. However, few Tatar merchants traded at the international level. Most re-sold goods at small shops in the city or among farmers and livestock breeders, to whom they supplied everyday goods [تاتارلارنىڭ، 1988، س.19، 20، 21].

According to Ch. Valikhanov's memoirs, Tatars raised great profit from trade with the Kazakhs, to whom they brought cheap and low-quality fabrics and cast iron and iron household items, which were sought-after, in order to obtain small cattle, leather, and fur. The Kyrgyz people also turned to the Tatars in order to sell their own goods in China [Valikhanov, 1985, pp. 34–35].

Tatars primarily sold textile and paint, metal items, sugar, stearine candles, and in the autumn and early spring, Kyrgyz sheep. They used the money made from such trade to purchase large amounts of cotton and raisins in the Turpan District [Pevtsov, 1949, p. 268]³³. Tatar merchants brought fruit, rawhide, fur, and livestock from Qulja, where they sold cheap fabrics, metal items, and tanned leather [Kaulbars, 1874, p. 143].

The Tatar population was also engaged in trade crafts. There were Tatar blacksmiths, tailors, leather and shoe makers, mahogany workers, goldsmiths, ethnic cooks, etc. [تاتارلارنىڭ، 1988، س.21].

Furthermore, livestock breeding and arable farming were popular among Tatars. Most of the Tatar small cattle breeders lived in Qulja, Ürümqi, Guchung, Jimisar, Altai, Kobuksar counties, as well as in other areas. Arable farming was popular with wealthy merchants, who bought or took on lease land and hired workers. They used more advanced tools and thus gained more profit. Horticulture was also popular with the Tatar residents of Qulja and Qoqek [تاتارلارنىڭ، 1988، س.23].

³² For comparison, in the 1880s there were 130,000 people in the Iliysk territory, and in the Tarbagatay district there were 64,000 people [Kostenko, 1887, p. 113].

³³ M. Pevtsov also noted the presence of Fergan Sarts in other oases: in Aksuysk—200 people, Uch-turfansk—100 people, Yarkendsk—100 people, and in Khotansk—80 people who traded Russian goods (cotton, metal products) in Turkestan and exported to Russia paper material (matu), goat wool, sheepskin, carpets, thick felt (from Yarkend) and raw silk (from Khotan) [Pevtsov, 1949, p. 47, 70, 94, 95].

Young Tatars came to East Turkestan as labourers to work for rich merchants or tea-house keepers [Gosmanov, 1996, p. 46]. Wealthy merchants from various ethnic groups employed educated Tatars for trade business management as clerks, bookkeepers, inspectors, and technicians [تاتارلارنىڭ، 1988، س.22].

Islamic clergymen and enlighteners were of special importance among the Tatars because they held major influence over the development of education among the local Uighurs and Kazakhs. In the late 19–early 20th century, the Uighur school system was in principle Kadimist. There was no uniform curriculum. Education consisted of reading and memorizing religious books and the like [Chanyshhev, 2007, pp. 83–84]. Several alumni of the Russian-Tatar Teachers' School in Kazan were invited to Xinjiang to develop primary education in the 1870s. They also developed a special curriculum for local schools [Chanyshhev, 2007, p. 85].

It was common practice to offer clerical positions to famous religious leaders. For instance, Kurbangali Khalidi (1846–1913), a famous enlightener and scholar, who came to East Turkestan from Ayagoz (Kazakhstan) as a teacher and local history expert, was invited to Qoqek as an imam in 1874 [Gosmanov, 1996, p. 62]. In 1899, Kashfelasrar Vagapov (1858–1957), who had studied in Kazan, Astrakhan, and Bukhara, was invited to Qulja as the imam khatib of the local mahallah. When he arrived, the construction of the local mosque began. Education was ensured for Tatar boys and girls. The teaching methods were mixed

Jadidist and Kadimist. In 1913, Wagapov's schools became absolutely Jadidist and moved to the premises of the mosque. Apart from teaching, K. Wagapov worked as a qadi and became famous as a fair judge [Gosmanov, 1996, pp. 63–64].

Wealthy Tatars made contributions to the Islamic infrastructure too. For instance, in 1880 the Tatar beys Elkybaevs built a mosque in Qulja and founded a two-year madrasah at its premises. Later, when the number of Tatar children had grown, Sharafutdin Gabitov built a four-year madrasah (the Qashfiya School) that offered boarding for 10 students near the mosque [Chanyshhev, 2007, pp. 60–61].

To sum up, the history of Russian Tatars in East Turkestan suggests that the main reasons why they emigrated from Russia were of a socio-economic and religious nature. While in the late 18th century Tatars only appeared there as traders, as soon as in the first third of the 19th century gradual economic development and population settlement began, encouraged by the friendly local Uighurs and Kazakhs. The growth of the Tatar population brought about the Tatar communities of such large cities as Qulja, Ürümqi, and Qoqek in the early 20th century. The Tatars of East Turkestan were very influential in the development of the local Turkic people, primarily concerning education. In the late 19–early 20th century, Tatar schools became enlightenment centres not only for Tatar emigrants but for Kazakhs and Uighurs as well. Merchants also were able to find an economic niche. Part of them reinforced Russian-Chinese commercial relations.

§ 5. Central Russia

Farida Sharifullina, Damir Khayretdinov, Dmitry Makarov

Modern times were a distinct stage in the history of the development of central Russian Tatar communities. Many earlier communities that existed in present-day Kaluga, Vladimir, Ivanovo, Yaroslavl, and Tver oblasts ceased to be in the 17–and 18th centuries. This occurred even earlier in the Voronezh, Belgorod, and Kursk oblasts. Most of the local Tatar

groups in the Ryazan oblast, most of the Tatar population of the Moscow and Tambov, probably also Tula, oblasts had dwindled by the beginning of the 19th century. Full-fledged Tatar communities existed in Kasimov uyezd, Moscow and Kostroma only. Yet, central Russian Tatar communities grew more active following the reforms, which is chiefly attribut-

able to the intense migration of Volga Region Tatars to the area. Military service was often a major factor (such as in Voronezh, Kaluga, Kursk, Tver). Tatar communities of the 19–the beginning of the 20th century in all central Russian regions, except for Kasimov, were characterized by high urban dispersion. Tatar migrants formed compact enclaves with social (mosques, schools, cemeteries) and partly economic (halal meat sales points) infrastructure of their own within the ethnically foreign environment. Infrastructure establishment was determined by both religious requirements and an ambition to preserve an authentic linguistic and cultural environment. Many scholars reported Tatars to be concentrated at certain institutions (glove plants in Moscow, services on the Moscow–Saint Petersburg Railroad) or in certain spheres (factory security in Ivanovo-Voznesensk). An especially high percentage of Tatars were involved in private business (cab drivers, petty traders, craftsmen).

Characteristically, the establishment of new Tatar communities in Central Russia was connected with urbanization. Such communities were dominated by migrants from certain areas. For instance, in the Vladimir Governorate, including today's Ivanovo oblast, Tatars came from the Nizhny Novgorod region and the Buinsk Uyezd, Simbirsk guberniya; in Tula guberniya, from the Khvalynsk uyezd, Saratov guberniya; in Kursk, from the Nizhny Novgorod region and the Kasimov area. Where Tatars from different regions co-resided, a differentiation by occupation and financial status was clear. Kasimov and Temnikov Tatars were the wealthiest and most socially privileged. They were the most socially active group as well.

Moscow. The Muslim population of Moscow surged during the period in question. While several years before, in 1866, records reported 223 males and 116 females [Central Historical Archive of Moscow, f. 199, inv. 2, file 39, s. 2–4], by 1871 the number had grown to 1.2 thousand people; by 1897, to 4.2 thousand; and by 1912, to 9.7 thousand [Vydro, 1976, p. 30].

The small Tatar community, which had been stable for centuries, could feel the winds



Kurbangali Khalidi. Fig. of 1880.

of change. This determined both its abrupt growth and the nature of socio-economic relations both within and beyond the community.

In the late 19th century, the number of Tatars in trade, merchants, mediators, and members of commercial institutions, increased greatly. Outstanding Moscow merchants included the 1st and 2nd guild merchants S. Erzin, M.-R. Isakov, I. Akhun-Janov, Kh. Kashtrov, M. Devishev, A. Nigmatulla, and others. They and other representatives of the community owned many residential buildings, shopping galleries and shops, warehouses, and hotels in Moscow.

At the turn of the century, the commercial and industrial class of Tatar society specified its ethnic and political interests, which were especially intense in the early 20th century. In Moscow this took the form of interaction between outstanding merchants and ethnic and religious leaders of the Muslim community.

The community's ethnic local composition remained unchanged as compared to previous epochs, with Tatars from the Middle Volga and the Kasimov uyezd constituting its core. Apart from them, Crimean and Lithuanian-Polish Tatars were also influential [Sadur, 1987, pp. 30, 35, 37].

'Relations between the ethnic groups known under the umbrella term "Tatars" and other Muslim groups were closer in Moscow than in their traditional homelands, and...opposition to Orthodox Christianity as the official religion played no small part in this...



Moscow Tatar coachman. Photo from the early 20th century.

Thus, the presence of a mosque and a separate cemetery was of special importance for the population of Moscow' [Sadur, 1987, p. 37]. It should be noted that it was not only the mosque itself that acted as a unifying factor but rather the presence of a specific neighbourhood hosting a group of old residents adherent to a set of well-established everyday traditions.

As it was in previous centuries, the most obvious and stable centre of Tatar concentration in the latter half of the 19th century to the early 20th century was Zamoskvorechye, previously known as the Tatar Sloboda. Already in the 1880s, compact Tatar communities began to expand considerably. However, the expansion is beyond comparison with the situation that took place in the early 20th century, when Tatars came to own nearly the entire Tatar Sloboda and the territories to the far north and south of it [Khayretdinov, 2002, pp. 149, 204–209]. No lucrative trade was carried out there. Any merchant had to own warehouses and points of sale in busy places in the centre of Moscow. In the late 1870s, such activities as inn, restaurant, hotel, and meat shop keeping became common for Tatar merchants, along with the traditional practice of trading miscellaneous goods.

The secular and the religious were intertwined so tightly among Tatar public figures that the wealthiest merchants not only funded the community's religious activities but literally directed it as active mosque go-

ers. In the 1880s, the Zamoskvorechye mosque was reconstructed, which failed to solve the problem of excess mosque goers. A document reports it to host 'as few as up to 1,500 people' [Central Historical Archive of Moscow, f. 16, inv. 84, file 179, s. 24, 36]. Likewise, the wooden madrasah building was too small to host everybody hoping to attend it. The new, stone madrasah building did not open until

September 1915. It closed after the Revolution.

In 1913, a large house was built using the funds of oil well owner Aga Shamsi Asadullayev from Baku on Maly Tatarsky Lane to become a cultural centre for Moscow Muslims. The school in the Asadullayev house remained private and community-funded until the Revolution. It also hosted Muslim youth evenings and provided free lunches to students. The printing house in the same building published newspapers in Tatar, 'Il' ('Country') and 'Süz' ('Word').

Tatar newcomers in Moscow began to populate the city actively. Many of them lived in Myasnitskaya Chast [Sadur, 1987, p. 30].

By describing the Muslim community as a 'group discriminated against', we refer to the 'cultural environment of pre-reform Moscow, which did not favour non-Russians' [Sadur, 1987, p. 28]. This was not the only issue. In the latter half of the 19th century, the government began to exert greater administrative and financial pressure on Tatar entrepreneurs. The church continued to view Muslims as a population category that should be subjected to missionary work [Central Historical Archive of Moscow, f. 203, inv. 377, file 85, s. 19, 29, 82, 95, 165; file 86, s. 120, 214].

In spite of the above trends, social liberalization in Russia had a major influence on the Tatar community of Moscow, which also affected the religious aspect. For instance, ten years after the second Muslim community of Moscow was founded, the municipal authori-

ties issued permission for the construction of a second mosque near Maryina Roshcha in 1904.

Tver. Tatar Muslims were first reported to be residing in Tver in 1846. According to 1869 census data, there were 58 of them. In 1878, the Muslim population of the Tver guberniya numbered 717; in 1897, 513 (196 in the provincial centre); most of them were Tatar (408). A little more than one third of them served in regiments garrisoned in Tver and the province, while the rest were seasonal peasant workers. In 1906, the Tver Cathedral Mosque was built on the funds of entrepreneur Fatikh Alyshev from Tver, who owned railroad station cafes in Saint Petersburg. The famous religious leader, military imam of the Moscow Military District (from 1905) Khusain Seid-Burkhan, who came from the Nizhny Novgorod region, was its imam khatib until the early 1930s. Apart from Tver, the city Bologoye had a Muslim community [Islam, 2009b, pp. 19–20, 203–204, 261].

Yaroslavl. By the beginning of the Modern Age, there were no Tatars loyal to either the Romanovs nor those having left Yaroslavl living in the city. In 1878, the number of Muslim (mostly Tatars) residents in the city hardly reached 20. However, they were already trying to register a religious society at that time. After 30 years, their population had grown to 2.6 thousand. 1,204 of them were residents. Some of them grew rich and started businesses like leather and fur processing workshops, and later leather and fur article shops. A horse slaughter house was founded with support from Kazan merchants. Tatar shops at its premises offered halal meat. In 1910, the Moscow company founded by the extremely wealthy oil well owner Aga Shamsi Asadullayev opened a branch office in Yaroslavl, which employed Tatar clerks and sales agents.

Moreover, as Tatar Muslim representation in the guard increased, the city administration allocated a land plot in the Leont'evskoye Cemetery (which was expanded in 1900) for Muslim burials in the early 20th century.

A mosque was built in 1906 on the initiative of Imam Ziyatdin Safarov, born in Tambov guberniya. At first the Tatars erected a wooden prayer house. The current stone building of the Yaroslavl Cathedral Mosque followed in 1914.

Imam Mahmud Yusupov came from Nizhny Novgorod guberniya [Chernovskaya, 2000].

The Moscow Guberniya. In the Middle Ages, there were not only separate Tatar settlements but the territories of Tatar khans' and princes' near Moscow. The only community to be traced back to these lands in the modern time was that of Zvenigorod.

In the rest of the cities near Moscow, shortly after the reforms, Tatar communities were made up of migrants (mostly from the Nizhny Novgorod and Simbirsk guberniyas). According to the Moscow provincial Statistical Committee, the largest Muslim (essentially Tatar) colony in the Moscow province, consisting of 314 people, was in the Bogorodsk Uyezd. Judging by the proportion of the sexes, families lived in Bogorodsk [Noginsk since 1930] and the neighbouring Pavlovsky Posad, while the populations of the nearby localities consisted mainly of seasonal workers. The total Tatar population of Podolsk and the uyezd at that time numbered 140 individuals of both sexes, whose number grew year by year. It was 177 in 1907. 95 Muslims (mostly with families) lived in Sergiyev Posad, while 88 lived in Kolomna and the Kolomna uyezd. The total Muslim population of the Moscow guberniya (Moscow excluded) had exceeded 1,300 by 1907 [Central Historical Archive of Moscow, f. 199, inv. 2, file 574, s. 2–46]. However, they were too scattered across uyezd and non-uyezd cities to establish any stable ethnic and religious infrastructure in any of the localities, except for 2–3 Muslim cemetery lots.

The low financial and social status of the Tatar communities also contributed to the situation. Tatar activities near Moscow were limited to cab driving, work at one of the then-few industrial plants (like the Kuznetsov China Plant in Dulevo), and minor works (for instance, at plants belonging to the Morozov textile empire in Orekhovo-Zuyevo). Only a few of them were able to practice petty trade [Islam in Moscow, 2008, pp. 162–163]. After the 1917 revolution, the micro-units grew into full-size Tatar communities, which were clearly Moscow-oriented.

Kasimov In the 19th century, the Tatar population of Kasimov continued to suffer

ethnic and confessional oppression. In spite of Christianization, Islam grew more influential among the old non-Christian Tatars. Clergymen (sayyids, akhunds, abyzes) were willing to reside in Kasimov. The city's clergy came from the Tambov, Penza, and Kazan guberniyas, as well as from the Crimea. Hereditary dynasties developed in the Kasimov uyezd. In the final quarter of the 19th century, the uyezd had 8 active mosques. Islam enabled the Tatars to preserve their ethnic identity without assimilating into the large Christian Russian population [Yuzeev, 2002b, p. 81]. It is thus natural that the Kasimov Anti-Muslim Mission, which was founded for the purpose of Muslim conversion to Christianity, failed in the last quarter of the 19th century [Alfeev, 1898, p. 759].

Kasimov Tatar agriculture was closely connected with raw animal material processing such as tanning and sheepskin making. There were many astrakhan factories owned by Tatar merchants in Kasimov. They carried out their commercial and business activities far beyond the Kasimov uyezd. Many southern Russian cities imported leather articles. Kasimov merchants actively participated in establishing commercial contacts between Russia and Kazakhstan/Central Asia. They were active in the Makaryev, Troitsk, Irbit, Krestovskoye fairs as well as other such events. This favoured permanent market and cultural connections between Volga-Ural Tatar groups.

The Tatar population of Kasimov and the Kasimov uyezd had reduced considerably by the late 19–early 20th century. While in the 18th century there were as many as 6 thousand people, in the late 19th century there were only 5 thousand. The number of Tatar villages decreased from 62 to 38 in the latter half of the 19th century. The key Kasimov Tatar migration directions (eastward, across the Volga, and to the Trans-Ural Region) mostly followed the same routes as other Middle Volga Tatar groups [Sharifullina, 2004, p. 24]. Some (about 15%) took residence in the cities. Migration to Moscow (the Tatar Sloboda) continued. They had been included in its population since the 14–16th centuries. Their inflow to Petersburg was recorded in the early 20th century. They

merged with the homogeneous Tatar migrant mass in the new area, 'losing their authentic culture and custom' [Iskhakov, 1993b, p. 63]. Small population groups, probably craftsmen and merchants, are known to have moved to the Kazan, Simbirsk, Nizhny Novgorod, Vyatka, Saratov, and Orenburg guberniyas, as well as to Kazakhstan and Central Asia. On the one hand, the migration caused the drain of the Tatar population from its ethnic homeland. On the other hand, it favoured Volga-Ural population growth and consolidation [Ahmetzyanov, Sharifullina, 2010, p. 242].

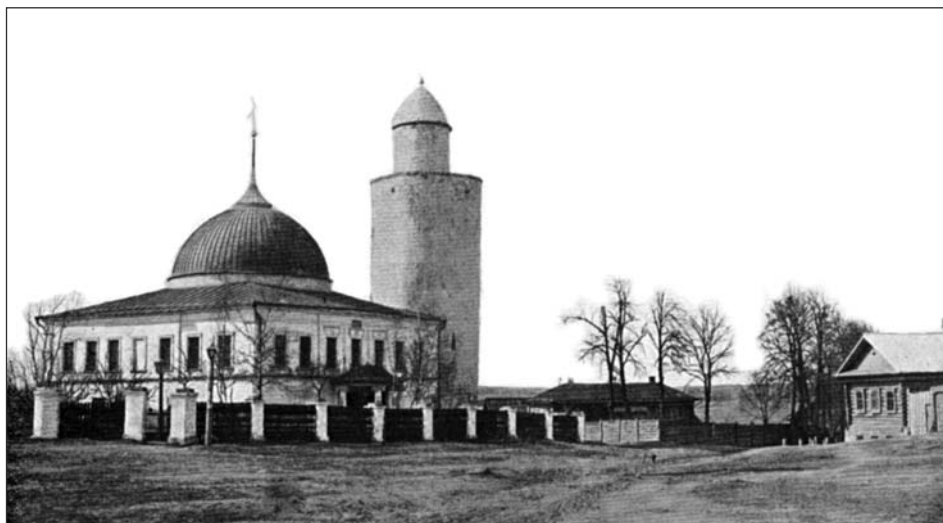
The Tatars of the Kasimov uyezd were actively engaged in forming an economic Tatar community. The rapid development of certain industries as well as the establishment of stable and strong economic connections to extend and reinforce the domestic market across ethnic Tatar territory were favourable influences. At the same time, synchronous ethnocultural information acquired a higher growth rate. Kazan was the principal supplier of teaching staff and books. The Tatar literacy rate was relatively high. 57% of the total adult population could read and write in their mother tongue [Pervaya vseobshchaya, Vol. 35, pp. 190–193]. In the late 19th century, the language of instruction at educational institutions (maktab and madrasahs) was Standard Tatar [Sharifullina, 2004, p. 25].

Kasimov Tatars contributed greatly to the spread of enlightenment among the Turkic-speaking peoples of the Crimea, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia. Outstanding Tatar teachers in the Crimea included Abdul and Shamil Tyncherov, Arif Mamatkazin, and others [Ahmetzyanov, Sharifullina, 2010, p. 243].

In the latter half of the 19–early 20th century, the Kasimov Tatar economy included a number of trades. In the late 19th century, trade households made up 23% of the economy, and in the early 20th century, 37.1% [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1290, inv. 6, item 76, s. 48; Sbornik, 1892, p. 23].

Both local and seasonal trades were popular. Local trades included shoe, brick making, jewellery, raw animal materials and fiber processing (leather, sheepskin, and wool making), which accounted for a high percentage

Qasim Khan mosque in the town of Kasimov of the Ryazan guberniya. Photo from the early 20th century.



as compared to other trades. Finished products were meant to be sold at the market, which was characteristic of small peasant home industries. In the post-reform years, home industries developed into capitalist plants of small rural industry, while such craftsmen became employees who produced articles at the plant owner's workshops or at home. The development of trades favoured simple capitalistic cooperation and manufacturing production, which turned into plant and factory industry.

In the mid-19th century, Kasimov Tatars owned a number of tanneries. Goat hair and astrakhan processing was popular. Down hair, which mostly came from the Nizhny Novgorod fair, was generally processed by women at home.

In the latter half of the 19th century, astrakhan processing plants were operating in Kasimov and the adjacent settlements [Koverskoye, Temgenevo, Podlipki, etc.]. The largest of them belonged to Shakulov, Musaev, Bostanov, Ishimbaev, Taneev, and Davletkildeev. They yielded 17,400 to 50,000 roubles per year. The network of their industrial and trade capital spread beyond the province. There was a small group of male shoemakers. Moreover, some Kasimov Tatars worked in soap, silver jewellery, spindle, clothing, and beverage production [Svedeniya, 1915, p. 284; Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1290, inv. 6, item 76, s. 319]. Home industries like spinning, weaving, and embroidery became less impor-

tant in the latter half of the 19th century. A total of 24.8% of the Tatar population of the Kasimov Uyezd (Kasimov excluded) were engaged in the trades [Sharifullina, 2004, p. 373].

Among them, seasonal trades were widespread. In the 1880s, more than a half [58.3%] of the total male working-age population performed seasonal work, which was largely aided by peasants' relatively loose connections with the rural community. The percentage of seasonal workers was about the same in rural Tatar communities in the governorates lying in the Oka and Sura interfluvium (57.4%) and full proprietary Russian peasants from the Kasimov Uyezd (52%) [Sbornik, 1887, p. 496].

Unlike other Tatar groups and other peoples in the Volga-Ural Region, Tatars in the Kasimov Uyezd were widely engaged in non-farming, long-distance seasonal work in various, predominantly central, cities of Russia. Seasonal labour was connected with the provision of services to urban dwellers and institution keeping. 4.7% of the total Tatar population in trades performed seasonal service labour. They worked as waiters, lackeys, coachmen, grooms, street cleaners, etc. A system of territorial seasonal worker differentiation had developed by the end of the 19th century. Well-paid jobs, waiters, clerks, lackeys, were usually occupied by migrants from Bely Aymak. Seasonal workers from Chorny Aymak and the right Oka bank received low salaries as cab drivers, grooms, and street cleaners, which

undoubtedly affected the financial standing of the sub-groups. Another part of the Tatar population (9.3%), the wealthiest one, owned inns, refreshment rooms, restaurants, clubs and furnished accommodations. They performed seasonal work when there was no farming to do. Some seasonal workers (15%) had given up agriculture and become city residents by the late 19th century [Sbornik, 1892, p. 51].

In the late 19th century, part of the Kasimov Tatar population of Kasimov and the uyezd (10.7%) was engaged in commerce [Pervaya vseobshchaya, Vol. 35, p. 190–193]. The bourgeoisie, who invested in not only industrial but commercial enterprises, dominated the sphere. Leather, fur, and leather and fur articles were the key commodities. They accounted for 64% of the total commodity turnover. The high activity of the Tatar bourgeoisie and its trade capital had a positive influence on ethnic relations, while favouring the establishment and operation of an all-Russian market. The Tatar bourgeoisie did not limit its business contacts to Russian markets but operated far beyond the country. For instance, the capitalists Tanev, Kastrov, Akbulatov sold leather and fur articles to Germany and America.

Traditionally, the urban and rural Tatar percentage in non-farming activities differed. Popular seasonal activities in the country included institution keeping (10.3% of the total uyezd Tatar population) and commerce (2.9%). City dwellers preferred commerce (34.1%), seasonal work in services (13.3%), and fibre and animal produce processing (12.7%) [Pervaya vseobshchaya, Vol. 35, p. 190–193]. To sum up, popular activities of the Kasimov Tatars in the late 19th century included seasonal work, involving 14% of the Tatar population, or 58.3% of the total adult male population, trade (10.7%), and fibre and animal produce processing (4.7%). The other activities only accounted for small percentages [Ahmetzyanov, Sharifullina, 2010, p. 262].

At the same time, arable farming was an important economic activity for the Kasimov Tatars.

Kostroma. The Kostroma Tatar community was one of the few communities dating back to the post–Horde period. By the begin-

ning of the 19th century it had developed into an autonomous rural community within the Gridino Volost of the Kostroma Uyezd, living in the Tatar Sloboda in the suburbs. The Tatar population grew rapidly. In 1762, 128 Tatars resided in Kostroma. In 1811, there were 204; in 1857, 325; in 1874, 365; in 1902, 525 [Semenov, 1865, p. 741]. An inflow of Tatars from Kazan, Kasimov, Penza and Nizhny Novgorod, from which cities it was common to invite brides, clergymen, and teachers, was a contributing factor. A clerical school teaching Standard Tatar opened in the Tatar Sloboda in 1866. However, contemporaries report that 'the language of the Kostroma Tatars was usually Russian rather than Tatar' [Pirogov, 1881, p. 67]. At the same time, the Tatar population of Kostroma preserved a number of authentic features, which made them a distinct ethnic local group, with the Romanov and Yaroslavl Tatars at the core. In the 19th to early 20th century, the most wide-spread occupation among the Kostroma Tatars was arable farming. They also practiced such trades as cab driving and fishing. Some of them were steamboat workers, pilots and captains or kept inns in the city. Some of the Tatars were engaged in commerce, primarily trading horses in Kostroma markets, and kumis making. Tatar women sold threads. Kostroma Tatars were generally wealthy. Since men outnumbered women, it was common to bring brides from Kazan, Ryazan (mostly Kasimov), and other governorates.

Long-term and close contacts with the Russians, especially at the stage when capitalistic relations were developing, affected their traditional culture significantly. Russian cultural influences brought about changes to the clothing, headwear, wedding ceremony elements, and everyday objects and traditions [Sharifullina, 2008, p. 66].

Kursk guberniya. Only a few exiled convicts from the Caucasus lived in Kursk until 1860. The first time Muslim military personnel were recorded to reside in the city was in 1865.

A stable Muslim community formed in Kursk in the 1890s. Its members were permanent residents of the city. Moreover, it was necessary for them to formalise their religious

activities. The 1897 census records report 413 male and 28 female Muslims (0.02% of the governorate's population) to be residing in the Kursk guberniya). They formed compact settlements in 4–5 areas of the town. Those were, most importantly, the Yamskaya Sloboda (evidently inhabited by Kasimov Tatar refreshment room employees, petty traders), and Semenovskaya, Kondyrevskaya, Pochtovaya and Zolotaya Streets.

The social status of Kursk Tatars varied. The most financially independent migrant from the Kasimov Uyezd, Abbas Khanbekov, who owned the Petrogradskaya Hotel, was the community's locomotive. His house attracted people for group namaz. Even though Muslims of other ethnic groups were present in the Kursk community, Tatars clearly dominated it at that time, both numerically and in terms of organisation. There were permanent mullahs in that period.

Ivanovo. The history of the Ivanovo Tatar community consists of several stages with long gaps between them. Even though large groups of Tatars with high social status (Mugreyevo and Yurt Tatars) were reported to have been residing in the region in the 16–17th century, no information on their direct descendants in the 19th century is available.

The next stage in the history of Ivanovo Oblast is connected with the territory's rapid industrial development in the 19th century. The region's textile industry involved, in particular, the Muslim population, namely Tatars from governorates in the Volga Region. It is noteworthy that the first Tatar migrants mostly worked as watchmen and in guardhouses. This is indicative of the employers' high confidence in them. In 1883, the city hosted 11 Muslims; in 1895, 283; in 1909, 342 [State Archive of Ivanovo Oblast, f. 2, inv. 1, file 369, s. 4; file 1090, s. 136; f. 4, inv. 1, file 1606, s. 48–49; Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 720, s. 18 reverse]. In the 1870s, a Muslim cemetery was arranged in Ivanovo-Voznesensk. The community received permission to build a mosque in 1909. The construction project was not implemented because of the community's financial difficulties. In spite of the lack of a mosque, the

Muslims of Ivanovo and other cities of the oblast were religiously active [State Archive of Ivanovo Oblast, f. 2, inv. 1, file 4736, s. 1–2, *Islam v czentral'no-evropejskoj chasti*, 2009, p. 213, 220].

Voronezh. In the 19th century, the Tatar community of Voronezh was predominantly military and had a connection to the city garrison and the Prince Mikhail Cadet Corps, which prepared military personnel for further education in military educational establishments in the capitals (in particular, representatives of the Muslim peoples of the Caucasus and the Crimea within the empire). One of the first Muslims to study there was I. Gasprinsky (1863–1865). The majority of Muslim students of the Corps came from the Northern and South Caucasus. However, Khivians and Crimean Tatars were also represented. The number of Muslim cadets in the Prince Mikhail Corps significantly increased in the early 20th century.

Kaluga. The fact that already in the late 18th century a Muslim cemetery was arranged in Kaluga indicates that the city had Muslim residents. The last Crimean khan Shahin Giray 'with his harem and servants' lived there as an honorary prisoner in the year 1786 [*Islam v czentral'no-evropejskoj chasti*, 2009, p. 17–18, 103–104; *Kaluga City Plan. Outline*. Kaluga, 1912].

Starting in the 19th century, Kaluga became an exile location for captive Cossacks, Caucasians and people from Turkestan. The 1897 census revealed the total Muslim population of the Kaluga guberniya to have numbered 144 men and 28 women. Tatar imams were reported to have lived there beginning at that time.

In the early 20th century, the Muslim community of Kaluga consisted predominantly of Tatars [77 families]. Other peoples, mostly Caucasian captives, were widely represented. The Kaluga Muslim community acquired a prayer house of their own at that time.

In sum, the central Russian Tatar communities of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century were a precursor of their further development in the Soviet and post-Soviet period. In fact, it was in the post-reform time that the

core of most of the central Russian Tatar communities of today came to be.

Intra- and inter-regional Tatar migration routes were determined. Representatives of the elite, mostly from the Kasimov and Yelatma Uyezds, were connected with the migration to large Central Russian cities. The latter led both migrant workers from the neighbouring uyezds in the Volga Region governorates (primarily the Sergach, Kurmysh, Buinsk, and Temnikov Uyezds) to central Russian industrial centres and those leaving the Kasimov, Yelatma, and Tambov Uyezds for other regions.

The rapid development of Tatar communities brought about a number of new mosques and madrasahs, which became central to the Tatar ethnic and religious renaissance for a short period until the 1920–1930s. It was the

period when Muslim cemetery plots appeared in central Russian cities, marking the first stage of the communities' institutionalisation. Tatar-Muslim communities in many regions were funded by wealthy entrepreneurs, primarily Kasimov Tatars and migrants from the village Azeyevo, in today's Ryazan Oblast.

Kasimov Tatar merchants and industrialists controlled whole branches of trade and industry. However, a large number of common people from around Kasimov along with migrants from rural communities in the Volga Region had to do seasonal work, which caused them to settle in a number of large cities in central Russia. This pre-determined Tatar depopulation in Kasimov and the nearby area, while Tatar communities in all the industrially important centres of the region continued to grow.

§ 6. The Crimean Tatars

Viktor Gankevich

In 1783, Russia annexed the territory of the Crimean Khanate. Crimean Tatar murzas swore allegiance to the new regime. Murzas, Islamic clergymen, public officials, and common people swore an oath later. However, the new territory was not seamlessly incorporated.

On 2 February 1784, the Taurida Oblast of seven uyezds was established by a decree by Catherine II. In 1796, the Taurida Oblast was liquidated and its territory included in the Novorossiia guberniya. Finally, the Taurida guberniya within the territorial borders of the former Taurida Oblast, consisting of the Simferopol, Yevpatoria, Feodosia, Perekop, Dnepr, Melitopol and Tmutarakan Uyezds, the latter was consequently transferred to the Caucasian administration, under the Decree by Alexander I of 8 October 1802 [Administrativno, 1999, pp. 7–8].

The first nobility election took place in 1787. Representatives of the local elite, Tatar murzas, became uyezd judges and uyezd police officers [Muftizade, 2000, p. 234].

In 1803, governorate, uyezd, and class institutions typical for all administrative units in the Russian Empire began to operate in the

Taurida guberniya [Administrativno, 1999, pp. 7–8]. Police and military service became a major issue for the Crimea Tatars of the³⁴ empire.

When the war against France broke out, in 1807, four Cossack type Tatar cavalry regiments, each consisting of 500 people, were formed. They participated in the Patriotic War of 1812 and the Foreign Campaigns of 1813–1814. In October 1814, the Tatar cavalry regiments received leave to be finally dissolved in 1817 [Muftizade, 2000, p. 235–238].

In 1827, the Crimean Tatar Life-Guards Squadron was formed within the Mixed Cossack Life-Guards Regiment. During another Russo-Turkish war (1828–1829), the Crimean Tatar guardsmen fought their way to the Kös-tence Mangalia Fortress via that of Iskaci and

³⁴ Starting in 1784, volunteers began forming five divisions of Tauride Beshleysk troops (in 1790–six divisions), which performed mainly police functions for the protection of dignitaries, the state border, salt industries, forests, patrolling of the Peninsula, searching for and escorting criminals, etc. Ultimately, the Tauride Tatar divisions of Beshleysk troops were disbanded in 1796 [Muftizade, 2000, p. 232–234].

participated in the action near Varna. During the Crimean War (1853–1856), part of the squadron, headed by Colonel Batyr Celebi Muftizade (later promoted to Major General) remained in Kronstadt and guarded the Baltic shore. The rest of the guardsmen, headed by Rittmeister Omer Bey Bolatukov participated in the defence of Sevastopol and the Battle of the Chernaya River.

In 1864, the Life-Guards Squadron was dissolved into a team of Crimean Tatar Life Guard of His Imperial Majesty. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, two privileged Crimean Tatar Life-Guards teams were at the headquarters of Alexander II and distinguished themselves in action during the occupation of Gorny, Dubnyak, Lovich and Plevna. The unit existed until 1890 [Muftizade, 2000, p. 240–243].

Crimean Tatars continued to serve in the Russian army on the usual terms after universal military service was introduced. For instance, in 1874, the Crimean Squadron was formed under the command of Colonel V. Poltoratsky (later Major General) near Bakhchysaray. In 1875, a second squadron was formed near Simferopol. An infantry crew [the Crimean Infantry Company] followed. In 1897, the Crimean Division was awarded with a colour [Muftizade, 2000, p. 243–245]. Thus, Crimean Tatars were generally involved in universal military service. At first, they went to army units in the Crimea, later across Russia. What remained of the special Crimean Tatar tax for guard maintenance was used according to the intended purpose until the last Life-Guards unit was dissolved.

Religion was crucial to the Crimean Tatars' spiritual life. After the Russian Empire annexed the Crimea, the government wanted to preserve the well-established administrative confessional division system and the Muslim religious administration system of the region. At the moment of the Russian annexation of the Crimea, the region had 1531 active mosques in respective parishes and 21 tekiyes, centres of spiritual asceticism. Mosques fell into two categories, the five-time and parish type.

Speaking of religious administration, it is a common fact that Catherine II signed a decree

establishing the position of mufti on 21 January 1794. Moreover, the document specified the structure of Islamic religious administration. The qadi asker remained assistant mufti. Furthermore, five members of the suggested clerical administration were appointed 'efendis', whose position is somewhat vague, to assist them [Gankevich, 2009a, p. 122]. The situation remained unchanged until the 1830s. However, this proved to be disadvantageous. The administration was outside of the state structure.

The Taurida Mohammedan Spiritual Administration (TMSA), accountable to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, was founded in 1832 to rectify the situation. The TMSA was traditionally headed by the Taurida Mufti, assisted by the Qadi Asker. The board included the Simferopol, Yevpatoria, Perekop, Feodosia and Yalta Uyezds qadis. The TMSA Chancellery was headed by a Secretary, who controlled the translator, desk heads, a 'journalist' (also record keeper), chancellery clerks, etc. [Gankevich, 2009a, p. 142].

The Muslim clergy fell into the following two categories: higher (mufti, qadi asker, uyezd qadis), and lower/parish (hatips, imams, mullahs, sheikhs, muezzins). Teachers at Islamic higher educational establishments, madrasahs (mudarrhises), or primary ones, maktabas (ojis), who had a parish title belonged to the clergy. Ferrashes (minor orders) belonged to mosque officers.

The TMSA was responsible for a set of issues related to the Muslim population of the Taurida guberniya, namely opening and closing mosques, Islamic educational establishments, controlling waqf real estate and movable property of mosques, madrasahs, and maktabas, appointing community clergymen, ensuring adherence to Sharia, etc. The sphere of TMSA spiritual control covered not only the Muslim community of the Taurida guberniya but those of the western governorates, namely those of Volhyn, Vilna, Grodno, Kowno, Minsk, and Podolsk.

The ethnic composition and demographic changes in the Crimea throughout the imperial period were significant and dynamic. While some ethnic groups gradually ceded ground,

others grew rapidly into a dominant component. Regional demographic patterns varied between the city and the country. It should be noted that the empire's government and the provincial administration developed the region to ensure polyethnicity for maximum population of the remote area.

For instance, the Crimean Tatar population of the regions ceased to be numerically dominant. Numerous migration waves that shook the Crimea every once in a while contributed to this. The migration was caused by a number of economic, social, religious and political reasons. It was sometimes determined by panic instilled by rumour and inaccurate information, like reports on the introduction of universal military service in the 1870s. In most cases, it was a national and ethnic tragedy. Such mistakes were often very hard to rectify. According to D. Zolotarev, Crimean Tatar migration changed the regional situation materially and had 'far-reaching effects on the region's economic, cultural and political life' [Zolotarev, 1999, p. 131].

The Russian government and the local provincial administration never took a clear stance on the diminishing demographic importance of the Crimean-Tatar people. For instance, it was not until the latter half of the 19th century that the governmental policy for Crimean Tatar re-settlement in the Ottoman Empire was reformed. It varied from supporting such processes in 1856 and 1859 to fully prohibiting and preventing any migration from 1862 to 1902, which was followed by removing the prohibition in 1910 [Zolotarev, 2016, p. 13]. In the last quarter of the 19–early 20th century, three large migrant flows rushed in from the Crimea. The waves date from 1873–1876, 1892–1894, and 1901–1904. D. Zolotarev estimated the total number of Crimean Tatar emigrants of that period at 25,000 [Zolotarev, 2001a, p. 173]. Some of the migrants and their descendants tried to return to their home land. Yet, it was difficult to convert back to Russian subjects from Turkish ones. The government and the local provincial administration did not always have a unified opinion on Crimean Tatar migration. The Taurida provincial administration often demonstrated flexibility, trying

to suspend and stabilise the regionally devastating processes.

Changes in the Crimean Tatar population's size over the period from the 19th to early 20th century demonstrate how critical the issue was. In the early 19th century, P. Sumarokov reported in his book that Muslim clergy consisted of 8,411 men and 7,530 women. There were 62,224 male and 59,011 female Tatar settlers. Moreover, the so-called Nogais, 7,398 men and 6,269 women, lived in the Crimea [Sumarokov, 1803, p. 159]. According to the 9th revision presented by Academician P. Keppen, the Crimean Tatar clergy numbered 7,887 and 'Tatar settlers', 138,875 [Keppen, 1857, p. 133]. In 1868, the Crimean Tatar (Muslim) population consisted of 13,783 men and 12,516 women, while in uyezds the numbers were 49,270 for men and 39,831 for women [Karmanny'j kalendar', p. 116–117]. In the mid 1870s, the Muslim population of the Taurida guberniya consisted of 86,019 men and 74,046 women [Verner, 1889, p. 33]. The Muslim population of the Taurida guberniya is known to have numbered 200,050 individuals of both sexes at the very end of the 19th century [Kalendar', p. 85].

The Crimean population has always been polyethnic. Records of the First General Census of 1897 report the following noteworthy ethnoses in the Crimea in the late 18–early 20th century, apart from the Crimean Tatars: the Ukrainians, the Russians, the Greeks, the Germans, the Karaites, the Krymchaks, the Gypsies, the Greeks and the Armenians. The guberniya's ethnic composition was extremely diverse. The East Slavic group accounted for 70.8% of the total population (in particular, 42.2% Ukrainians, 27.9% Russians, 0.7% Belarusians), or 1,025,310 people. Among the rest, Turkic-speaking peoples were the most numerous. In particular, the Crimean Tatars made up 13.0% (187,947 individuals of both sexes) in the late 19th century. Of Turkic-speaking populations, the census mentioned the Karaites 'and part of the Jews' (apparently the Krymchaks) as accounting for 0.6% (8,911 people). Turkic ethnoses were the last element in the '*Turkish*' (Turkic-Tatar.—V.G.) *population* of the guberniya as a 'predomi-

nantly non-indigenous and occasional element' [Pervaya vseobshchaya, Vol. 41, p. X]. However, its percentage was insignificant at 2,197 people.

The Crimean Tatars had an outstanding ethnic authenticity. The Russian writer E. Ivanova, who visited the Crimea in the latter half of the 1880s, presented a curious description of the Crimean Tatar communities on the southern coast. In particular, she noted, that 'Calmness and indifference are a Crimean Tatar trait. They are livestock breeders. The Crimean Tatars are Mohammedans, adherent to the law. They are honest, just, and respectful to the elderly, hospitable. They are handsome, slender, excellent horsemen' [Ivanova, 1889, p. 22, 23].

The public education was important to the Crimean Tatar social system. It could be traditionally religious or state-funded. Traditional schools were either primary (maktab) and high (madrasahs). The educational establishments employed the scholastic *usul-kadim* method and the innovative, listening-based practice, known as *usuljadid*, *usul sautiya* (the latter beginning in 1884).

Quite naturally, Muslims paid special attention to confessional educational establishments at the core of Islamic education and upbringing and thus were very popular with Crimean Tatar believers.

Faithful Muslims believed it to be their duty to send their children to maktab so that they learned to be adherents of Islam after, quoting I. Gasprinsky, 'a Muslim tribal training that any novice onlooker will find surprising and any advocate of Russification remarkable' [Gasprinsky, 1881, p. 26].

F. Andriyevsky, who had witnessed the ritual of sending a Muslim child to maktab, confirmed this. He described it as very sol-



Crimean Tatar females. Photo from the early 20th century.

emn. The student-to-be, usually aged 5 to 7, accompanied by his parents, friends, family, and maktab students was brought to the teacher, whether male or female. While on the road, the entourage performs relevant Islamic songs, hymns and recites poems. Having arrived at the maktab, the child's parents 'entrust' him to the teacher, bow to the latter, and give him/her a special gift such as coffee, tea, sugar, tobacco, a shawl, fabric, bread and sometimes money, depending on how wealthy and well-off the family is. Following the ritual, the parents hold a big festive ceremony. Guests perform a special *dua* prayer. In mountain villages in the Crimea with a religiously mixed population it was common practice to invite Christians to the semi-religious celebration. On the same evening, the village's well-respected inhabitants came to the new maktab student's home to have a cup of coffee and a 'laf' talk. Those included clergymen, highly respected *ajis* and *aksakals*. Women, clergymen's wives, rebukers, midwives, etc., gathered in the neighbour's house. 'The hero of the occasion, whether it's a boy or a girl, approaches the guests one by one in order of seniority in a shy and timid manner and performs a highly respectful *salam* greeting, which younger ones traditionally address to older people,' wrote F. Andriyevsky [Andriyevsky, 1908, p. 13–15].

Crimean Tatar ethno-confessional maktab fell into three basic categories, namely—mosque, public and privately funded. Quite naturally, mosque maktab were the most authoritative ones. Most of their teachers were local clergymen. They sometimes had assistants, who could fill in for them when necessary. Muslims also founded public (jemaat) and privately funded educational establishments that taught the Quran and foundations of Islam. Another maktab type popular with the Crimean Tatars was the confessional Quranic school.

Most maktab were funded by a Muslim community, sometimes using donations by wealthy community members. Any waqf money and property donated for the maktab was rarely sufficient to ensure proper maintenance. According to official statistics, the TMSA hardly ever spent a total of over 60 roubles per year for the maintenance of the average Crimean Tatar maktab [Verner, 1889, p. 77].

The salary of the average teacher, oji, ranged from 50 kopecks to 1 rouble. With a total of 60 students, the teacher would usually received a salary of 50 kopecks per student. This would equal 6 roubles per year. The whole maktab yielded 300 roubles. Moreover, the teacher was often given accommodation where it was also common to hold classes. He/she received firewood for the winter season and some other services to improve the oji's living standard and social status at the public's cost.

Most of the teachers were imams, mullahs, hatips, muezzins and ajis. Muslim clergymen's family members could also become maktab teachers. When a mullah taught boys at a mens' maktab, his wife or daughter would traditionally teach female students. Sometimes the mullah's son or another authoritative maktab graduated acted as his assistant. It was not uncommon for sokhts (students) of Islamic clerical schools and madrasahs to instruct maktab students.

The oji is a greatly respected, venerable, sometimes even mystical image in Islamic tradition. Maktab students accorded the greatest courtesies possible to their ojji. Sometimes

they went to extremes. For instance, students could not walk ahead of their ojji. Students dared not knock on the door upon arriving at the maktab. They were expected to squat respectfully with their arms crossed on their chest. Squatting in silence to express their respect, the students had to wait patiently 'for the oji to open the door because he/she needs to' [Andriyevsky, 1908, p. 26–27]. The Muslim greeting for the most authoritative maktab teachers was a kiss on their hand and on the flap of their clothes. Any Muslim was ready to receive them as honorary guests.

Already in the 1890s, the famous Crimean statistician K. Verner noted that most of the Tatar school buildings did not suit their purpose' [Verner, 1889, p. 63]. Quite naturally, classrooms were never ventilated. The lighting was extremely poor. The traditional window frame with the parmahlyh thick lattice adsorbed most of the daylight. Moreover, some ojjs covered them with newsprint to prevent passers-by from seeing what was going on inside.

F. Andriyevsky cited a Tatar teacher who expressed his opinion at the Yalta Public Teachers' Convention for Non-Russian Schools in 1905. Describing the existing maktab, the teacher mentioned them to 'have very poor buildings without any school furniture; children sit on the bare ground during classes; the classroom is always scantily lit and very cold' [Andriyevsky, 1908, p. 32]. He believed that even though children first went to the maktab 'at a very early age', they were prone to diseases that gradually became chronic. First of all, those included tuberculosis (consumption), which was wide-spread among Crimean Tatars. Several years at school turned students into anaemic, dwarfy people with underdeveloped chests and other signs of developmental disorders.

The liberal transformations that took place in Russia in the latter half of the 19th century raised a number of issues, including that of reforming the Crimean Tatar ethnic confessional education. The situation demanded improvements. The outstanding Crimean Tatar enlightener I. Gasprinsky raised the question of reforming the entire professional training

system of the Turkic-Muslim peoples of the Russian Empire in general and the Crimean Tatars in particular. He suggested a number of measures that ensured major benefits. Such famous Crimean Tatar social activists as I. Muftizade and A. Mediev also addresses the issue.

In the early 1880s, I. Gasprinsky noted that any 'Muslim community has a school and a mosque of its own' [Gasprinsky, 1881, p. 26], emphasizing Crimean Tatar traditions. The TMSA recorded 34 mosque and 116 privately funded maktab in 1876. They provided education to 2,610 boys and 1,112 girls, yielding 20 people per school [Dyakonov, 1882, p. 55–56]. The 1893 statistics report a total of 330 mosque maktab with 4,757 male and 3,428 female students. Privately funded maktab, which numbered as many as 138 in the Crimea, were training 1,911 boys and 1,615 girls [Dyakonov, 1894, p. 164–165].

When Russia annexed the Crimea, madrasahs remained traditionally under the influence of the Muslim clergy. Madrasah teachers fell into the following two categories: mudarrhis and gochis. The former had the same rights as community mullahs, while the latter were equal to muezzins [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 23, No. 22297]. According to Russian law, mudarrhis and gochis were expected to have adequate knowledge, be decent people aged at least 25 (21 for gochis) [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 30, No. 29040].

The following types of Crimean madrasahs can be singled out: Bakhchysaray, large urban and rural and plain rural (madrasah by name). The most authoritative, famous, and influential madrasahs were situated in the former capital, Bakhchysaray.—Those were the Khan's, Orta and Zinjerli Madrasahs [Pritsak, 1993, p. 18]. The second type included some urban and even rural madrasahs, among which the Karasubazar Tekye, the Kerch, Sary-Em-in Madrasahs, and the village madrasahs of Tashlydair, Uzub-Basha, and Akchur were of note. The rest of the madrasahs, mostly rural ones, more or less qualified as such [Gankevich, 2000b, p. 17].

Madrasahs were managed by the mudarrhis, who acted as the president of the educational establishment, an Islamic clergyman and a professor. The mudarrhis appointed a supervisor to maintain order. At the Zinjerly Madrasah, one of the supervisors managed the library and was expected to maintain the books on the catalog in proper condition. There was a waqf custodian and treasurer, known as the mutawalli. The imam and muezzin facilitated the religious training of the sokhts. The mudarrhis could invite an ojja or a mullah as a private teacher for junior sokhts to help them learn their mother tongue. A Calligraphy teacher, hattat, could also help. In the late 19th century, a number of large madrasahs established the position of Russian teacher.

The mudarrhis appointed a senior student, or buyuk, in each group. It was an honorary position. Apart from maintaining discipline, the buyuk was more importantly supposed to be a tutor to help the junior students study this or that subject [Tärceman, 1885, 7 October]. In the evening the buyuk usually read out the text to be studied without explaining its meaning. Arabic was the language of instruction, so nobody but the tutor understood what it meant. Some madrasahs had a buyuk hierarchy of torbuyuk, kiblebuyuk and sirabuyuk. Among them was the Davuljar Madrasah [Kırım'da medrese hayatı, p. 9].

Madrasah sokht groups were usually united in some kind of artels. They shared a room termed the oda. The mudarrhis assigned a buyuk to each of such groups. Members of each sokht artel shared meals and lived autonomously. The food was bearable. However, the chiburekki, which were cooked twice a week, were a 'delicious' and 'holy' dish [Kırım'da medrese hayatı, p. 9].

Traditional and sometimes conservatively scholastic teaching methods were employed. They relied on tutorship principles. The mudarrhis usually taught the senior sokht group. In the meanwhile, the other sokht groups studied under their buyuks' supervision, each in its oda. The buyuk usually sat in the centre of the oda. To quote a public education activist in the Taurida guberniya, 'sokhts lie in front of him on felt mats, reading' [Markov, 1869,

p. 109]. The *buyuk* maintained discipline while explaining difficult passages and correcting mistakes.

Some rich *madrasahs* contained small libraries. For instance, the complex of the Khan's *Madrasah* in Bakhchysaray had a separate library building. Up to 400 ancient books were kept there [Vakit, 1913, 29 August, No. 1283].

The medieval *madrasah* curriculum was well developed and progressive. As it remained unchanged, some subjects grew scholastic with time. This was especially true with *madrasahs* popular among Turkic-speaking Muslims. In the 1860s, Crimean *madrasahs* taught Arabic Etymology and Syntax, Logic (according to Arabic notes by Aristotle), three Rhetoric courses, the Quran, Islamic Spiritual and Secular Law—*Fiqh* and *Sharia*—insofar as it was consistent with all-Russian law [Markov, 1869, p. 110; Tärceman, 1895, January 7]. Arithmetics and Persian were sometimes on the curriculum.

Madrasah classes met daily and lasted for seven hours. Having delivered a lecture, the *mudarrhis* would make sure that the students understood them properly and provide additional explanation where necessary. It was the *mudarrhis's* personal responsibility to check and correct the papers and translations by *sokhts* [Tärceman, 1890, November 6].

Data on the number of *madrasah* in the Crimea has survived to the present. A 1865 report by the TMSA referring to statistics by *uyezd qadis* mentioned a total of 28 *madrasahs* in the 5 *uyezds* of the Taurida guberniya. In 1876, there were as many as 40 *madrasahs* in the Crimea [Markov, 1869, p. 99–101].

A public Crimean Tatar education system also existed. It consisted of the Simferopol Tatar Teachers' School (STTS) and a network of Russian and Tatar Ministry Schools (RTMSs). A decree was issued on 27 March 1872 under which the STTS was established to train teachers for Crimean Tatar primary schools, or RTMSs. Many representatives of the ethnic intelligentsia, who determined the paths of their people's development, went to the school. These included A. Mediev, A. Bodaninsky, D. Meinov, I. Firdevs and T. Boyatzhiyev.

Crimean RTMSs were established under the 'Rules' of 1870. They were funded from the *zemstvo* budget. Their main objective was to teach 'non-Russians' the Russian language. There were 18 RTMSs in 1881 and 33 in 1905. While in 1881 the total student count was 494, in 1906, it was already 945, including 40 girls [Abibullayeva, 2005, p. 12].

The government funded public education system faced numerous difficulties as it developed. However, it had a major influence on the development of Crimean Tatar culture during the many years that it existed.

I. Gasprinsky's creation of the 'Tärjeman' national publishing company and famous newspaper proved crucially significant in the development of spirituality and education among the Crimean Tatars. Starting in 1879, he made numerous attempts to found his own publishing company in the Crimean Tatar language called 'Faydali äglänjä' ('Polezniy dosug'/'Constructive recreation') (1879–1880), 'Zakon'/'The Law' (1881) [Gankevich, 2000a, p. 99–101]. Beginning on 10 April 1883, I. Gasprinsky was granted official permission to publish and edit the first Crimean Tatar–Russian newspaper, 'Tärjeman' (which was later shut down on 23 February 1918).

The theories of I. Gasprinsky circulated among the Muslim peoples of Russia using the 'Tärjeman' as a conduit. The newspaper also had a readership in Persia, China, Turkey, Egypt, Bulgaria, France, Switzerland and the USA. I. Gasprinsky himself believed that his newspaper was more popular among foreigners than his own compatriots.

In 1886 the enlightener organised the publishing of an advertising appendix to his newspaper called the 'Listok obyavleniy' ('Ad Sheet'). Then from the end of 1905 he started production on the first Crimean Tatar women's magazine 'Galäme nisvan' ('Women's World'), the editor of which was his daughter Shefika. This was his third attempt (the first two unsuccessful attempts were in 1887—the magazine 'Tärbiya' ('Education'), and in 1891 an appendix to the 'Tärjeman'—'Kadin' (Woman)) [Gankevich, 2000a, p. 146–153]. In 1906 I. Gasprinsky sought permission to publish the first comedic magazine titled 'Ha-ha-ha' in the

native language of the Crimean Tatars. Later, he created a new weekly publication for the Muslim faction of the State Duma, the newspaper 'Millät' ('People') [Gankevich, 2000a, p. 155–161].

I. Gasprinsky made an enormous contribution to the Europeanisation of Muslim peoples in Russia. At first, this could be observed in the reformation of the 'isuli gädit' school (the 'new method' for teaching literacy) he initiated as early as in 1884, and in the creation of an experimental maktab in Bakhchysaray, where mugalims from the Volga-Urals and other regions of the country came to study the 'new method'. Since that time, Jadidism developed through the reformation of religious schools, the creation and development of the national press, solving women's issues in accordance with the needs of modern societal development, strengthening cooperation in cultural, economic and social spheres among all Turkic-speaking ethnic groups, the formation of a national intelligentsia, the modernisation of the Muslim way of life and households, establishing contacts with the Russian government and members of the cultural and educational community, the foundation of philanthropic and patronage structures, and finally, the creation of political organisations. I. Gasprinsky's worldviews and theories were based on a liberal ideology, the idea of the progressive development of society, friendship between Slavic and Turkic peoples, religious tolerance between Christians and Muslims, and on an opposition to the radical demands of the socialists. His writings advocated for evolutionary forms of social development [Gankevich, 2000b].

I. Gasprinsky is the author of several literary works, including the novel 'French letters', one part of which is a utopian novella titled 'Darer-rähät möselmanlari' ('Muslim lands of prosperity'), the novel 'African letters—the Country of Amazons', the short story 'Arislan kiz' ('Lion-girl'), the short story 'The Grief of the East', and the essays 'Russian Islam. Thoughts, notes and observations of a Muslim', 'The Russian-Eastern agreement. Thoughts, notes and suggestions' and other works [Gankevich, 2009b, p. 13]. I. Gasprin-

sky is the ancestor of many literary and journalistic genres for both the Crimean Tatars and other Turkic peoples.

At the end of the 19–early 20th century, representatives of the younger generation made themselves known in Crimean Tatar national literature, including Osman Aqçoqraqlı (1879–1938), Asan Chergeev (1879–1946), Abdurešit Mediev (1880–1912), Usein Shami-lyä Tohtargaz (1881–1913), Abibulla Odabash (1881–1938), Memet Nuzet (1888–1934) and a number of other writers and poets [Fazyl, 2005, p. 58].

One particularly important phenomenon for Muslim public life was the creation in 1897 of the 'Crimean charity community in Simferopol for helping Crimean Tatars in need'. I. Muftizade (1841–1917), an eminent political figure among the Crimean Tatars, became the head of this community and directed its activities for many years to come.

Thus, the Crimean Tatars traversed a difficult, but vivid, dynamic and complex historical path as part of the Russian state. From the end of the 18th century until the beginning of 20th century, the residual phenomena of the previous period were being gradually eliminated. The Crimean Tatars attempted to incorporate themselves into the unified system of the complex state organism that called itself the Russian Empire. The reaction of the Crimean Tatars was ambiguous. They sought to revive the bodies of the Muslim Spiritual Directorate, preserve and reform people's schools, and create a powerful social movement and national press agencies. As a form of protest on behalf of the conservative-minded portion of the population, they turned to the inner life of their community and to massive, sometimes even catastrophic, waves of emigration into Turkey. After realising the harm these forms of protest could bring about, patriotic forces of Crimean Tatars began battling against such potentially dangerous phenomena. It was they who were called upon and active in directing the Crimean Tatars to incorporate themselves into the complex system of the Russian state while fully preserving their national identity, religion, language, culture, education and spirituality. At this stage they were seeing pros-

pects for educating the population aided by Jadidism, which had finally found formation in Crimea thanks to the efforts of I. Gasprinsky and his supporters. On the other hand, in

the early 20th century, centripetal tendencies emerged in the social and political life of Russian Turkic-Muslims, and the Crimean Tatars took an active role in this process.

§ 7. The Lithuanian-Polish Tatars

Yakov Grishin

The ancestors of the Lithuanian-Polish Tatars originated from the various peoples who were part of the Golden Horde state and formed after the demise of its Khanates. The mass migration of Tatars from the Golden Horde to Lithuania began during the reign of Grand Duke Vitold (1392–1430). These resettled members of the Golden Horde received vast estates from the hand of the Grand Duke, and in return they agreed to serve in the military. Benefiting from all the rights of Russian-Lithuanian boyars, they enjoyed guaranteed freedom of religion in addition to respect for their customs [Lappo, 1901, p. 462; Dziadulewicz, 1929, p. 26].

The Tatar population in Lithuanian-Polish lands were divided into 6 tribal groups called Chorągiews, including Bargins, Jalairs, Ushans, Kongrats, Naymans and Ulans. They were governed by their own religious law, a Sharia law that functioned in all religious hymns.

Social stratification remained among the Tatars, where the descendants of Horde sultans and murzas stayed locked into the most privileged positions. The title of Sultan in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth belonged to only two Tatar families, the Ostrynskys and Punszkys. Senior members of the families are consistently referred to as princes, as they were descendants of the ruling khans. The remaining Tatar families descended from Horde murzas and were assigned the title of prince [Akty', 1906, p. 22, 41, 230].

The descendants of Horde sultans and murzas owned large votchinas and kholops, and in return they were required to serve in the cavalry. They also enjoyed the same rights as the dominant Polish gentry. In documents from the 16th century, they were called 'rich Tatars'.

Beneath them were the so-called Tatar-Cossacks (serving nobility), who descended from the ranks of ordinary soldiers who arrived in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by the unit transports of Horde sultans and murzas. They were given small plots of land, and they not only served in the military in return, but were also trusted with important duties to serve the Grand Duke and his courtiers [Mukhlinsky, 1887, p. 25].

The third group consisted of urban Tatars who were largely descendants of prisoners-of-war. The largest number of them resided in Vilno, Troki, Augustow, Ostrog and Grodno.

Urban Tatars were called 'simple Tatars' in documents. They were separated on legal grounds from the rich Tatars, and were tasked with various duties to a lesser degree. However, simple Tatars had to pay a tax for legal custody.

The availability of land, military service and the collection of taxes on par with the Lithuanian-Polish gentry gradually brought about the coalescence of the rich Tatar nobility class in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Their nobility was proven in a similar manner to the Lithuanian-Russian gentry, meaning by the evidence of relatives and neighbours, as well as by official documents.

Almost all Polish sources from the second half of the 17th century included overtly laudatory assessments of Tatar soldiers. The military glory of their regiments in the Royal Army contributed to the fact that light cavalry in many armies from Western European countries started to take shape on the example of Tatar units. In the 18th century, Ulan units began to form in France, Austria and Prussia.

During the Partitions of Poland (1772, 1793, 1795), Tatars were far from detached

from the struggle for independence in their state, and they contributed greatly to the uprising of 1794 under the direction of Tadeusz Kościuszko [Kryczyński, 1984, p. 147–148].

When a section of the Polish territory fell under Russia's rule, Catherine of Russia confirmed all of the existing rights and privileges of the Tatars. Under Pavel the Great a Tatar regiment was formed under the command of a Tatar, one Major General Baranovsky [Tyszkiewicz, 2002, p. 50].

During Napoleon's invasion a portion of the Tatars fought for France, and the others for Russia. They therefore found themselves on opposite sides of the barricade during the Polish uprisings of 1830–1831 and 1863–1864.

The vast majority of Lithuanian-Polish Tatars professed Sunni Islam. In their places of residence they created a religious *gmina*—a *Jemat*—the competences of whom includes the election of the clergy and the resolution of issues relating to the *gmina*, especially the management of endowments. They convened meetings when it was necessary, and they were guided by either the captain of a horse or Tatar cornet. The latter held significant influence over the course of the assembly, particularly in the election of imams.

The symbol of the *gmina* was a mosque, although not all *Jemats* could afford one due to financial reasons. The mosques that cropped up among the surrounding Lithuanian-Polish buildings were modest and small. They were funded by either the religious *gmina* or a rich group of Tatar chiefs, and the interior of mosques was also quite subdued. Frequently they were composed of two parts, a male and female side. A separate room for women, what were known as *Babinets*, could only ever be seen in Russia in Lithuanian-Polish religious buildings. Prayers were performed in the men's half [Akty', 1906, p. 25–26].

There were also rituals associated primarily with the three most important moments in life: birth, marriage and death. However, it should be kept in mind that considerable distance from the Muslim East, as well as a lack of knowledge of the Quranic Arabic language, led to the fact that the Lithuanian-Polish Tar-

tars had little knowledge of the principles of their religion. These were usually limited to Friday prayers, which were held in mosques or in private homes.

The requirement of the Koran to give alms to the poor lost its original meaning for Lithuanian-Polish Tatars. Instead, it transformed into a normal disbursement of funds between the members of an alms prayer (*sadaq*).

The source of religious knowledge for Tatars could be found in writing, which had been preserved in the form of written *kitab* and *khamails* (*šamails*). Lithuanian-Polish Muslims called religious books '*kitab*s', and the contained the translations of certain sections of the Quran, stories from the life of the Prophet, explanations of rituals, legends and sermons. *Kitabs* were written in Arabic script, but the texts were in Polish or Byelorussian. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania had the arrangement and explanation of the Quran available in the Byelorussian language from as early as in the 16th century. *Kitabs* were often stored in mosques, but wealthy landowners were also known to keep them as well. Tatar *kitab*s were copied by copyists who knew the Arabic writing system and often made their own amendments in the form of stories and legends. The name of the copyist and date of the work's completion were specified on the last page of the *Kitab*. In the 19th century, copyists often did not even understand the Eastern texts they were rewriting [Lapicz, 1986, p. 66].

During the religious revival, especially the *Bairams*, Muslims came together and read aloud the old legends, stories about the life of the Prophet and the descriptions of ancient religious rites.

The main source of religious knowledge for Lithuanian-Polish Muslims were not the relatively hard to find *kitab*, but rather *khamails* or religious books. Each Tatar family kept their own. *Khamails* contained the basic texts of prayers in Arabic and Turkish, as well as Polish and Byelorussian explanations of religious rites. The vast *khamails*, besides a collection of prayers, contained various magic wordings and spells that were used in the treatment of patients, and for dream books, astrological tables and calendars. Tatar prayer



A companion and row soldier
of the Tatar-Lithuanian Regiment. 1801–1804.

books influenced the formation of the Muslim religious worldview to a much greater extent than the kitabs, as they were available to anyone who was familiar with the Arabic writing system. Khamailies are a uniquely rich source of knowledge for ethnography and Oriental studies, but also for history as a whole, because in the margins Tatars often made notes of the important events they have been witness to themselves [Tamže; Kryczyński, 1938, p. 220].

In the late 19th century, Lithuanian Tatars occupied much more advantageous positions than the other Muslim peoples of the Russian Empire. They had no major obstacles to obtaining permission to build new mosques, and they chose their clergy members themselves. The submission of the Lithuanian-Polish Muslims to the Tauride Muslim Spiritual Assembly was a formality, and it never interfered in their affairs. This favourable religious situation stemmed from the benevolent attitude of the administration toward the Lithuanian-Polish Tatars.

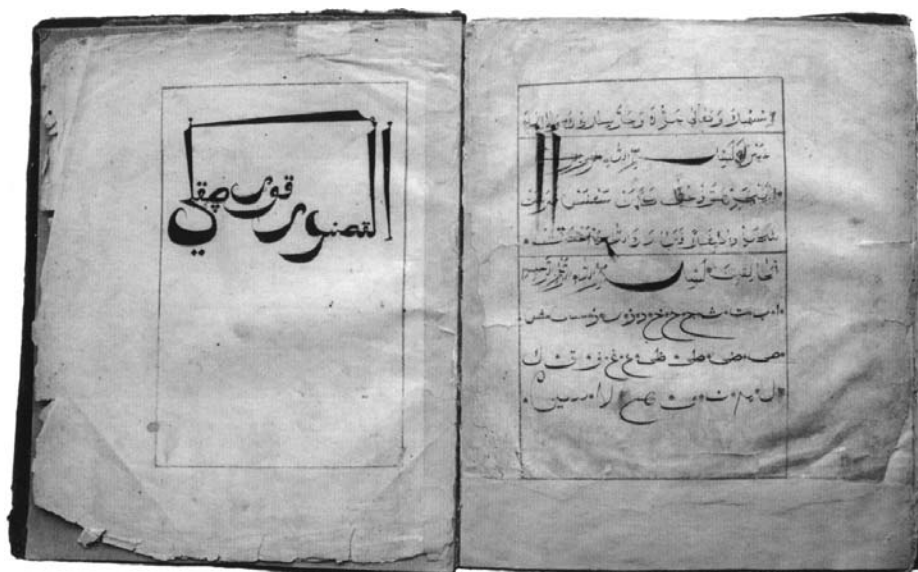
Lithuanian-Polish Tatars had a religious court, and while being Muslims and know-

ing their roots, they were culturally quite similar to the Poles and Belorussians, from whom in the past they had acquired not only language, but also many local customs. This led to the fact that they were almost indistinguishable from their Christian neighbours in everyday life, except for what concerns their Muslim rites. Their appearance was of course another differentiating factor, but the authorities did not present them with any particular obstacles in the promotion of their careers. Professor Julian Talko-Hryniewicz wrote on this matter, stating that 'Mohammedans, taking advantage of their privileged standing, occupied positions in the judiciary and police departments without even possessing the proper qualifications. The Russian authorities repeatedly showed them preference over Orthodox Christians, for they considered them to be more conscientious and unbiased. In certain years police were recruited mainly from among Muslims' [Talko-Hryniewicz, 1924, p45].

However, Lithuanian-Polish Tatars made their most significant career moves in the Russian army. At the beginning of the 19th century, the first Tatar General rose to power, Jozef Ulan (died in 1804). In the 19th century, there were several dozen Tatar generals and colonels, as well as several hundred Tatars serving as lower ranking officers in the Russian army. Before World War One, about 20 generals in the Russian military service were Lithuanian-Polish Tatars, including Khalyl Bazarevsky, Tamerlan Belyak, Josef Jakubovich, Jakub Yuzefovich, Alexander Romanovich, Matsey Sulkevich, Alexander Talkovsky and others. All of them were graduates from Russian military schools, including the Academy of the General Staff, and were considered to be some of the most loyal subjects of the Empire. They were not only trusted to command regiments, divisions, corps and armies, but were also accepted into the ranks of the Guard [Grishin, Sharafutdinov, 2001].

Besides military service, Tatars were also proficient in other professions. Thus, the main occupation of poor Tatars was agriculture, especially horticulture. They made significant progress in this sphere, despite the

The Quran
of Alexander
Koritsky.
The middle of
19th century



fact that they had only small fields to their names. The Trakai Tatars far exceeded all others, as for centuries they had been successfully planting and selling cucumbers [[Akty', 1906, p. 27].

Furmanstvo (professional coachmen) was another important commercial activity among the Tatars. However, by the end of the 19th century, in light of the construction of railways, this popular trade declined in the Tatar population. The tanning industry also offered popular occupations. Tatars specialised in the tanning of horse and goat skins, and making beautiful morocco and Juchten leather. The leather industry flourished even at the end of the 19–the beginning of the 20th century. Tatars living in the Butrimants area were especially famous for their leather tanning [Akty', 1906, p. 235], and also kept livestock, particularly cattle. They were known as horse experts, and no other peoples could equal them in that trade. They could do it all: breed animals, take care of them and masterfully train them by breaking them in. These traditions were maintained up to the 1930s.

Additionally, Tatars sold horses, which never fell out of popularity as a valuable commodity.

Lithuanian-Polish Tatars in the Western governorates of Russia after 1815 and especially after the Polish Uprising of 1831 start-

ed to become better integrated into the power structures. Muslim youth willingly attended school, and educational authorities aided them in this endeavour. Beginning in the 1840s, many Tatars also began to work in the treasury house, various financial and tax institutions, and in provincial departments. Tatars in districts more readily occupied positions in the police, courts and customs offices. At the end of the century, they were also working in the railroad and post services.

The common people never abandoned their old professions and trades.

After 1880, more and more Muslim youth started to enter various higher educational institutions in Russia, and a small group of Tatar students from the western governorates took up residency in the Russian capital. Among these students, the most well-represented families were the Ahmatoviches, Bayrashevskys, Bazarevskys, Buchatckys, Korytskys, Krychinskys, Mukhleys, Sulkeviches, Talkovskys and Tugan-Baranovskys, who would provide a whole plethora of generals, lawyers and scientists.

In St. Petersburg on the eve of World War One, the Tatar intelligentsia and student body formed a secret 'Circle of Polish Muslim students' led by the law student brothers Olgerd and Leon Krychinsky [Tyszkiewicz, 2002, p. 95–96].

The 'Lithuanian-Muslim society for helping poor Muslims', which was active in the educational sphere as well, was established in Vilno, and a similar society emerged in the spring of 1913 in Warsaw with Volga Tatars acting as its original founders. It consisted of 118 members, 55 of whom were from the Volga, Crimea and Caucasus regions, and the rest were Lithuanian-Polish Tatars. The chairman General K. Krychinsky was chosen from among them [Miśkewicz, 1990, p. 24].

It does not seem possible to determine the exact number of Lithuanian-Polish Tatars in the 19th century. In the work of A. Mukhlinsky we find the results of the 1853 census, according to which 5,485 Tatars lived in the northwestern governorates. The next census (in 1854), conducted by The Department of Religious Affairs of Foreign Faiths, reduced this number to 3,525 people. By 1887, the Muslim population had increased to 9,467 persons [Muchliński, 1858, p. 161].

According to the first general census of the population in 1897, in Grodno Governorate there were 3,731 Muslim people listed (3,054 men, 677 women), in Kovensky—1,920 (1,623 men, 297 women), in Vilna—4,375 (2,572 men, 1,803 women), in Minsk guberniya—4,619 (2,582 men, 2,037 women), in Podolsk—3,460 (3,427 men, 33 women), and in Volhynia—4,877 (4,703 men, 174 women). In general, these governorates contained a total of 22,982 adherents of Islam (17,961 men, 5,021 women). A total of 14,237 people spoke Tatar (11,940 men, 2,297 women) and 2,043 spoke Bashkir, notably only men. Other languages were spoken by 6,152 people, mostly Russian and Byelorussian. A predominance of men could be observed everywhere, which was associated with their inclusion in soldier lists. It can be assumed that the figure of 6,152 people is directly related to the ethnic group under examination [Pervaya vseobshchaya, 1904, vol. 8, 11, 16, 17, 22, 41].

Tatar colonies in the Kingdom of Poland were small and distinct; they lived in two guberniyas, Sedletsk and Suvalsk. And in 1851 there were only 272 people there. In early 1860, the Tatar population had increased to 325 (in Suvalsk guberniya—178, in Sedletsk—147).

According to the census of 1897, there were 669 Muslims in Sedletsk (643 men and 26 women), and in Suvalsk there were 786 (726 men, 60 women). As in other governorates, these figures also included men currently serving in the military. Tatar was spoken by 1,260 persons, including 1,249 men and only 11 women, while other languages were spoken by 159 Muslims, with 92 of them speaking Polish (28 in Sedletsk and 64 in Suvalsk guberniya). But the last two figures cannot possibly be true, as there was universal knowledge of the Polish language among the Tatars. To determine the total number only the earlier data is truly needed, based on which it can be concluded that both guberniyas consisted of around 300 Polish Tatars of both sexes [Miśkewicz, 1990, p. 15].

A few words must also be said about the Muslims of Warsaw, who came to this city as permanent residents somewhere in the beginning of the 19th century. They were quite likely Tatars from Podlyasye, but unfortunately no numerical data is available. Only a cemetery in the area between Chernyakov and Sekerki can hint at the presence of Muslims during that period.

Growth in the number of Muslims in Warsaw can be best seen in the 1820s, when Russian troops started to arrive there. Along with them, civilians engaged in commercial trade also arrived. In 1852 they appealed to the governor of the Kingdom of Poland with a petition to appoint a civil cleric for them. After considering their request, with the help of the Warsaw Oberpolizeimeister the authorities conducted a census of the city's Muslim civilian population. Its results showed that 15 Volga Tatars were temporarily living in Warsaw as of 7 (19) August 1852. In this regard their petition was rejected, and the duties of pastor had to be performed by a Muslim chaplain. Polish Tatars were not included in this list [Tamże; Nietyksza, 1971, p. 239].

A further influx of Muslims into Warsaw was observed after 1865, which was directly linked with the railway lines built between St. Petersburg and Tiraspol. In 1882 there were 85 Muslims (72 men and 13 women) in War-

saw, and in 1897 there were 589 (538 men, 51 women) [Nietyksza, 1971, p. 239].

The exact number of permanent residents of the Warsaw Muslim colony is impossible to determine. However, it is known that it consisted mainly of Volga Tatars who made regular trips between Warsaw and Kazan. A small number of Muslims also lived in this colony who came from Central Asia and the Caucasus, as well as individual families of Arabs, Turks and Persians. Warsaw Muslims opened their own bakeries, sugar production operations, butcher shops and workshops for the restoration of carpets, flourished in commercial trade, and were even trade intermediaries in some parts of Russia and even Turkey [Miśkewicz, 1990, p. 15].

How many Lithuanian-Polish Tatars lived in the Warsaw colony? Apparently not very many, as in the 19th century they never completed any type of large, organised emigration to Warsaw. There were allegedly only several families there.

Thus, Tatars who had long been living in the former Lithuanian state never constituted a significant element among other nations, and they never made any claims for political independence. It is no coincidence that the local peoples lived in peace and harmony with them.

By the end of the 19th to the early 20th century, Lithuanian-Polish Tatars had managed to preserve their identity, primarily in religious terms, in their professional work and in everyday life.

Section II

Class and Social Groups of the Tatars



Estate—a social and legal category of the population, tightly closed and characterised by inheritance rights, privileges and responsibilities determined by law or custom. Subjects of the Russian Empire were divided into four estates ('states'): the nobility, clergy, urban and rural residents. Every estate had rights and responsibilities that were determined by law and inherited. The estate structure was organised into a hierarchy expressed by inequality of an estate's positions and its privileges. The nobility and the clergy belonged to the highest, most privileged estates, and the urban class and 'village residents' belonged to the underprivileged peasants. From 1832, a new social estate of hereditary citizens and citizens by merit emerged in the urban environment.

CHAPTER 1

The Nobility

Liliya Baibulatova

By the early 19th century, due to the 'Zhalovannaya gramota dvoryanstvu' (Charter for the Rights) of 1785, the Russian nobility as a whole was fully established as a special privileged estate that was not obliged to serve the state, which essentially deprived it of its original function, and at the same time it was freed from paying taxes and corporal punishments, and was granted various exclusive rights of possession of lands and peasants. Nobles with the right to be engaged in commerce and industry grew, they created their own Social estates self-government, and this was the reason for their regional insularity and the absence of an all-Russian noble corporation. Despite the fact that the terms 'sostoyanie' and 'soslovie' [social group] were identical for the nobility of Russia [Rossiya, 2002, p. 91], arbitrary groups existed within it: 1) a division into nobility by birth and nobility by merit; 2) the classification of nobility by birth into six groups. The division of nobility by birth meant no legal differences, and it was provided in order to identify the oldest and titled Russian Orthodox clans compared to later and less noble clans. In addition, non-Russian and non-Orthodox nobles, including Tatar Muslims, were set apart.

Noble Muslims. The social and legal status of the Tatar feudal class was transformed in the first quarter of the 18th century by being registered in the Admiralty of Kazan and treated equal to the class of state peasants. They gradu-

ally became part of the Russian nobility after the edicts of 1 November 1783 and 22 February 1784, which the Tatar murzas and princes quickly took advantage of. The first decree (of 1 November 1783), which allowed Tatar murzas and high-ranking people to be accepted for military service and to be awarded officer ranks [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire, Vol. 21, No.15.861], opened the way to the nobility through military service; and second of 22 February 1784, 'On permitting the Tatar princes and murzas to make use of all the advantages of the Russian nobility' allowed the acquisition of noble status for Tatars who could confirm their noble origin and thereby break away from poll status [Arapov, 2001, p. 48]. The government took these measures to bring the members of the Tatar Muslim elite to its side after the annexation of the Crimean Khanate by Russia.

Despite these opportunities, several factors interfered with their inclusion in the Russian nobility: first of all, many representatives of the Muslim elite who lived in rural areas were poor and were engaged in farming like the majority of peasants [Arapov, 2001, p. 19]; second, they did not have or had lost the documents confirming their noble status [Enikeev, 1999, p. 138]; third, the government restricted the number people seeking 'nobility'; fourth, a 'local factor' represented by the Russian nobility played a great role during ascent to the

'nobility'. For example, in Kazan Governorate, the 6th section (ancient honourable bloodlines) of a genealogical book did not record a single representative of the Tatar Muslim feudal elite¹.

By decree of Pavel I of 29 November 1796, 235 princes and murzas from the Yanbulatovs, Akchurins, Mamatkozin-Sakaevs, Chanyshevs, Diveevs, Mamins, Mamatkozins, Kashaevs, Yaushevs, Shikhmametovs, Biglovs, Enikeevs and Teregulov clans in Orenburg Governorates were restored to noble status. By edict signed by the tsar in 1797, 350 people were registered as hereditary nobility, including 231 from Orenburg, 8 from Tambov, 15 from Saratov, and 96 from Penza Governorate. By 1797, the complete list of those who had requested a move from the taxable estate to the noble one in the governorates of European Russia included 4,811 people from 177 Tatar clans in various governorates. They included 17 princely and murza clans from Saratov (1,008 people), 32 clans from Ryazan (388), 2 clans from Orenburg (61), 7 clans from Simbirsk (282), 22 clans from Penza (524), 1 clan from Nizhny Novgorod (55), and 96 clans from Kazan (2,793 people). However, only some of them were able to establish their noble origin and provide the documents granting them manor

from the tsar [Khayrutdinov, p. 89]. On producing the necessary documents, the local Noble Assembly that examined the claimant's application often declared them insufficient and demanded additional information. According to the Law of 27 March 1840, Tatar nobles were required to include their children in the genealogy book, reaffirming their rights by evidence from the parish register of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly about their legitimate birth, despite the fact that hereditary nobility passed to children and descendants [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 15, p. 1, No.13304]². The most likely method of restoring noble rights for Tatar murzas and princes was military and civil service. Starting in May 1800, after widespread restoration of smallholders' rights to the noble status of Kazan and Lithuanian murzas, those whose evidence of noble origin was confirmed had to enter military service for their final restoration and serve until they reached the rank of officer [Khayrutdinov, 1997, p. 92]³.

Participation in military campaigns and feats contributed to obtaining successive officer's ranks and receiving combat awards, which made it possible to gain nobility. Thus, in 1814, the Ufa Nobility Assembly elevated 64 people from Tatar murzas who participated in the Patriotic War of 1812 to the ranks of hereditary

¹ For example, in 1818, a noncommissioned officer of a Jaeger regiment, Kurmay Salikhov Kuldyushev, submitted a copy with five scrolls about the noble origin of his bloodline to the Kazan Nobility Deputy Assembly, but the Assembly considered this proof insufficient and proposed that the claimant submit a generation list witnessed by 12 noble persons, a certificate by court authorities that no one in his line had been under the per capita taxation, as well as a statement of the command about his service and behavior. Moreover, the Deputy Assembly was interested in knowing who influenced his decision to enter the military service, why his last name differed from the hereditary family name of Kildishev, as well as why he was not styled as a prince, like his ancestors [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 350, inv. 1, file 11, s. 3–3 reverse].

² All in all, nine Muslim Tatars were entered into the ancestral nobility book of the Kazan Governorate (the Alkins, Aleevs, Vagimovs, Ermukhametovs, Sainovs, Muratovs, Khalfins, Yunusovs, Elmurzins): Seven of them received the noble status through the military service and two through the civil service; they were entered into the book in the first half of the 19th century, before the rules of gaining the noble status became stricter [Dvoenosova, 2001, p. 27].

³ In the absence of a parish register entry, according to the same decree, it was allowed to provide a pedigree signed by the leader of the nobility and witnessed by a close relative who had already been ennobled; also, the testimony of 12 noblemen about the lifestyle corresponding to that of a person of noble origin was required, as was a statement from the public authorities that neither the claimant nor his father and grandfather had been subject to the per capita duty. If the claimant and his father and grandfathers had been subject to the per capita duty, then they, after confirmation of the provided proof, were restored to the noble class with the rights of single-householders.

³ During the reign of Catherine II, the rise to the noble class was ensured by receiving the first officer rank in the military service and Class VIII in the civil service. Such a low threshold granted access to the noble class to many natives from other classes. In 1845, this threshold was raised to Class 8 of the military service and Class 5 of the civil service. Starting from 1856, the hereditary noble status was granted after achieving Class VI in the military service and Class IV in the civil service [Korelin, 1979, p. 26].

Table 19

The number of Tatar nobles by birth in 1897*

Governorates	Nobles by birth of both sexes					
	total	in % among the population	including Tatars of both sexes			
			total	in % of all the nobles by birth	in % of the entire population	in % of the Tatar population
Volga-Ural Governorates						
Ufa ^{1*}	10,460	0.5%	5,696	54.5%	0.3%	3.1%
Penza	5,336	0.4%	981	18.4%	0.1%	1.7%
Orenburg ^{2*}	5,142	0.3%	510	9.9%	0.03%	0.5%
Saratov ^{3*}	6,901	0.3%	316	4.6%	0.01%	0.3%
Samara ^{4*}	5,391	0.2%	235	4.4%	0.01%	0.1%
Kazan	6,779	0.3%	121	1.8%	0.01%	0.0%
Tambov	8,063	0.3%	99	1.2%	0.00%	0.6%
Simbirsk	3,923	0.3%	81	2.1%	0.01%	0.1%
Ryazan	11,520	0.6%	77	0.7%	0.004%	1.5%
Nizhny Novgorod	5,362	0.3%	56	1.0%	0.004%	0.1%
Vyatka ^{5*}	2,366	0.1%	37	1.6%	0.001%	0.0%
Astrakhan	2,778	0.3%	31	1.1%	0.003%	0.1%
Perm ^{6*}	4,814	0.2%	23	0.5%	0.001%	0.0%
Moscow	40,104	1.6%	26	0.1%	0.001%	0.5%
Total	118,939	0.4%	8,289	7.0%	0.03%	0.5%
North-Western Governorates						
Minsk	70,974	33.0%	3,434	4.8%	1.6%	84.6%
Vilna	70,640	4.4%	577	0.8%	0.04%	29.3%
Grodno	19,211	1.2%	106	0.6%	0.01%	4.4%
Volhynia ^{7*}	34,682	1.2%	67	0.2%	0.002%	1.8%
Kovno	98,987	6.4%	57	0.1%	0.004%	3.5%
Total	294,494	3.7%	4,241	1.4%	0.1%	30.6%
Southern and South-Western Governorates						
Taurida	12,425	0.9%	1,641	13.2%	0.1%	0.8%
Kiev	39,048	1.1%	38	0.1%	0.001%	1.9%

* First General Census of the Russian Empire, vol. 2, 8, 10, 11, 14, 16, 17, 22, 24, 25, 28, 30, 31, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 45. In the calculation of the Tatar nobles, only those who considered the Tatar language their mother tongue were registered. As a result, the table does not include Bashkirs, Teptyars and Meshcheryaks who indicated their mother tongues as the 'Bashkir', 'Teptyar' and 'Meshcheryak' languages. Table 20 and 21 have been prepared according to the same sources and criteria.²

^{1*} In addition to Tatars, the following nobles by birth lived in Ufa Governorate: Bashkirs—512 people of both sexes, Meshcheryak Tatars—10, Teptyars—2 people of both sexes.

^{2*} In addition to Tatars, the following nobles by birth lived in Orenburg Governorate: Bashkirs—452 people of both sexes.

^{3*} One Bashkir noble by birth was recorded in Saratov Governorate.

^{4*} In addition to Tatars, the following nobles by birth lived in Samara Governorate: Bashkirs—117 people of both sexes, Teptyars—8 people of both sexes.

^{5*} In addition to Tatars, the following nobles by birth lived in Vyatka Governorate: Teptyars—9 people of both sexes.

^{6*} In addition to Tatars, the following nobles by birth lived in Perm Governorate: Bashkirs—3 people of both sexes.

^{7*} One Bashkir noble by birth was recorded in Volhynia Governorate.

nobility [Arapov, 2001, pp. 19–20; Gabdullin, 2006, p. 82–83].

The most complete information on the settlement and number of nobles in the regions of the Russian Empire is found in the materials of the 1897 First General Census of the Russian Empire, which were based on oral replies given by the respondents without providing any documents.

As can be seen from data of Table 19, in the governorates densely populated by Tatars, the largest number of Tatar nobles were in Ufa (2,863 men, 2,833 women), Minsk (1,678 men, 1,756 women) and Taurida (875 men, 766 women) guberniya.

Ufa Governorate had the largest number of Tatar nobles, with more than half (54.5%) of all nobles by birth. After limiting the number of Bashkir nobles by birth, from 5 July 1829, the Tsarist government began to elevate Bashkir Cossack officers only with nobility by merit; from 28 May 1839, officers of the Bashkir Meshcheryak army who received the Order of St. Stanislav, could also gain only the status and rights of nobility by merit [Istoriya Bashkortostana, 1996, p. 348]. The Tatars were treated as a 'privileged' group due to their involvement in the suppression of the 1773–1775 rebellion, and as a result they were given preference over the Bashkirs, with respect to granting noble rights [Tagirova, 2011, p. 47]. The largest concentration of Tatar murzas and Serving Tatars serving in the irregular forces was also here [Dvoenosova, 2001, p. 25]. The local administration engaged representatives of the Tatar nobility to lead the Muslim population; starting in 1801, due to the formation of the Bashkir Meshcheryak army, the number of Tatar officers increased significantly, because command staff had been recruited from the Tatar murzas [Enikeev, 1999, pp. 139–140]. For example, in 1850 there were 59 nobles by birth from the Meshcheryaks among the canton officials [Istoriya Bashkortostana, 1996, p. 348]. Following the disbandment of the Bashkir army, in 1865, Meshcheryaks and Bashkirs rewarded for their service with actual and acting ranks obtained the status of nobles by birth and by merit [Yamaeva, 2002, p. 72].

Nobles from the Lithuanian-Polish and Crimean Tatars were also relatively numerous. As Table 19 shows, at the end of the century about a third (30.6%) of the Tatar population in five Polish-Lithuanian governorates were nobles, while the percentage of the nobles by birth among the Tatars in Minsk Governorate was the largest for the region at 84.6%. Tatars made up 13.2% of the total number of nobles by birth in Taurida Governorate.

The situation of the Lithuanian-Polish Tatars was such that at the end of the 18th century, that during the annexation of the Lithuanian provinces, their possessions and benefits, including the right to own serfs, were officially confirmed by the Russian authorities. Later on, in 1823, the procedure for becoming a noble was accelerated in order to attract experienced Tatar officers to the Russian army. According to the Senate's edict of 27 March 1840, Polish-Lithuanian Tatars who served in the Russian army or were the ancestors of those who served with the Polish-Lithuanian troops and had noble privileges were registered as belonging to the nobility [Grishin, 2005, p. 106].

For Crimean Tatars to gain noble status, it was sufficient to provide a document confirming their origin from individuals who owned land before the annexation of Crimea in 1783, or an oral testimony of their 'fellows' because of a lack of written evidence [Dvoenosova, 2001, p. 24].

In Russia as a whole, the number of nobles by birth was 1,221,939 people (0.97% of the population), of which 52.6% were Russians and 5.3% were Tatars [Rossiya, 2002, p. 96, 98]. The percentage of Tatar nobles in the governorates already discussed was 1.16% (14,209 people) of all nobles by birth. According to information provided by D.Yu. Arapov, about 70,000 Muslims were granted noble rights up to 1917, as nobles by merit and by birth, and estate officials; accounted for about 5% of all nobles in the Empire [Arapov, 2001, p. 28].

The census of 1897 also provided data on the number of nobles by merit ⁴ among the Tatars.

⁴Lifetime nobility as a social category appeared in 1722 and could be gained in three ways: 1) by the monarch's decree; 2) by gaining a certain position in the

Table 20

Nobles by merit among the Tatars in 1897

Governorates	Nobles by merit of both sexes			
	Total nobles by merit	including from among the Tatars		
		Total nobles by merit among the Tatars	in % of all the nobles by merit	in % of the Tatar population
Volga-Ural Governorates				
Kazan	8,911	124	1.4%	0.02%
Ufa ^{1*}	5,362	117	2.2%	0.1%
Vyatka	7,641	69	0.9%	0.1%
Orenburg ^{2*}	6,903	69	1.0%	0.1%
Tambov	9,039	56	0.6%	0.3%
Simbirsk	5,118	36	0.7%	0.03%
Penza	5,487	23	0.4%	0.0%
Moscow	37,102	21	0.1%	0.4%
Saratov	9,506	18	0.2%	0.02%
Samara ^{3*}	6,344	15	0.2%	0.01%
Perm ^{4*}	12,668	12	0.1%	0.0%
Astrakhan	3,313	8	0.2%	0.0%
Ryazan	6,248	4	0.1%	0.1%
Nizhny Novgorod	7,383	—	—	—
Total	131,025	572	0.4%	0.03%
North-Western Governorates				
Kovno	6,026	24	—	—
Minsk	7,274	22	0.3%	0.5%
Volhynia	12,342	15	0.1%	0.4%
Vilna	6,729	14	0.2%	0.7%
Grodno	6,543	10	0.2%	0.4%
Total	38,914	85	0.2%	0.6%
Southern and South-Western Governorates				
Taurida	10,336	566	5.5%	0.3%
Kiev	21,481	17	0.1%	0.9%
Total	31,817	583	1.8%	0.3%

^{1*} Besides nobles by merit among the Tatars there were: Bashkirs—133 people of both sexes, Meshcheryaks—15 people of both sexes.

^{2*} Besides nobles by merit among the Tatars there were: Bashkirs—207 people of both sexes, Teptyars—3 people of both sexes.

^{3*} Besides nobles by merit among the Tatars there were: Bashkirs—25 people of both sexes.

^{4*} Besides nobles by merit among the Tatars there were: Bashkirs—33 people of both sexes.

As Table 20 shows, the number of Tatar nobles by merit in all three regions was much lower than the number of Tatar nobles by birth. In the Volga-Ural region, the largest number of nobles by merit were registered in Kazan

Governorate, which was most likely correlated to their prevalence in the city (62.9%), where there were more opportunities for work giving priority for gaining nobility by merit. Most of the nobles by merit were in Taurida Governorate (566 people), but in comparison with Kazan, the majority of local Tatar nobles lived in the districts (80.2%).

active service; 3) by being awarded the Russian order for 'distinguished service'.

Table 21

**The settlement of nobles by birth and by merit among the Tatars
in the cities and uyezds in 1897**

Governorates	Nobles by birth				Nobles by merit			
	city		uyezd		city		uyezd	
	total	to all Tatar nobles by birth, in %	total	to all Tatar nobles by birth, in %	total	to all Tatar nobles by merit, in %	total	to all Tatar nobles by merit, in %
Volga-Ural Governorates								
Ufa	327	5.7%	5,369	94.3%	44	37.6%	73	62.4%
Penza	7	0.7%	974	99.3%	4	17.4%	19	82.6%
Orenburg	195	38.2%	315	61.8%	44	63.8%	25	36.2%
Saratov	18	5.7%	298	94.3%	1	5.6%	17	94.4%
Samara	31	13.2%	204	86.8%	1	6.7%	14	93.3%
Kazan	89	73.6%	32	26.4%	78	62.9%	46	37.1%
Tambov	5	5.1%	94	94.9%	1	1.8%	55	98.2%
Simbirsk	13	16.0%	68	84.0%	6	16.7 %	30	83.3%
Ryazan	15	19.5%	62	80.5%	0	0.0%	4	100.0%
Nizhny Novgorod	1	1.8%	55	98.2%	—	—	—	—
Vyatka	15	40.5%	22	59.5%	4	5.8%	65	94.2%
Astrakhan	21	67.7%	10	32.3%	7	87.5%	1	12.5%
Perm	14	60.9%	9	39.1%	9	75.0%	3	25.0%
Moscow	26	100.0%	0	0.0%	21	100.0%	0	0.0%
Total	777	9.4%	7,507	90.6%	220	38.5%	352	61.5%
North-Western Governorates								
Minsk	1,617	47.1%	1,817	52.9%	18	81.8%	4	18.2%
Vilna	44	7.6%	533	92.4%	1	7.1%	13	92.9%
Grodno	42	39.6%	64	60.4%	6	60.0%	4	40.0%
Volhynia	22	32.8%	45	67.2%	11	73.3%	4	26.7%
Kovno	33	57.9%	24	42.1%	24	100.0%	0	0.0%
Total	1,758	41.5%	2,483	58.5%	60	70.6%	25	29.4%
Southern and South-Western Governorates								
Taurida	305	18.6%	1,336	81.4%	112	19.8%	454	80.2%
Kiev	15	39.5%	23	60.5%	9	52.9%	8	47.1%
Total	320	19.1%	1,359	80.9%	121	20.8%	462	79.2%

In general, the small number of nobles by merit among the Tatars can be explained by their lack of involvement (because of poor knowledge of Russian, a lack of proper education and insufficient financial security) in government institutions, in which service to a certain rank allowed the right to gain nobility by merit.

The data of 1897 about the resettlement of Tatar nobles by birth and by merit show they were mainly rural (Table 21).

In all three regions, the largest number of Tatar nobles by birth lived in the districts. The only exceptions were Lithuanian-Polish Tatar nobles by birth, for whom there was a small difference between urban and rural nobles (41.5 and 58.5%, respectively), and the largest number of Tatar nobles by merit in the North-West governorates were urban (70.6%). In the Volga-Ural region 90.6% of the nobles by birth and 61.5% of nobles by merit lived in rural areas.

One of the features of the social status of Tatar-Muslim nobles in the Volga-Ural region was the insignificance of their lands, which was the result of internal policy in the Middle Ages and in the New Time. In 1795, there were only 28 estates of Muslim landlords (Yaushevs, Alkins, Devletkildeevs, Maksyutovs, Tevkelevs, Bekovchi-Cherkasskijs) in the Ufa viceroyalty. There were only a few large landowners with 500 to 1,000 or more dessyatinas⁵ of land. The most extensive lands belonged to the Tevkelev clan, who in 1870 owned more than 72,000 dessyatinas in the Ufa, Orenburg, Vyatka, Ryazan and Penza guberniyas [Azamatova, 2008, p. 88]. During the post-reform period in the Cis-Urals, they set up profitable households using cheap hired labour, and also made large profits from agriculture, animal husbandry, renting fields and croplands and selling timber. However, at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries, the Tevkelevs moved to the cities and gradually abandoned agriculture and began to sell real estate. In 1898, Kutlumukhamed Tevkelev put up 6,729 dessyatinas of land for sale, and another 5,294 dessyatinas in 1905 (together with his cousin Umma-Gulsum Saitgareeva Sheikh-Ali) in Belebey Uyezd. In 1906, The Peasant Bank purchased Sheikh-Ali's share (4,201 dessyatinas) and part of Kutlumukhamed's manor (688 dessyatinas). In 1892, Kutlumukhamed's younger brother Vladimir (Ahmet before baptism) took custody of his manor and sold it to the Peasant Bank in 1907. The Tevkelevs continued to sell their land, as was typical of the Russian nobility in the early 20th century. Whereas 38,000 dessyatinas were registered in Ufa Governorate in 1870, by 1913 there remained only 9,653 dessyatinas where there were no landlords' households [Azamatova, 2008, pp. 88–89, 91–101]. Two noble clans, the Teregulovs and Enikeevs, had large land allotments (more than 7,000 dessyatinas), but since these lands were distributed among heads of households in allot-

ments of 35–154 dessyatinas each, they may be considered as lower, small and medium landowners [Steinwede, 2011, p. 70]. Yusup Alkin owned more than 1,000 dessyatinas of land in Ufa Uyezd [Gabdullin, 2006, p. 97], and Shagiakhmet Alkin's heirs from the same Alkin clan in owned 1,200 dessyatinas in Mamadysh Uyezd in 1895 [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 350, inv. 2, file 676, s. 3]; members of the Akhmetshi and Sharif clans owned 1,065 dessyatinas of favourable lands [Gabdullin, 2006, p. 97], and Kazan nobleman Saetgarey Devletkildiev bought 3,000 dessyatinas in Sterlitamak Uyezd in the 1870s [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–10, inv. 1, file 892, s. 36 reverse].

The majority of small groups of Tatar nobles were settled in the Cis-Urals. Their land holdings in the post-reform period were smaller than townspeople's and peasants' private holdings, which were up to 250 dessyatinas. Thus, in the 1890s in Ufa guberniya, the Tatar nobles Bibizukhra Teregulova (90 dessyatinas) and Teregulov (118 dessyatinas) rented out their lands, and Prince Devletkildeev sowed part of the lands (265 dessyatinas) himself [Usmanov, 1981, p. 214, 218, 237].

It should be noted that unlike the Tatar nobility, poor Russian nobles were supported by the state, which gave them land and provided financial assistance [Romanov-Slavatinsky, 2003, p. 230].

Tatar nobles had small plots of arable land and essentially managed peasant households, due to the lack of serfs; thus, they did not experience the hardships faced by Russian landlords who had lost their free labor force. Some of them took advantage of the low cost of Bashkir country houses and bought them to increase their land estates.

Another feature of the Tatar nobles was the small number of serfs in their households. They lost Orthodox serfs by the decrees of Peter the Great of 3 and 27 November 1713 and 12 July 1715, and no longer had the right of 'purchase and ownership', which was confirmed once again by the edict of Catherine the Great of 22 February 1784. The largest serf owners in the Volga-Ural region were the Tevkelevs, who owned more than 1,800 males among Mus-

⁵ Based on the sizes of land portions, land owners could be divided into several groups: large-scale—from 500 to 1000 tenth shares or more; middle-scale—from 100 to 500 tenth shares; small—from 50 to 100 tenth shares; the lowest group—up to 50 tenth shares [Alishev, 1984, p. 63; Russia, 2002, p. 103].

lims in Ufa Governorate before the reform of 1861 [Azamatova, 2008, p. 75]; and 3,564 persons were recorded in Vyatka Governorate [Materialy' po statistike, Vol. 12, p. 11].

The social status of noble clan representatives in society was determined by their civil or military service. In the first half of the 19th century, priority was given to military service, which provided a relatively quick opportunity to become part of the nobility: in 1834, most of the 90 Tatar noble clans in the Volga and Ural regions gained this status through the officer's ranks or Russian orders [Gabdullin, 2006, p. 83]. There were not many Tatar nobles as a whole among the Russian military elite. Top-ranking officers of the early 20th century included major generals R.Sh. Syrtlanov (1877–1916) and A.A. Davletshin (1861–1918). Polish Tatars made successful careers in the Russian army; and at the beginning of the 20th century, the number of generals among them reached 20 [Grishin, 1995, p. 80].

Entering the public service was complicated by the conditions applied to candidates for a position. The 'Rules of National Education' of 1803 specified that people who did not graduate from a private or public school within five years after the opening of schools in a school district, would not be accepted for civil service. In 1809, tests were introduced for people applying for the rank of collegiate assessor, which granted the right to gain hereditary nobility, or *Statskiy Sovetnik* [Civil Councilor], for which the presentation of a certificate from a university verifying the skills needed for civil service, was also required. Thus, the government wanted to attract young nobles to the universities, which were empty at the beginning of the 19th century [Karnovich, 1897, pp. 88–89]. It was very difficult for Muslims to enter the civil service, because throughout the 19th century, the number of Tatars who graduated from schools, and



The mansion on the S. Tevkelyov family estate in Kilimovo village of Belebey Uyezd Ufa Governorate Photo from the early 20th century.

especially universities, was very small. The majority of nobles in the Volga-Ural region occupied positions of minor and, less commonly, mid-level officials. With respect to high-level positions, in the pre-reform period they reached the level of supervising Kazakhs in governmental institutions. Introduction of an empire-wide system of governance in Kazakhstan led to an abrupt reduction in the number of Tatar nobles in governmental institutions. The abolition of the Orenburg General Government in 1881 reduced the number staff positions for translators in the region's governmental institutions. In general, entering the civil service was difficult for Tatars for a number of reasons. One of the main reasons was the low level of fluency in Russian, which was unacceptable in the institutions with Russian language records management [Smykov, 1988, p. 77]. During the post-reform period, noblemen's children who graduated from Russian primary and secondary schools and Kazan Tatar Teachers School, worked as teachers and contributed to the spread of Russian primary education among peasants serving in the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly, *zemsky* councils and other local institutions. The highest civil service positions for them were the positions of Orenburg Mufti (Salimgarey Tevkelev, Muhammedyar Sultanov) and chairman of the *zemsky uyezd* [district] council: Abusut Akhtyamov (1883–1885) and Shakhkhaydar Syrtlanov (1888–1892) in Belebey Uyezd; Ahmetzyan Basimov (1882–1897)

in Zlatoust Uyezd [Azamatova, 2005, p. 196–197], and so on.

Descendants of the Tatar murzas—Russian nobles. The descendants of Golden Horde tsareviches and the murzas of the Turkic Tatar states after the fall of the Golden Horde, who came to serve the Grand Prince of Moscow and who had been converted to Orthodoxy and become Russified afterwards, can be separated into a special group. Historians calculate that in the period from Ivan III to Peter I 11 clans of baptised princes and murzas, became boyars (Saburovs, Davydovs, Naryshkins, Yushkovs, Glinskys and others), and about 120 clans belonged to the highest level of the Moscow service class (Dashkovs, Derzhavins, Velyaminov-Zernovs, Apraksins, Timiryazevs, Turgenevs, Yusupovs and others) [Alishev, 1984, p. 61].

During the reign of Peter the Great, another group of murzas, the princes Kulunchakov (the ancestors of writer A. Kuprin), Kugushev, Kadomtsev and others, were unable to withstand government pressure and wishing to preserve their privileges, received baptism.

Many Russian nobles of Tatar descent achieved great success in various areas of activity, for example, in public service, literature, philosophy and social thought. But by the 19th century, the origin of the Tatar nobles was mainly preserved only by surnames and genealogy, but some of them still knew the Tatar language.

They included well-known public officials who had achieved ministerial positions, such as A. Ordin-Nashchokin, G. Derzhavin, V.P. Kochubey, A.M. Gorchakov, G.V. Chicherin and others. G.R. Derzhavin (1743–1812), First Minister of Justice in Russia, Russian poet, and a descendant of murza Bagrim, converted to Orthodoxy during the reign of Vasily the Blind. The noble Derzhavin clan originated from his grandson Derzhava Narbekov. By the 17th century, their clan owned farmland along the Mesha River (Kazan guberniya) [Derzhavin, 2000, pp. 11–12; Garzavina, 1993, p. 233].

V.P. Kochubey (1768–1834), whose noble family originated from the noble Tatar Kuchuk-Beg, who was baptised in the middle of

the 17th century, managed the Collegium of Foreign Affairs, was a Minister of the Interior Affairs twice (1802–1815, 1819–1825), and Chairman of the State Council (from 1827). V.P. Kochubey belonged to the titular nobility after he was granted first the title of count, and later he was raised to the status of a prince [Baskakov, 1979, p. 125–126; Utischev, 2000, pp. 106, 108–109].

A.M. Gorchakov (1798–1883), a descendant of Gorchak, whose clan gained Russian noble status and the title of prince in 1439, held the posts of Minister of Foreign Affairs (1856–1882) and State Chancellor [Khalikov, 1992, p. 75]. The Tatar origin of Gorchakov's family was mainly based on their nicknames, Karachevsky and Gorchak, which had Turkic roots [Baskakov, 1979, pp. 162–163].

The descendants of Russified Tatar nobles in the regions were also promoted to high ranks. In the second half of the 18th century, Peter Kamenev, a descendant of the baptised Makulov-Kamenev princes, 18th Chairman of the Kazan Magistrate; and in 1773–1775 he was the Mayor of Kazan [Alishev, 1984, p. 62]. The descendants of the Tatar prince Tenish Kugushev's family, prince, current state councillor V.B. Tenishev was Governor of Kazan (1760–1764); and prince, current state councillor D.V. Tenishev was the Vice Governor of the Kazan Governorate in 1797–1802.

Therefore, in the late 18th–19th centuries, a small and economically weak group of Tatar nobility was formed. This became possible, first of all, due to the need to incorporate the Crimean Tatar murzas into the Russian elite and the liberal policies of the government. But not all the descendants of the former Tatar feudal elite could fulfill the opportunities, given to them due to objective (the lack or the absence of the necessary evidence and documents) and subjective (preconceived attitude of the local and central authorities towards the descendants of Muslim branch of the Tatar princes and murzas) reasons. Specific privileges were granted only in the regions (the north-western, south and south-western governorates), where the Tatar princes and murzas could play an important role in Russian politics. A specific feature of the Russian



A.M. Gorchakov.



G.R. Derzhavin.



V.P. Kochubey.

Tatar nobility formed by the end of the 18th–19th centuries, was the fact that among the Tatars, they were mainly descendants of the ancient noble Tatar families, while within the new Russian nobility, there were many representatives of the underprivileged estates. In its composition, the Tatar nobility was more hereditary than by merit, and the majority of Tatar nobles lived in rural areas. In regions with a small Tatar population, the number of Tatar nobles was insignificant in relation to the Tatar population, and even fewer in relation to the general population. However, this was a general Russian tendency, since the number of all nobles by birth in the Empire was insignificant. What is interesting is that there was only a small number of Tatar nobles by birth in Kazan guberniya, which was the historical homeland of the Tatars. In general, there were fewer Tatar nobles in the Middle Volga region than in the outlying governorates. The social and economic status of the Tatar nobility was different from that of the Russian nobility:

there were very few large landowners among the Tatars, and there were no Tatars among the Russian bureaucratic and military elite. The Lithuanian-Polish and Crimean Tatar nobility were a special group, who received benefits from proving their nobility, preserving their lands and so on.

The majority of descendants of the Tatar princes and murzas who were not included in the Russian nobility remained in the state peasant class. Some of them, due to their status and personal qualities, joined townsmen and merchant estates, supplementing the ranks of the Muslim clergy and industrialists [Alishev, 1984, p. 68]. Descendants of former murzas, the Akchurins, Ramievs, Yaushevs, Arslanovs, Utyamyshevs, Apanaevs and others, played a prominent role in commerce and industry [Alishev, 1984, p. 66–67; Salikhov, 1997, p. 102]. Another distinctive feature of these nobles was that despite the lack of confirmation of their noble status, they were held in high esteem among the Tatars as noble clan members.

CHAPTER 2

Urban Estate Groups and Their Bodies of Self-Government

Lyudmila Sverdlova

All people permanently residing in the cities or who had real estate there, an occupation, and who had been signed up into the merchant guilds, workshops and burghers, were classified as 'urban residents' in the Russian Empire. The urban classes included: honorary citizens, merchants, burghers and artisans, who were officially called 'citizens' and members of the 'middle class' [Rossiya, 2002, p. 123]. In the late 19th century, a large proportion of urban residents in the country—46.7%—were burghers (and artisans), merchants (1.3%), honorary citizens (1.1%); representatives of rural estates made up 43.5%, including peasants—39%. Nobles by birth made up 3.4% of city dwellers, while nobles by merit and officials who were not nobles made up 2.8% [Rossiya, 2002, p. 123].

Merchants. Merchants belonged to a privileged social group that was not officially assigned a separate estate. It occupied third place in the structure of Russian hierarchical society, after the nobility and the clergy.

The internal structure of the merchants was hierarchical. According to the declaration of Catherine II of 17 March 1775, a merchant freed from the poll tax gained preferential business rights and was divided into three guilds [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, Vol. 20, No.7275; No.14327]. 'Capitalists' and bankers who owned capital of at least 50,000 rubles, wholesalers, shipowners, members of the city administration, scientists, artists and musicians were included in a special group of noble citizens. The estate group of noble urban citizens existed from 1785 to 1832. There were no noble citizens among the Tatars.

Merchants of the 1st and 2nd guilds had additional personal rights, were released from corporal punishment, and could own large industrial and trading enterprises. Merchants of

all guilds were released from recruitment duty, and paid 360 rubles for every recruit. As a tax-paying estate, merchants paid class tributes, fulfilled zemsky and municipal duties, and had no right to enter public service; and even the children of merchants of the 1st guild could be accepted to it under certain conditions. However, this commercial and industrial estate had personal and economic privileges⁶. Thus, in 1804, there were 1,397 merchants in Kazan; their number increased to 1,762 in 1858, and in 1900, there were 2,064 merchants with their family members in Kazan. Tatars accounted for about 1/5 to 1/4 of guild merchants.

Establishment of privileged guild merchant class was the result of the policy of the autocracy, aimed at expanding social support in the cities, and also the interests of treasury.

A Charter of Rights and Benefits for the towns of the Russian Empire, which changed the sizes of declared capitals and taxes, and introduced a new levy for guild merchants, was published in April 1785. Merchants with capital of more than 10,000 rubles were assigned to the 1st guild. They received the right to wholesale trade in Russia and abroad, to maintain factories and plants, and build river and sea vessels. Merchants who owned capital from 5,000 to 10,000 rubles belonged to the 2nd guild. They had the same rights as the 1st guild merchant class, except for the right to carry out international trade, and build and own sea vessels. Merchants of the 3rd guild declared capital from 1,000 to 5,000 roubles, were involved in retail trade, and 'obtain machinery and do

⁶ Up to 1898, they had the privileged right to engage in entrepreneurial activities; members of the first two guilds were exempt from corporal punishment; when paying the fee prescribed by the law, their houses were exempt from billeting; the merchant class had proprietary self-government bodies.



The delegation of Kazan in St. Petersburg. 1864. Sitting (from left to right): industrialist Vasily Unzhenin; former mayor Ivan Tikhonov; Kazan governor Mikhail Naryshkin; councilor of commerce Sergey Aleksandrov; councilor of commerce Ibragim Yunusov; honorary citizen by birth Ibragim Apakov. Standing: merchant Yakov Sokolov, mayor Pavel Pribytkov; merchants Gali Usmanov; Mannaf Mustakimov; Muhammadrakhim Yunusov.

handiwork', keep small river vessels and taverns [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 22, Nos.16187, 16188].

Until 1874, merchants of all guilds were not recruited for military service, but were used as militiamen [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 98, inv. 1, file 959, s. 104, 134 and other], they paid class tributes equal to 4% of 'honestly' declared capital; 10% collected from taxable rubles for 'water and land routes' and also a quarter of a percent of capital.

Right up to the middle of the 19th century Tatar merchants combined trading and business activities in industry. It was common for Tatar merchants to divide their capital between different industries and thus protect themselves from bankruptcy to a large extent. In the second half of the century, there was a gradual separation of industrial and commercial capital, as well as separation of industrial production from commercial business.

Only two guilds remained in 1863; small traders began to acquire trade licenses. The decline of the guilds began in 1885 with the introduction of proportional taxes for guild en-

terprises. In 1898, a reform of commercial taxation took place, according to which acquisition of merchant class privileges was separated from selection of commercial and trade licenses [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 38, No.39118; Vol.40, No.41779; Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–3, Vol. 4, No.2282; Vol. 5, No.2664; Vol. 18, No.15601]. The role of guilds became less important, but they existed to the downfall of autocracy.

The merchant guilds were corporate bodies that protected interests of their members and strove to increase legal and customs privileges. The merchants enrolled in guilds according to their place of residence, that is, merchants living in the same city. This was a feature of guild organisation. Merchants from another city had to join the guild again and pay all the required class tributes at the new place of trade in order to obtain the right to do business. Residence, along with property status and specialisation of commercial and industrial business, became one of the most important factors in the existence of merchant society.

Burghers and peasants could be accepted in or expelled from the guild many times depending on their material well-being. For failure to pay the guild fee, an entrepreneur was automatically excluded from the merchant class and returned to his initial status.

It was possible to join the merchant class as a temporary merchant of a certain guild. Temporary merchants included nobles, subjects of other states, as well as merchants from other cities who had started a business in this city.

Table 22

Distribution of Tatar merchants in governorates of the Volga-Ural region in 1897

[Gibadullin, 2001, p. 59]

Guberniyas	Number of Tatar merchants and their family members	Out of the entire merchant class of the governorate, in %
Astrakhan	69	1.0
Vyatka	141	4.8
Kazan	441	12.8
Orenburg	686	24.7
Penza	19	0.8
Perm	128	2.5
Samara	77	2.6
Saratov	26	0.5
Simbirsk	105	7.3
Ufa	262	13.9
Total:	1954	6.4

Tatar merchants had the strongest positions in Orenburg, Kazan, Ufa and Simbirsk guberniyas, where they constituted a significant part of the local 'third estate'.

The starting capital for the Tatars in most cases was an inherited family business or a part of it received by a son, inheritance, and a wife's dowry placed under her husband's control. It is important to note the random factor which gave the entrepreneur a chance to become rich quickly. When capital was too small to join the guild, the closest relatives (brothers, uncles and nephews) could combine their money and forces in order to pay the required guild taxes and join the merchant class. It was common for the Tatars to use family capital; they divided the capital after the death of the head of the family less often than Russian families. Therefore, many Tatar families stayed in the merchant class for four or even five generations (the Apanaevs, the Apakovs, the Yunusovs, the

Khusainovs, the Musins, the Azimovs, the Zamanovs-Aitovs, the Burnaevs, the Usmanovs, the Galikeevs, the Arsaevs and others).

Active trade and business activities of the Tatar population contributed greatly to the growth of the national merchant class. It should be noted that usually the most wealthy representatives of the trading capital enrolled in the merchant class.

The ranks of the Tatar merchant class were filled gradually in other cities located outside of the Volga and Ural regions. Starting in 1810, Tatar merchants appear as part of the Kasimov merchant class. The first of them were M. Davletkildeev, M. Maksyutov and N. Mustaev (who also was a hereditary honorary citizen). The local merchant class already numbered 16 Tatar families (27.5%) by the 1830s, and 24 families by 1850 (21.8%) [Filippov, 2003, p. 119].

Whereas in 1801, the guild merchant class in Kazan numbered only 32 Tatar fami-

lies, and 35 Tatar families in 1809 [Khasanov, 1977, p. 87], there were 72 of them in 1860 [calculated according to: National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 114, inv. 1. file 3357]. In addition, compared to the beginning of the century there were twice as many families enrolled in the 2nd guild—15 instead of 7 [calculated according to: National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 114, inv. 1. file 3357]. In 1893, the 1st guild in Kazan numbered 11 Tatar merchants [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 98, inv. 3, file 1096], whereas in 1862, there was only 1 person.

The growth of capital of the national merchant class is also proved by the amount of real estate purchased by wealthy Tatar merchants. In the 1870s, the largest real estate owners in Kazan were the following merchants: the Yunusov brothers, Ibragim and Iskhak (their joint real estate was estimated at 47,706 roubles), Izmail Apakov (41,906 roubles) and his brother Ibrahim Apakov (38,187 roubles), Sultan Usmanov (owned property in the city in the amount of 29,816 roubles). As Table 23 shows, there were 61 large real estate owners in Kazan with a total estimated property value of 1.4 million roubles. Seven of them (16%) were Tatar merchant families. Their value of their property was estimated at 205,600 roubles (14% of the total value of the city's private real estate). There were only 6 (about 10%) large owners whose property was estimated at more than 60,000 roubles, but they only owned one-fifth of all real estate. Tatar merchants were not in this category. There were 12 (about 20%) owners of real estate estimated from 30,000 to 60,000 roubles; the value of their property amounted to 473,400 roubles (33%). Among them were 3 Tatar merchants (a quarter of the total number in this group and nearly 27% by real estate value). Lastly, there were 43 (more than 70%) small owners in the governorate centre, and the total value of their property was 675,212 roubles (47%), including 4 Tatar owners (9%) [Gubernskie Vedomosti of Kazan, 16 April 1877].

In 25 years (from 1861 to 1887), the total number of Tatar entrepreneurs in Kazan grew by 40.3% due to those enrolled in the 2nd

Iskhak
Yunusov.
Photo
of the
2nd third
of the 19th
century.



guild. A significant number of temporarily enrolled merchants was due to the introduction in 1898 of the 'Regulation on the State Trade Tax'. Fearing possible complications in the first year of law, the entrepreneurs protected themselves joining the guild as 'temporarily enrolled'.

It is obvious that investing money in city real estate was one of the best areas for investment. Most of the buildings were rented out for commercial and industrial enterprises, hotels and taverns, which brought their owners considerable income. In Kazan alone, the value of city real estate, owned by Tatar homeowners, increased from 1.1 to 3.9 million roubles from 1908 to 1912.

Thus, before and after the abolition of serfdom intensive capital accumulation took place among the Tatars, as well as consolidation of a significant amount of money in the hands of individuals. A crucial role in this process belonged to the national commercial bourgeoisie.

From the end of the 18th century, merchants who 'distinguished themselves in art and activities contributing to common good and were members of the 1st guild for 12 years in a row' were granted the rank of councilor of commerce or manufacture. It was equal to the 8th grade of the 'Table of Ranks' which granted hereditary nobility, but in this particular case, it just gave equal rights and did not apply to offspring. The rank of councilor of commerce was

Table 23

The number of Tatar guild funds in Kazan in 1862–1887

[National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 114, inv. 1, file 1142, s. 14; f. 299, inv. 1, file 145, s. 13; f. 359, inv. 1, file 290, s. 93, 95]

Year	First guild			Second guild			Third guild			All guild funds		
	Muslims		total	Muslims		total	Muslims		total	Muslims		total
	permanent	temporarily enrolled		permanent	temporarily enrolled		permanent	temporarily enrolled		permanent	temporarily enrolled	
1862	1		1	12		12	54		54	67		67
1875	5		5	91		91				96		96
1887	1		1	93		93				94		94
1898	7		7	59	46	115				66	46	112
1899	7		7	55	6	61				62	6	68

given to Kazan merchants Iskhak and Ibragim Yunusov, and Troitsk merchant Mullagali Yaushev [Denisov, 2009a, p. 417].

One of the distinguishing features of the social structure in Kazan before the 19th was the allocation of a particular social group of Serving trading Tatars who were engaged in petty trade, kept inns and taverns, rented housing and warehouses, were engaged in carrier trade, owned small handicraft shops, but were not included in the guild system of the city. In 1804, 1,831 Serving trading Tatars lived in Kazan. The law of 1824 prohibiting all classes except for merchants from trading, gave them the right to enrol either in the guild merchant class or as burghers [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 39, No.30115].

Starting in 1832, the privileged category of 'city residents' class included honorable citizens, who were represented by two groups: hereditary and personal honorary citizens. Honorary citizenship could be acquired by councilors of commerce and manufacture, merchants who were members of the 1st guild for 10 years in a row and of the 2nd guild for 20 years or those awarded a Russian order. Personal honorary citizens also included those who graduated from a business school. The rights of hereditary and personal honorary citizens were equal, but the children of the latter were assigned to tributaries.

Honorary citizens were granted freedom from the poll tax, conscription, and corporal punishment for committing a crime. They participated in elections regardless of real estate, were elected to city public offices, but no lower than those occupied by merchants of the first two guilds. In other words, honorary citizens differed from the noble class only in lack of rights to own serfs. In 1833, the first of the Kazan Tatars who received hereditary honorary citizenship along with his family was Kurban-Galei Arsaev. This class also included such old Tatar merchant families as the Yunusovs, the Arsaevs, the Kazakovs, the Apanaevs, the Azimovs, the Musins, the Apakovs, the Khusainovs, the Aitovs and others.

Merchants who distinguished themselves in business and public activities best of all were awarded with medals. Merchants who enriched the treasury with 50,000 arshins of cloth above the established standard received silver medals, while those who gave 100,000 arshins more received gold medals. Those who distinguished themselves in public office were also awarded. In 1839, Iskhak Apakov, Khasan Apanayev and Gubaidulla Yunusov were awarded two gold medals.

The Tatar merchant class was part of the Russian merchant class, but with some differences.

Tatar entrepreneurship was characterised by:



Latif Musin.
Photo from the early
20th century.



Makhmud Khusainov.
Drawing from the early
20th century.



Akhmet Khusainov.
Photo from the early
20th century.

– the predominance of commercial capital over industrial, while the Tatar merchant class was more closely associated with small-scale production than Russian merchants—the focus was on development of the Eastern market, including foreign markets. In the latter half of 19th century, Tatar merchants gradually shifted to the local market, entered actively into non-Russian and non-Christian community of the region where they continued to take the advantage of language and religion; in the merchant community of multiethnic regions, there had long been a territorial division of areas of economic influence between Russian and the Tatar merchants accompanied by the division of areas for investment. This division allowed them to control capital inflow and impeded the intrusion of 'outsiders';—the dominant position among Tatar trading elite until the 19th century was occupied by tea merchants, many of whom were closely related to leather and textile production. They usually traded with China, Central Asian countries, the Caucasus, Siberia and the Urals. Industrialists that were manufacturers of large consignments of goods in high demand at the Nizhny Novgorod, Orenburg, Kyakhta and Irbit fairs stood out: mainly tannery and soap factory owners, owners of textile mills, and manufacturers of Tatar national clothes, shoes, hats and jewellery. Many of them influenced the economic development not only of their own region but the whole country; entrepreneurs from industrial and commercial dynas-

ties occupying leading position in this sector of the economy for several generations represented regional elite, and some of them belonged to Russian economic elite (the Yunusovs, the Apanaevs, the Musins, the Ramiyevs, the Yaushevs, the Khusainovs, the Agafurovs, Zagidulla Shafigullin and others);

– with respect to financial capital, it should be noted that large Tatar entrepreneurs in the latter half of the 19th century were involved in activities of bank and credit institutions and were on the board of many of them. First of all, this refers to joint stock institutions, for example, members of the board of the Kazan Merchant Bank included Muhammadgarif Utyamyshev, Suleiman Aitov, Muhammadsadyk Galikeev; and Ahmetzyan Rakhmatullin was a member of the board of the Mutual Credit Society [Kazansky Birzhevoy Listok, 25 March 1873; 14 March 1890; Kazansky Kurier, 1883, p. 101; Vsyaz Volga, 1907, p. 192; Prokofiev, 1910, p. 188]. Tatar entrepreneurs did not establish their own national banks or mutual credit societies, because they did not have enough capital and realised they were unable to withstand competition in the financial market; furthermore, they were restricted by norms of Islamic law. The majority of Tatar merchants preferred to borrow large sums of money from each other by making verbal agreements;

– Tatars did not take part in any activities of officially established Russian commodity exchanges; but, for example, on the Sennoy market in Kazan (the centre of Tatar trade in



Abdulvali Yaushev.
Photo from the early 20th century.



Mullagali Yaushev.
Photo from the early 20th century.



Muhammadshakir Ramiev.
Photo from the early 20th century.

the city) there was a kind of Tatar exchange—an informal organisation of Tatar capital that existed according to traditional national and religious principles;

– Muslims obeyed Sharia law, Adat law, which was organised, rationalised and edited in accordance with Russian legal concepts. The vast sphere of Muslim relations (such as marriage, family, inheritance, agreements and civil offenses resulting in reparation, testimony, charity, vows and sins) were regulated by Sharia law in whole or in part. However, this did not deprive Muslims of the ability to apply Russian laws.

In terms of legislation, there were not any restrictions in commercial and industrial activities for Muslim merchants. However in 1886, the government, in attempting to limit the influence of Tatar entrepreneurs in Akmola, Semipalatinsk, Semirechensk, Ural and Turgay regions, reserved the right to purchase real estate in this region only for representatives of the indigenous population and Orthodox entrepreneurs. In reaction to this discrimination, Tatar merchants trading in Tashkent who came to Nizhny Novgorod fair asked the fair committee to apply for abolition of this restriction. However, the request of the Nizhny Novgorod fair committee was unsuccessful. According to the law dated 29 November 1893, purchase of lands and other property in the Turkestan region was only permitted to those societies and associations with shareholders who were

Orthodox Russian subjects and local natives. These restrictions undoubtedly slowed the development of industry and trade [Laverechev, 1974, p. 59].

Tatar merchants were very sensitive to the demands of both domestic and external markets. Merchants supported national crafts, actively developed industrial production, invested in promising sectors of industry and, satisfying consumer needs, supplied goods to foreign (Eastern mostly) and Russian markets.

In most Russian cities, the Tatar guild merchants were members of the multi-ethnic merchant class; and in large and economically strong Islamic communities they had an autonomous class institution headed by their merchant chief.

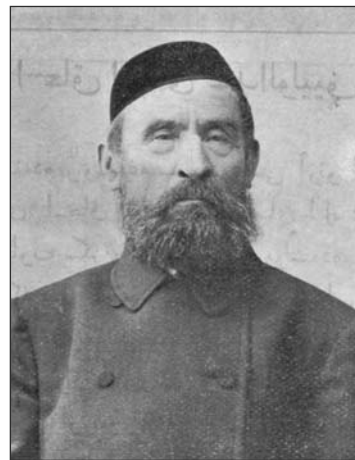
The position of the class chief was an important social position in the system of city class organisation. The position of merchant chief was first equal to the 14th grade of public service; and at the end of service it was possible to refuse the lowest positions [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 9, p. 664]. According to tacit tradition, a Russian merchant chief had the highest social status, and therefore, influence in Kazan. Formal signs of the special status of a Russian merchant chief are the following: 1) chairing all-class meetings; 2) his signature was the first on all documents prepared on the results of the general city assembly; he also documented all-class public gatherings.



Kamaletdin Agafurov.
Photo from the early 20th century.



Zainetdin Agafurov.
Photo from the early 20th century.



Zagidulla Shafigullin.
Photo from the early 20th century.

Burghers. As mentioned above, the majority of citizens belonged to the meshchansky (burgher) tribute-paying class. The differences between the merchant and the burgher classes were approved by a declaration of 1775, according to which all citizens who did not own capital of 500 roubles and could not be enrolled in merchant class were called burghers. In the 'Letters Patent to the Towns' dated 21 April 1785 all the representatives of the third estate received the name 'burghers': 'the name of middle class people, or burghers, is the result of their industry and good nature, which helped them to make a fortune' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 22, p. 80].

Burghers were part of the tribute-paying class, formed the burgher community, paid a poll tax, were subject to conscription and corporal punishment, had no right to enter public service, and when entering military service did not enjoy the rights of volunteers. As the main payers of taxes and tributes the burghers, along with merchants, belonged to the category of 'pattern citizens'. Starting in the middle of the 19th century, the burghers were excused from corporal punishment; and starting in 1866—from a poll tax, instead of which the real estate tax was imposed in cities, posads and small towns, which was not a special burgher tax. In 1904–1906, other restrictions were removed from members of former tribute-paying classes.

They could travel more than 30 versts from their city with temporary passports. To obtain this passport, it was necessary to pay all tributes and duties, personal debts, find two sureties for emergency expenses, obtain permission of the burgher society, and if a burgher transferred to other societies (such as merchant), approval of the authorities was also required.

In the first half of the 19th century, the government pursued a policy of creating conditions for increasing the number of citizens, the main elements of which were differentiation of rights of city communities and empowerment of administration to accept new members of the city. In 1812, state peasants received the right to duty-free trade in agricultural products in cities. The year 1824 was a milestone for the state village, when favourable conditions were created to enrol peasants in burger and merchant classes. In 1827, the difference between peasant and merchant trade licenses was eliminated, and appanage and state peasants received the opportunity to build and buy houses in provincial towns. Starting in 1848, all categories of peasants received the right to own houses in cities. In 1849, the law was implemented in all cities allowing the 'enrolment in the burgher class' of free people without the consent of burgher societies [Mironov, 1990, p. 69].

The meshchanins had to pay levies for licenses to keep small commercial and industrial establishments, as well as for prikazchich'i

(sales) licenses. Starting in 1825, the trading meshchanins in governorate cities had to pay 40 roubles, in uyezds and other undistinguished towns—30 roubles; peasant certificates of the 4th grade cost 100 roubles. For a special license to keep a small shop the trading meshchanins were charged half the price of the certificate, and peasants were charged 40 roubles [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 39, No. 30115]. The most serious drawback of this system of taxation was the fact that the main burden was placed squarely on small entrepreneurs, which significantly hindered the development of industry and trade at a very early stage.

The activities of the meshchanin class were extremely varied, as was the level of their mate-

rial welfare. Meshchanins were allowed to participate in small-scale trade, practice various crafts, and be employed. In order to engage in craft and trade, they had to join guilds. According to the law, meshchanins could only operate small craft enterprises, participate in small trade, and accept buy-backs and small contracts (up to 4 thousand roubles). Local authorities and merchants who did not want any competition made sure that production and trading operations did not exceed the allowable sizes.

Trade, mainly small-scale, was the main occupation of a considerable portion of Tatar meshchanins. They traded (retail only, according to the law) using their own capital and on credit in amounts between 100–500 roubles, engaging in retail delivery trade.

Table 24

Distribution of Tatar townspeople of both sexes in governorates of the Volga-Ural Region in 1897 [Pervaya vseobshhaya, Vol. 2, 10, 14, 28, 30, 31, 35, 36, 38, 39, 45]*

Governorates	The total number of commoners of both sexes relative to the population of the governorate, in %	Including Tatar commoners						
		in the cities		in the uyezds	total	of the Tatars in the governorate, in %	of all commoners in the governorate, in %	relative to local Tatars, in %
		governorate	district					
Astrakhan	9%	3,054	607	1,023	4,684	9%	5%	7.4%
Vyatka	2%	51	266	1,142	1,459	1%	3%	2.3%
Kazan	4%	5,598	2,297	2,384	10,279	2%	12%	16.2 %
Orenburg	11%	4,968	9,110	8,376	22,454	24 %	13%	35.4 %
Penza	4%	92	10	568	670	1%	1%	1.1%
Perm	3%	80	351	533	964	2%	1%	1.5%
Samara	6 %	120	2,289	1,522	3,931	2%	2%	6.2%
Saratov	9%	207	1,098	3,441	4,746	5%	2%	7.5%
Simbirsk	4%	192	1,090	689	1,971	1%	3%	3.1%
Ufa	4%	721	3,551	7,287	11,559	6 %	13%	18.2%
Ryazan	4%	2	352	332	686	14%	1%	1.1%
Total in the region:	5%	15,085	21,021	27,297	63,403	4%	5%	100%

*Table compiled by Kh.Z. Bagautdinova.

The materials of the 1897 census show that the proportion of meshchanins among the Tatars of Ryazan guberniya (14%) is more than three times larger than the overall governorate numbers, while these numbers were exceeded twofold in Orenburg guberniya (24%), and by one-third in Ufa guberniya. In Astrakhan guberniya this proportion totalled 9%. The remaining governorates were falling behind in terms of the average statistical data, as in general these ratings came out to 5% and 4% respectively.

It is also important to note that up to 70% of Tatars from the meshchanin class lived in three governorates of the Volga-Ural region: Orenburg (35.4%), Ufa (18.2%) and Kazan (16.2%) guberniyas. Meanwhile, the statistical data showing the population's resettlement in January 1897 totally dismantle the idea of Tatar meshchanins as permanent city dwellers. Forty-three percent of the Tatar meshchanins of the region lived in rural areas, 23.8% lived in governorate centres, and 33.2% in uyezd cities. In Vyatka (78%), Penza (85%), Saratov (73%), Ufa (63%) and Perm (55%) guberniyas more than half of the Tatar meshchanins lived in villages.

In big cities there were three meshchanin communities numbering more than 1 thousand people of both sexes: in Kazan (5.6 thousand), Orenburg (5 million) and Astrakhan (3 million). It is noteworthy that only in the Kazan, Astrakhan and Penza guberniyas did the number of Tatar meshchanins in big cities exceed the number of members of this class living in uyezd centres. The assumption can therefore be made that the Tatar meshchanins living in rural areas owned certain real estate in the city and were members of the relevant city's class societies. The fact that they lived in rural areas was, in our opinion, related to their professional (business) activity. It is entirely possible that some city dwellers could move away to rural area to avoid the census, which according to rumours, was fraught with the danger of baptism. However, this circumstance could not radically change the current settlement trend of the Tatar meshchanins throughout the region.

As they purchased goods in the city and nearest fairs and transported them to sell

throughout other rural fairs and the nearest Tatar villages, trading meshchanins bought agricultural products and raw materials, such as leather, from Muslim peasants and then resold them in fairs or in cities to industrial and craft establishments. Acting as buyers, they gradually took control over the procurement and sale of agricultural products produced in Tatar rural areas, and in some way put small producers, such as craftsmen, under their control and divided them from the market. The meshchanins played a key role in small and medium Tatar businesses. They used three main forms of trading capital as part of their operations: the purchase of goods by the owner from small producers, the unification of trade operations with small-scale producers, and ware-for-ware bartering.

Trade was no doubt the most profitable form of business and also provided the opportunity to raise capital, which in turn facilitated the transition to another, higher class of merchants. Throughout the whole period of its existence, the meshchanin class was one of the main talent pool sources to replenish the ranks of Tatar merchants.

The Tatar meshchanins were the owners of small-scale craft and manufacturing industries characterised by a remarkably low level of material and technical development. The regulation of their economic activity and competition did not contribute to the development of small and medium-sized businesses.

One common activity among the Tatar population of the city was renting, anything from city bath houses, fisheries, carrier trade contracts, city contracts for the delivery of firewood, potable water, etc. for public establishments, and for the construction of buildings built from the city's budget or treasury.

A significant number of trade practitioners were from the Tatar meshchanin class. Their career began with serving as 'a boy' in a small shop of a Tatar merchant 'to get food and knowledge'. They could serve until they became hucksters, that is, sellers in a small shop, or become trading agents of not just Tatar, but also Russian merchants on the 'Eastern trade' route. The license price for meshchanins and merchants of the 3rd guild depended on the

area where the trade took place. But the price of the licenses for merchants of the 3rd guild (until it was abolished in 1863) was approximately two times higher than that for townspeople [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 39, No.30115; Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 14, No. 12867].

A significant portion of the owners of craft establishments were meshchanins. The leather industry was particularly well developed among the Tatars [Goncharov, Chutchev, 2004, p. 89].

When speaking about the development trends of the Tatar meshchanin class during burgeoning bourgeois relations, it should be noted that on the one hand, this was a source of formation on the classes of bourgeois society, and on the other hand, while adapting to the new conditions it sought to preserve the national purity within a Russian city, meaning preserve a separate national social group destined to ensure special conditions for their own economic and socio-political activity together with the national merchant class.

The meshchanins formed a meshchanin society with an elective authority and a chief, and were under magistrate jurisdiction. Members of meshchanin meetings were people aged 21 and older with certain property qualifications. The meeting was convened by the chief of the meshchanins.

'The city reform' of 1870 resulted in a different structure of the permanent meshchanin governing bodies in different urban settlements.

In cities with comprehensive public governance, the meshchanin society was headed by the meshchanin council, and in cities with a more simplified form of governance, by a meshchanin or city chief.

Tatar and Russian meshchanin communities in Kazan and Mamadysh existed separate from one another, and In 1885 Ministry of Internal Affairs ordered to include them in Russian communities. This meant that the Tatar Muslims were deprived of the public organisation that typically performed the function of preserving cultural traditions and language autonomy. For nearly a year Tatar meshchanins from Kazan and Mamadysh sabotaged the activity of the local administration by refusing

to unify with the Russians. The Tatar meshchanins in Kazan lodged a complaint in the Senate against the governor's actions. After the abolition of the Tatar meshchanin communities in Kazan and Mamadysh in 1886, all the affairs of the Tatar meshchanins were transferred to the joint Russian-Tatar councils [Kaplunovsky 1998, p. 95, 160–162].

Before the introduction of the 'City Regulation' of 1892, there were meshchanin city chiefs in every city of the Kazan guberniya, whereas there were only two councils—one in Kazan and the other in Chistopol. The composition of the councils was multi-ethnic in both cases. Chairmanship there belonged to communal chiefs (Russians) and, in addition, the council consisted of two more members—a Russian and a Tatar. Such national representation was established on the principle of the election of Jews into the meshchanin and merchant councils in the settled areas at a proportion of no more than one third. It was forbidden to elect meshchanin community chiefs from among non-Christians [Kaplunovsky, 1998, p. 94; Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–3, Vol. 9, Nos.883, 989].

The meshchanin council in Chistopol was closed at the insistence of the Russian meshchanins in order to reduce the cost of its maintenance. As a result of this, '...controversies did not occur because of any ethno-cultural or religious intolerance between the Russians and the Tatars. They were, as a rule, artificial and provoked, on the one hand by administrative bodies executing government orders, and on the other by Russian meshchanins who tried to use the "Tatar" factor for their own benefit. In addition, conflicting situations inevitably occurred due to the general Tatar movement for the equalisation of their civil (social and economic) rights with the rights of the Orthodox population' [Kaplunovsky, 1998, p. 169].

To solve these general matters, joint meetings of Russian and Tatar meshchanin societies, chaired by the Russian meshchanin chief, were conducted. The execution of the decisions of meshchanin communities to a greater extent 'was left to the discretion' of the local authorities, but some decisions also required the governor's approval.

In other cities of the Volga-Ural region it was impossible to organise independent Tatar meshchanin communities due to the small number of Tatars, so they became a part of local Russian meshchanin communities.

The meshchanin government managed the lists of the meshchanin class, accepted new members and was also responsible for the needs of the class. In addition, the meshchanin governance gave permissions of absence to subordinate persons. Until 1900, the meshchanin society still had the right to expel members who disgraced themselves, and left these questions to the discretion of the government, the consequence of which was deportation to Siberia. But the main purpose of the meshchans' community was to levy various tributes and fees on the townspeople.

One of the features of the social life of Kazan and Seitov posad was the parallel existence of national urban authorities and estate societies. The government of Catherine of Russia pp. , given the high concentration of Tatar merchants and meshchanins, in 1781 allowed the establishment in Kazan of a local government body, that is, a City Pall (in the Old and New Tatar slobodas it was opened in 1784 and functioned until 1855), and in 1784—in Seitov posad in Orenburg guberniya (operational until 1832). The decree of Catherine II on the establishment of a City Hall for Muslim merchants in Tara of Tobolsk guberniya remained unfulfilled [Ibrahimov, 2001, p. 11].

The composition of the city halls in Russian cities and slobodas was determined in each specific case based on local conditions. The governance of the Tatar City Hall in Kazan was represented by a burgomaster, two ratmanns, and merchant and townsmen chiefs and their assistants. Citizens of Tatar slobodas elected judges in the court of verbal conscience and trade, as well as the court of wards, and sent their representatives to work in Kazan guberniya, other city magistrates, and in the Chambers of the Civil and Criminal Courts [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 299, inv. 1, file 20, s. 56 reverse–62; file 21, s. 13]. The issues resolved in the meetings of the residents of the Tatar slobodas were largely similar to those put on

the agenda by Russian urban society [see: Izmaylov, 2009].

In 1834, investigative, civil and criminal cases filed against the Tatars that were in the proceedings of the city magistrate, along with the functions of the city's judicial authority, were placed under the jurisdiction of the Tatar city hall of Kazan [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 22, inv. 2, file 21, s. 1]. This decision resulted in a combination of administrative and judicial functions in city hall activities. In fact, the function of the city magistrate was restored in a new version of the law of 1721. The Tatar city hall handled all criminal and civil cases, monitored the distribution and levying of tributes, time served by the Tatar urban population, and the urban economy and landscaping within the bounds of Kazan Tatar slobodas. From this point on the Tatars were finally shifted to being under the jurisdiction of this local government body, which significantly raised the status of the city hall and made it an official government body, even though it was limited to two city slobodas. As a result of the expansion of Kazan, Tatar City Hall witnessed a significant increase in the number of cases in its proceeding, which led to an increase of the number of staff in this governmental body, as well as the court, in the position of clerks—povytchiks—who headed the departments of the city hall and the governorate registrar, and journalists, whose responsibility was to maintain the journal of city hall meetings. These positions were occupied exclusively by Russians because all the documents were maintained in the state language of the Empire. These people were on the staff of the governorate administration that was in fact in charge of appointing and dismissing them [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 299, inv. 1, file 20, s. 11 reverse].

Since all the documents were in Russian, the city hall members were not able to check the execution of their agenda, as they did not know 'Russian reading or writing'. In fact, this meant that city hall members elected from the Tatar community were dependent not only on the higher administration, but also on the small clerks transferred into the local government by the governorate's administration.

In order to unify administration at the local level, the Tatar city hall was closed in 1855.

The verbal court had been functioning in Russia since 1754 as a judicial institution under the magistrates and city halls to resolve trade cases, especially market and promissory cases. Starting in 1775 the verbal court was established under police units. Here claims were considered for the purchase and sale of goods, monetary loans, renting, conflicts between owners and prikazchiks, and others [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 37, inv. 1, file 8a, s. 11–23, 33, 34, 35 and others].

The courts consisted of a burgomaster and two elected members from merchant and trading meshchanins, cases were conducted orally, and judgments were read immediately. In 1864, the magistrate verbal courts were abolished, and the trade verbal courts under the Kazan Tatar City Hall functioned until 1855.

In Kazan, the Tatar and Russian courts of wards functioned according to the ethno-confessional division of the population. The chairmen of both courts was a city head, but in the Tatar court of wards this position was held by the head of the Kazan Tatar City Hall. In 1854, the chairmanship of the Tatar court of wards was transferred entirely to the city head. Functioning in a multinational city, this court consisted of a city head, and two members of the magistrate and merchant city chiefs from Russian and Tatar communities, and since 1864, it also featured members of city estates elected for three years under the chairmanship of the city head.

The general city meeting was conferred the right to determine the number of members of the court of wards. By decision of the general meeting of the city estates dated 22 January 1871 the Russian orphan's court consisted of three members: the merchant class was repre-

sented by a merchant chief, one member was elected by the merchant community, and the final member—by the craft community. The Tatar court of wards consisted of two members: A Tatar merchant chief from the merchant class, and one person elected by the Tatar meshchanin community. Based on the fact that merchant chiefs and their associates held their positions for one year, the term of their service in the court of wards was also a single year; other members served the prescribed three-year term [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 37, inv. 1, file 26, s. 4 reverse].

However, such a frequent turnover of merchant estate representatives in the court of wards (three times during a single term) created obstacles for its successful operation. Therefore, in the latter half of the 1880s, there were some cases when merchant estate representatives were elected as members of the court of wards for three years, even though they were not merchant chiefs [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 37, inv. 1, s. 86, 87–87 reverse]. Record management in the court of wards was handled by 'officials and servants' who were registered in public service.

In 1892, the Tatar court of wards was merged with the Russian court. As a result, the majority of Russians then began to only elect Russians as members of the court of wards [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 98, inv. 1, file 90, s. 10, 10 reverse]. Only after numerous petitions of the Tatar councillor-merchants, on 10 September 1896 the city дума opted to include members of the city's Islamic community in the Kazan court of wards [Zhurnal, 1896, p. 239–242, 251–252].

Despite certain unique aspects of the estate structure of the urban Tatar population and the urban estate self-government, their overall development was in line with all-Russian trends.

CHAPTER 3

The Military and Service Estate

§ 1. Orenburg and Ural Cossacks

Elena Godovova

Settlement and population. The Ural (Yaik) Cossacks in the 16–early 20th centuries successfully reclaimed the middle and lower reaches of the Ural (Yaik) river and the Ural steppes. In the first half of the 19th century their numbers then doubled, and in the latter half of the century they increased by a factor of 1.7, due mainly to a natural increase [Kortunov, 2009, p. 20–23].

The Orenburg Cossack Army (OCA) occupied the territory from Iletsk to Orenburg, and then through Verkhneural'sk and Troitsk up to Zverinogolovskaya fortress, which bordered Siberia.

In the first half of the 19th century, the government undertook a number of measures to increase the size of the Cossack army and even further centralise the troop's command and control structure. The reorganisation of the Orenburg frontier line (1835–1840) contributed to the increase in the number of Orenburg Cossacks.

The change in the dynamics of the Orenburg army's numerical composition can be observed in the following statistics: in 1798–44,000 people of both sexes, in 1834–70,050, in 1846–160,600 and by the end of the 19th century—350,614 people of both sexes [Materialy', 1905, pp. 83–84; Materialy', 1913, pp. 256–258; Russian State Military Historical Archive, f. 414, inv. 1, file 312, s. 43–46; Kortunov, 2004, p. 23].

Control system. The main goal of reforming the irregular army was to make the Cossacks an 'obedient instrument' of public policy. 11 Bashkir, 5 Meshcheryak cantons, 5 Orenburg cantons and 2 Ural Cossack cantons were organised in 1798 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, 1798, No.18477]. An-

nually from the 16 May to 16 November the cantons were assigned to protect the Orenburg frontier line, which stretched from the Tobol river down the Ural river to the Caspian sea. It was divided into five distances. The first one included the fortresses and redoubts from the Zverinogolovskaya fortress to Verkhneural'sk, the second one from Verkhneural'sk to the Orsk fortress, the third one from the Orsk fortress to Orenburg, the fourth distance from Orenburg to Uralsk, and the fifth one—from Uralsk to Guryev. The Bashkirs, the Meshcheryak and the Orenburg Cossacks were on frontier guard duty in the first four distances with a total length amounting to 1,239 versts [Istoriya Bashkortostana, 1996, p. 357]. According to the 'Regulation on the organisation of control over the Cossack Army' dated 1803, the Ural Cossack Army (UCA) fell under the jurisdiction of the Orenburg governor (until then they reported to the supreme government authorities) [Istoriya kazachestva Urala, 1992, p. 128], as for the Orenburg Army, a Military Office was established on the Black Sea model, and the Ural Cossack Armies, which were under the jurisdiction of the Orenburg inspectorate in terms of military affairs, and under the jurisdiction of governorate authorities (especially the governor) in terms of civil affairs' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 27, No. 20786].

For the first time ever a uniformed outfit was introduced in the army.

During the reign of Nicholas I, the newly-organised Cossack Army was growing at an intensive rate. In 1840, the 'Regulation on the Orenburg Cossack Army' was adopted, as a result of which the army legally received jurisdiction over the vast territory for the first

time that included about ten villages, private lands and such cities as Verkhneursk, Troitsk and Chelyabinsk. The total number of army lands in 1840 amounted to 7,749,944 dessiatinas, which later totalled 8.5 million dessiatinas of continuous territory [Starikov, 1890, p. 108].

The new 'Regulation' replaced the canton system with regimental districts. In time of war each regimental district was formed from among the Cossacks living on its territory.

Control of the OCA, based on the experience of the Don Army, was divided into military and civil administrative offices and belonged to the military appointed chieftain who reported to the commander of the Separate Orenburg corps. The Military Board was the executive body, and it had a military medical council and military prosecutor. Civil cases were handled by regimental and stanitsa administrations. Regimental administrations, which ended up replacing the cantonal offices, were established in each of the ten districts and were headed by staff officers. The lower echelon of the military governing structure were the stanitsa administrations headed by stanitsa chiefs.

The 'Regulation' of 1840 segregated the army in terms of its judicial system as well. Military crimes were under the jurisdiction of the Military Court Commission under the Military Duty, while civil cases, property disputes and petty crimes were dealt with in the stanitsa courts and by the officials of the regimental administrations [Shadrin, 1999, pp. 160–161].

The system of governance established by the 'Regulation' of 1803 remained in UCA with some additions; power here was concentrated in the hands of the military chieftain and the military office, which had both military and civil expeditions.

During the post-reform period, the reformation of the Cossack armies began in order to eliminate the estate isolation of the Cossacks and 'their conversion into a civil state'. In 1865, the structure of the OCA underwent changes, the nature of which was completely opposite to what had happened in the army in 1840: it became a part of the governorate again, and in terms of the judicial system and police it was under the control of government agencies.

Similar changes also took place in the UCA as well [Istoriya kazachestva Urala, 1992, p. 144]. In 1869 the military office and the office of the appointed chieftain were replaced by a military administrative office, which consisted of the chairman appointed by the government, two counsellors of the treasurer chosen from the army, and three Cossack deputies—one from each uyezd. In addition, a congress of 62 elective stanitsa deputies was formed to resolve military administrative affairs [Savelyev, 1913, p. 2].

Self-government. In 1870, the Cossacks received a new 'Regulation on public control in the Cossack Army', according to which an important role was now played by stanitsa gatherings, which had acquired the right to elect the stanitsa chieftain, judges and clerks, who were later approved by the military chieftain. Stanitsas thus gained the right to solve the economic and military issues of their own lives (renting stanitsa lands, the order of military duty) [Futoryansky, 2000, p. 84]⁷.

The stanitsa government addressed the issues of stanitsa gatherings, and checked the stanitsa funds and bread stores monthly. Between 4 and 12 regular judges were elected annually for stanitsa courts by stanitsa gatherings. The stanitsa court was assembled every two weeks on Sundays, or more often if circumstances required [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 6, Inv. 13, file 3574, s. 6].

The introduction of the 'Regulation' of 1870 weakened the administrative control system, and the military population gained certain rights and began to solve some local issues relating to economics, the opening of educational institutions, and the prioritisation of field service.

In 1880, a new 'Regulation on the public and administrative control of the Ural Army' was adopted that concentrated all power in the hands of the appointed chieftain and abolished

⁷The Cossack village meeting welcomed all households belonging to the community. The leader of the meeting was the Cossack village chieftain, responsible for maintaining order and well-being within its limits. The Cossack village government comprised the chieftain, his assistants, and the village treasurer.

the election of counsellors [Savelyev, 1913, p. 2].

The system of public control over stanitsas and settlements that was formed entirely in the early 1890s had a number of shortcomings, primarily regarding the division of powers at different levels of government [Ganin, 2006, p. 16].

Functions According to the 'Regulation' of 1840, the OCA was obligated to protect the Orenburg military line, and also send troops to the steppe, the local governorates for police service, and the field army during wars, etc. [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 6, inv. 8, file 169, s. 4-4 reverse].

As for the military service of the Ural Cossacks, according to the new regulation adopted in the Ural region it was permitted to recruit volunteers, but on the condition that every Cossack had already served in field units for at least a year. In turn, the young Cossacks had to study at stanitsas for three years, and privileged Cossacks still had to come to the camp annually for three weeks for a period of seven years, and all other field Cossacks had to report annually for an inspection of their outfit and equipment. During wartime, the army was supposed to field 9 mounted regiments, a hundred guardsmen and a hundred newcomers [Savelyev, 1913, p. 15].

In the middle of the century the number of compulsory duties increased significantly. To ensure 'peace and quiet' the Cossack units were being sent to different governorates of the empire to fulfill military and police service. The OCA annually sent one regiment to Moscow, one joint detachment numbering 400 soldiers to the Nizhny Novgorod fair, and also sent units to maintain order in Perm, Kazan, Vyatka and other guberniyas. The Cossack units were used to suppress revolutionary actions on the outskirts of the Empire and to fortify the zemsky and city police [Godovova, 2007, p. 61].

Ethnic and confessional composition of the OCA. In the late 18th century the Tatars of



The Orenburg Cossacks Photo from the 2nd half of the 19th century

Seitov posad were officially numbered among the OCA [Materialy', 1905, p. 80] and formed three regiments of 500 soldiers each (pyatisotnya), with a staff consisting of: 3 colonels (pyatisotniks), 3 esauls of the pyatisotnya, 3 regimental clerks, 15 sotniks, 15 centurion esauls, 15 cornets, 30 pyatidesyuatniks (lieutenants), 1,416 private Cossacks, totalling 1,500 people. According to this staff list G. Rakhmatullin, Suleimanov and A. Sagyatov were appointed to the positions of colonels of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd pyatisotnyas. The 1st pyatisotnya consisted of 407 serving soldiers and 583 retirees and minors. The 2nd and the 3rd pyatisotnyas numbered 412 and 392 people respectively, containing 577 retirees and minors each. Clothes and horses for Cossack commanders were provided by the community, and gunpowder and lead came from the treasury [Materialy', 1905, pp. 81–82]. To control the Tatars of Seitov posad the stanitsa administration was established under the authority of the military office. It consisted of a lieutenant colonel as the chairman along with two attendees, and solved all the criminal and other Cossack affairs [Delo o zapisi, 1900, pp. 52–54].

In the first half of the 19th century the Tatars from Chesnokovka, Zubachistenka 1 and Zubachistenka 2, Uskalytskaya, Novoumerovskaya and other villages were enrolled in the army for service. [Kortunov, 2009, p. 82].

The Tatars were mainly enrolled in six regiments of the army (the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 6th, 7th, 8th regiments) [Kortunov, 2009, p. 92; Godo-

vova, 2007, Table 2]. In 1853, the total number of Muslims totalled 4,885 people, and by 1855, there were 5,650 people, long with a total of 24 mosques [Kortunov, 2009, p. 85].

By the end of the 19th century the territory of the OCA was occupied as follows: 87.4%—Slavs, 9%—Tatars, 1.7%—Bashkirs, 1.2%—Mordvins, 0.3%—Kazakhs, 0.23%—Kalmyks, 0.12%—Chuvashes and 0.05%—Mari [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 164, inv. 1, file 64a, s. 56–58; Savelyev, 1913, p. 4].

Starting in 1736, the baptised Tatars (Nagaybaks) were a constituent part of the OCA. This group was formed by the mutual integration and cultural convergence around the Nagaybak fortress of the Teptiars (including the baptised), and the old-baptised peasants and Cossacks. In 1842, due to changes in the OCA's borders, 1250 male Nagaybaks 'who were members of the Bakalino and Nagaybak stanitsas' were resettled far to the East (Verkhneuralsk uyezd). In 1843, these settlements received more modern names: Kassel, Fershampenuaz, Parizh, Trebia, Krasnokamensk, Astralenka, Arsi, Kulikovskiy. Some of them settled in Cossack settlements such as Nezhenskoe, Ilyinskoe, Pogorniy, Giryal and Alla-Baytal. At the same time or a little while later, the Nagaybaks were settled in the Popovo, Varlamovo and Klyuchevskiy-tvoroy settlements [Iskhakov, 2004].

Tatars in the Ural Cossack army. The Ural army was initially made up of multi-ethnic refugees: the bulk of Cossacks were Russians, but they also included a lot of Nogays and Kuban and Volga Tatars, who were gradually adopting Christianity. However, the later immigrants 'even after transitioning to the Cossacks' retained the same ethno-confessional identity [Materialy po statistike, 1877, p. 139].

Strangers were rarely included in the UCA, and only the following mass assignments are known: in 1817, 176 Serving and yasak Tatars from the Uskalytskaya and Novoumerovskaya villages moved to Nikolskaya village with the permission of the government. In 1832, by order of the government 762 nomadic Bashkirs were enrolled in the Cossack estate of the Ural army 'along with the land' [Istoriya Bashkortostana, 1996, p. 345]. The UCA numbered less Cossacks than the Orenburg army. Thus,

in 1856, the UCA numbered 72,109 people of both sexes, and by the end of the 19th century it totalled 111,927 people [Savelyev, 1913, p. 3].

The majority of Muslims was represented in ethnic terms by the Tatars, until in 1838 when the 9th Bashkir canton, which consisted of Bashkirs resettled to Saratov guberniya and united into three yurts, was attached to the UCA 'because of the long distances in terms of control'; the canton was enrolled as the Bashkir unit, although it retained its previous daily routine [Zagidullin, 2006, p. 120] and remained part of it up to 1865. [Borodin, 1891, p. 313].

The UCA had both fully Tatar and fully Kalmyk settlements. The Muslims were the significant part of the population of Ilets and Chiza, and the Mustaev, Mukhor, Mukhran, Glinsk and Ozersk settlements [Dubovikov, 1996, p. 342]. In 1855, the Muslims (3,407 people of both sexes) were settled in 38 settlements, and public worship was performed in 8 cathedral mosques and 6 mosques where prayers were said 5 times a day.

In ethnic terms in 1858–1862, the UCA consisted of Russians (86%), Bashkirs (7%), Tatars (5%) and Kalmyks (1.4%) [Materialy, 1866, p. 334].

There were few Tatars among the officers. For example, in 1813 there were no Tatars at all among the 7 colonels and lieutenant colonels, and only one Tatar among 7 troop sergeants—Uzbek Tyunyaev [Russian State Military Historical Archive, f. 489, inv. 1, file 3092, s. 5]. There were no Tatars among either esauls or Cossacks, who had 'regular' ranks of poruchiks and majors. Only 3 people among 104 sotniks and cornets were Tatars [Russian State Military Historical Archive, f. 489, inv. 1, file 3092, s. 53, 57, 61]. There were also not many Tatars even among the uryadniks (subaltern officers), only 5 out of 128 people. Among the lucky possessors of the Cossack rank of first officer was cornet A. Akirov [Ural'skie, 1867, No. 38].

Land ownership and land tenure. Land is the main wealth and privilege of the Cossack troops. The main wealth of the Orenburg Cossacks was the land granted them by the decrees of 1736, 1743, 1744 'for various merits during

the Bashkir riots' [Ιστορικησκαπα ζαπισκα, 1904, π. 65], as well as the right to use lake and river water and the right to hunt and mine.

In the early 19th century, each Cossack cultivated as much land as they could, as there were no strict rules of land tenure. However, by order of the state chambers a portion of land was given to other estates, so many stanitsas were left with 15 desyatins (or less) of land per capita, which certainly caused discontent among the Cossacks. In 1832, the Orenburg Cossacks received 30 desyatins of land per one man, as the Cossacks who had even 20 desyatins of land were not able to serve 'properly, or provide themselves with their own clothes, weapons and horses' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1263, inv. 1, file 2340, s. 85].

According to the 'Regulation' of 1840, 30 desyatins of land per capita was the minimum when calculating the total amount of land for each of ten regimental districts formed in the OCA, and the soldiers and retired officers of the army were given 'special lifetime lands' [Stoletie, 1911, p. 261]. Renting in the OCA was common practice, and it not only brought in decent income to the landlord, but also increased the army capital [Godovova, 2007, p. 78].

To solve issues regarding the land given in 1798–1842, a General Survey of Cossack lands was conducted in Orenburg guberniya. However, land division projects were not implemented, and only in 1862 was the 'Regulation' on the division of OCA land approved [Polozhenie o razmezhevanii, 1862].

By the end of the 19th century OCA lands had been divided into the following categories: military, stanitsa (or yurt), officers' and officials' lands. The UCA lands were divided into military lands and lands granted for use to the Kazakhs. The Ural Cossacks used the lands in the form of undivided community ownership.

The nature of land tenure and land ownership adopted various forms, but the supreme owner of the Cossack lands was always the state. The lands of separate Cossack troops were in their 'eternal use' [Futoryansky, 1997, p. 64]. Subjects with the right of ownership of these lands were estate communities and institutions, such as the 'rural community', which was much the same as the 'stanitsa community' [Makhrova, 1999, p. 26]. However, even while recognizing the army as the land owner, the state still did not allow the military administration to dispose of the land and its mineral resources fully and independently [Godovova, 2007, p. 86].

§ 2. Serving Tatar Cossacks in Western Siberia

Gulsifa Bakieva

Serving Tatars (jomyshly) were one of the estate groups of the Siberian *Tatars* whose descendants came from the military-feudal nobility of the Siberian Khanate. Among the Serving Tatars were former Kuchum 'murzas' and 'murziches', 'beys' (the owners of independent appanages), tribal princes and clergy [Bakhrushin, 1955, pp. 164–165]. The Russian government 'represented by the serving nobility received trained military forces that played an important role in the process of the further colonisation of the territory' and smartly used them as 'the most powerful and influential portion of the subject population' [Tychinskikh, 2010, p. 236].

Throughout the 17–19th centuries, changes were taking place in the governance system of the Siberian Tatar service class. Until the middle of the 18th century, serving Tatars and other Cossack units were under the jurisdiction of the Siberian prikaz, which was what paid them their salary for their service. By a decree of the Senate dated 1744, all regular and irregular troops in Siberia were placed under the jurisdiction of the Military Board. In 1797, the gorodovye kazaki [patrol Cossacks] of the Military Board were placed under the jurisdiction of civil governors. The 'Statute on the Siberian gorodovye kazaki [Patrol Cossacks]' of 1822 confirmed the subordination of Cossack

regiments to the civil authorities, meaning to governors and regional chiefs, while city and uyezd units were under the jurisdiction of district chiefs and *gorodnichys* (town governors).

In the 18–early 19th centuries, members of the Siberian Tatars from the Kulmametyev family served as the heads of the Tobolsk Serving Tatars. The Russian authorities considered the indigenous chiefs as their agents at the local level. The Head collected *yasak* from the *Yasak* Tatars, judged and punished them and watched over the political reliability of Serving and '*zahrebetny*' (dependent) Tatars [Bakhrushin, 1955, p. 77]. By the Charter of Catherine of Russia the Kulmametyev family in 1787 was elevated to the noble rank [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1286, inv. 2, file 347, s. 18]. However, at the beginning of 19th century. the Kulmametyevs had started to lose their power, and the decisive factor of their downfall was the 'Statute on Siberian *gorodovye kazaki* [patrol Cossacks]' of 1822, which abolished the institution of Serving Tatar heads. 'Chieftains from among the Russian officers were now approved' as heads of Siberian Tatar regiments [Tychinskikh, 2010, p. 125].

The Statute of 1822 gave the *gorodovye kazaki* [patrol Cossacks] mostly police functions and attached them directly to the governorate and district police. In addition, the *gorodovye kazaki* [patrol Cossacks] were also involved in other activities, such as delivering and selling food, collecting tributes from the local population, organising the land-use system, etc.

The law regulated the method of Cossack regiment formation, which enshrined the estate principle of recruitment. Till the age of 16, the children of Cossacks held the rank of their fathers, and upon reaching 16 they were included in the 'nominal list' and received an allowance; at the age of 17 they started their own service. The Statute enshrined the right to receive a salary for their service, lands in the amount of 15 *desyatinas* per capita, as well as an exemption from tributes and *zemsky* (territorial) fees [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 37, No.29131].

In the early 18th century, the Serving Tatars of Tobolsk, Tyumen, Tara and Tomsk (the

Tobolsk guberniya) were united in the Siberian Tatar patrol regiment, which consisted of 5 Tatar Cossack units. Three of them were located in the Tobolsk uyezd, one was in the Tyumen uyezd, and the last in Yalutorovsk uyezd [Tychinskikh, 2010, p. 97]. In 1849, the Tobolsk mounted regiment was formed on the basis of a pre-existing Siberian Tatar regiment as an irregular troop formation designated for escort-guard service [Arapov, 2002, p. 126]. In 1861, the Tobolsk mounted regiment, along with Tobolsk and Tomsk regiments, became the part of the Siberian line troop [Shcheglov, 1883, p. 441]. In 1868, the Tobolsk mounted regiment was disbanded, and Serving Tatars shifted to the peasant estate [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 43, p. 822].

For their service, Serving Tatars received a monetary and salt compensation, but not everyone was provided bread as compensation. The government considered their service as a form of *yasak* collected from the indigenous population [Goncharov, Ivonin, 2006, p. 26]. The fact that the monetary and salt allowances of the majority of Serving Tatars were lower than those of other serving categories confirms that Serving Tatars were close to *Yasak* Tatars in their legal status. The sizes of compensation were different not only among various categories of serving people, but also within a certain category of different cities [Tychinskikh, 2010, p. 73]. The salaries of Serving Tatars in Tobolsk were higher than those in other cities. In the middle of the 18th century, the salaries of the majority of Serving Tatars were equalised, and ever since that time they started to receive bread and food compensation during their service. The situation remained the same throughout the 19th century.⁸

⁸ In 1812, out of 236 Cossacks of the Tobolsk group, only 69 were receiving food and oats [Russian State Military Historical Archive, f. 489, inv. 1, file 3758, s. 4]. In the Tomsk group, food and oats were given to 16 Cossacks out of 28, and 10 people received food and feed through the plant authority where they served [Russian State Military Historical Archive, f. 489, inv. 1, file 3764, s. 8 reverse]. Cossacks of the Tyumen Tatar Cossack group did not receive food and oats since they owned inherited 'arable lands and haying lands' [Russian State Military Historical Archive, f. 489, inv. 1, file 3770, s. 4].

Settlement and population. In the Tobolsk Uyezd Yurt Serving Tatars lived together with Tatars in Tobolsk and neighbouring settlements along the Tobol and Irtysh, and in total 38 settlements were registered. A portion of the Serving Tatars were retired Serving Tatars, their children and zahrebetniks (brothers, nephews). In 1816, there were 721 Serving Tatars (including retirees and children) in the Tobolsk uyezd [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1264, inv. 1, file 4, s. 147 reverse–148], and in the middle of the 19th century there were 929 [Polozhenie, 1849, pp. 51–53].

In the Tara uyezd Serving Tatars and their zahrebetniks had their own settlements. They lived in the Kyrgapsky, Turalinsky, Aitkulov, Atacky and Shihov yurts, and in such villages as Itkuchakov, Atacky, Babin, Seitov and Batuganovo [Tomilov, 1981, p. 67, 140]. The part of the Serving Tatars in the population of the Tara uyezd in the 17th century was small in comparison with other uyezds. By the end of the 18th century, Serving Tatars ceased to exist as an ethnic estate group, and fully blended in with the Yasak Tatars [Tychinskikh, 2010, p. 166].

Tyumen Serving Tatars lived together with Tatars in yurts along the Tobol from the mouth of the Iset river to the mouth of the Iska. In the neighbouring Yalutorovsk uyezd they were registered in four different yurts [State Institution of Tyumen Region State Archive in Tobolsk, f. 329, inv. 13]. In the middle of the 19th century, the Serving Tatars of Yalutorovsk uyezd (5 settlements), together with part of the Tyumen Serving Tatars, were included in the 4th sotnya (172 people). The 5th sotnya consisted of Serving Tatars from 14 different settlements of the Tyumen uyezd. In the middle of the 19th century, the 5th sotnya numbered 253 Serving Tatars [Polozhenie, 1849, p. 53; Tables 7–8].

Thus, in the 19th century, the majority of the Serving Tatars lived in settlements, and only a small part of them lived in such cities as Tobolsk, Tyumen and Tara, although initially (in the 16–17th cc.) Serving Tatars were assigned to cities. According to the census of 1816, 134 Serving Tatars lived in Tobolsk: 1 officer, 1 lieutenant colonel, 71 Cossacks and 61 Cossack children. Only Serving Tatars of the Tomsk

A Cossack from the Regiments of gorodovye kazaki (settled territorial Cossacks, garrison troops) of Western Siberia: Tobolsk, Siberian Tatar and Tomsk. 1824–1825



Cossack unit in the early 19th century lived in the city in their entirety: 1 lieutenant colonel, 19 Cossacks, 20 Cossack children and 14 retired Tatars [Tomilov, 1981, p. 79, 197–198].

Functions In the early 19th Serving Tatars, along with their military service, participated in the collection of tributes, escorted convicts and state cargoes, worked in offices as couriers and counters, and handled other tasks as well.

By decree of the 'Statute on the Siberian gorodovye kazaki [patrol Cossacks]' of 1822, the serving class was primarily assigned with police functions—the capture of fugitives, enforcing order in cities, patrolling at night, transferring exiled criminals. In addition, just as in the previous period, they collected tributes from the local population, participated in construction, land planning and the protection of state property, and were used as postmen, treasury counters, etc. [Complete Code of

Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 37, Section 29131].

Land tenure. Serving Tatars could own and use lands on service performance conditions. The 'Statute on inorodtsy' and the 'Statute on Siberian gorodovye kazaki [patrol Cossacks]' of 1822 confirmed the assignment of lands to Serving Tatars in the amount of 15 desyatinas per 1 male. After the abolition in 1868 of the Tobolsk mounted regiment and unmounted half-battalion, Serving Tatars were transferred to the peasant class and made equal with them in terms of land tenure rights. However, the right to receive lands was given only to 28-year-old Cossacks capable of working. People under the age of 28 and elderly people did not receive any lands. The lands of deceased Cossacks fell into the community ownership of the Yasak Tatars [State Institution of Tyumen Region State

Archive in Tobolsk, f. 335, inv. 1, file 26, s. 9–10]. Since then the former Serving Tatars have had to pay tribute and carry out duties for the right to use these lands, just like the Yasak Tatars. In addition, the Serving Tatars were granted certain privileges in terms of tribute payments.

However, even after the abolition of their irregular units in 1868, Serving Tatars were still recorded separately from the other categories of the Siberian Tatar population due to the fact that they received privileges regarding the payment of tributes. Only during the course of administrative reforms in 1910 were they made equal with rural groups of Tatars.

Throughout the entire period of their existence, Serving Tatars retained their ethnic and religious identity. This fact predetermined the separate position of Serving Tatars among other groups of Siberian Cossacks.

§ 3. The Meshcheryaks

Leila Tagirova

The canton governance system. The introduction of the canton system in 1798 in the Ural region brought with it a whole new system of governance. Canton chiefs were placed at the heads of the administrative units from among Muslims. Among the functions of the canton chiefs was the execution of orders, instructions and decrees of the higher authorities, and for that reason they were given significant rights in the military, political and administrative, judicial, police and economic arenas. Their duties included drafting and presenting to the governor lists of officials, clergymen, the number of yards, the recruitment of new serving men to the line of service, the appointment of the appropriate number of campaign soldiers, etc. They also managed the execution of state and zemsky duties, the collection of taxes from the dwellers of their cantons, and the sale and lease of land. In addition, they controlled the economic activity of the canton dwellers 'so that they were engaged in housebuilding, land cultivation and all other works, while lazy people were forced to do so as well... by taking away

their lands for some time and sending them as workers to good owners... until they changed their behaviour and were able to work on their own'. Canton chiefs were also in charge of solving petty court cases [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 25, No. 18477].

The elections of canton chiefs were held by balloting in the presence of zemsky court representatives whose duties were to ensure that only smart officials 'of irreproachable behaviour' with knowledge of Russian and the 'Turks' were allowed to be elected. In addition, people who have been put on trial 'were not allowed to stand for election' [Asfandiyarov, 2005, p. 138]. It should also be noted that the first canton chiefs were appointed by the military governor without formal elections [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 25, No. 18477].

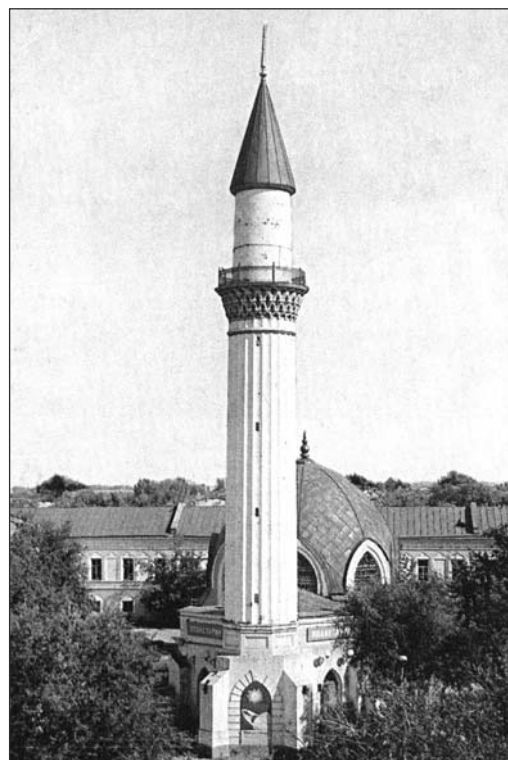
The chiefs of the Meshcheryak cantons belonged to military officials and received ranks typical for the Cossack army. The relation between the acting and formal ranks were about the same.

To proceed with their current affairs, the cantons had headquarters, correspondence books, and registers of collected monetary taxes. Canton chiefs were allowed to have 1 or 2 assistants depending on the area of their canton, and two officials occupying the position of clerk [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 25, No.18477]. Moreover, canton chiefs were supposed to have two messengers 'for service assignments' from among the retired young men who lacked sufficient service abilities. Cantons were divided into yurts, which consisted of groups of villages, and the yurts were headed by petty yurt officers who reported directly to the canton chief. They were appointed by the governing canton from among the candidates chosen by the officials from each yurt. The main duty of the yurt officer was managing the shipment of units that consisted of awaiting Cossacks from the subordinate villages to line service twice a year. In addition, they controlled the collection of taxes and the execution of state and monetary duties. Yurt officers mainly performed the same functions as the canton chiefs, only within the yurts entrusted to them.

In addition to the officials of the canton internal administration, there were also officials of the military and labour service. The duties of the latter included the escort and management of Cossacks during their secondment to service.

In 1798–1834, canton chiefs were released from non-monetary duties, but they still did not receive a salary [Russian State Military Historical Archive, f. 405, inv. 6, file 5874, s. 49 reverse], which was one more reason for their corrupt practices. And until the 1830s, canton chiefs were also directly subordinate to the Orenburg military governor and had very little control over their activities.

In 1834, the Bashkir Meshcheryak army was formed and the position of commander of the army and office was introduced. Then starting in 1837, all issues concerning the population of cantons were resolved by the commander with their subsequent approval by the governor general. Criminal investigation cases were removed from civil proceedings and this referred to the military court. In 1835, the positions of canton curators (who were elected



The Orenburg Caravanserai Mosque, a house of worship of the Bashkir-Mishar army. Photo from the early 20th century.

from Russian military staff officers) and solicitors (from civil officials) were introduced.

There were 6 curator districts that included anywhere from 20 to 60 thousand males.⁹ The duties of curators were: 1) control over the execution of the orders of governorate authorities; 2) control over the military service of the canton population; 3) medical examinations of people registered as retired or incapable of service, and medical examinations of 'minors'; 4) obligatory presence during the election of canton chiefs and yurt officers; 5) control over carrying out duties; 6) supervision of 'agricultural activities'; 7) run investigations and court cases for petty crimes and thefts within the as-

⁹The first ward included the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Bashkir cantons, the second ward—the 4th and 5th Bashkir and 1st Meshcheryak cantons, the third ward—the 6th and 9th Bashkir cantons, the fourth ward—the 7th Bashkir and 2nd and 5th Meshcheryak cantons, the fifth ward included the 8th and 10th Bashkir and 3rd and 4th Meshcheryak cantons, the sixth ward—the 11th and 12th Bashkir cantons [Istoriya Bashkortostana, 1996, p. 351].

signed curator districts (since 1841, less than 15 silver roubles [Russian State Military Historical Archive, f. 405, inv. 6, file 9049, s. 279], since 1854–30 silver roubles [Russian State Military Historical Archive, f. 405, inv. 6, file 12941, s. 8]).

The solicitor's scope of activity included the observation of court cases related to land ownership, presence during the land survey and 'renting' of lands, and reporting to the authorities about the harassment of Bashkirs and Meshcheryaks by other departments [Asfandiyarov, 2005, pp. 40–41]. Thus, curators and solicitors were an additional link in the system of the army's population control.

From 1840, the canton chiefs began to receive a salary in the amount of 185 silver roubles and 90 kopecks annually, and from 1845 the assistants of canton chiefs received 50 roubles, and yurt officers earned 15 silver roubles annually [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1284, inv. 232, file 206, s. 9].

The end of the period of continuous military campaigns (the beginning of the 19th century) and the further development of small arms and artillery weapons, as well as the improvement of the army governance system, made archaic irregular troops equipped mainly with melee weapons entirely ineffective. After the suppression of the rebellion led by Kenesary Kasimov (1837–1847), the Russian influence in the Kazakh steppe became even stronger. The Orenburg frontier line, which was actually the state border in the southeast of the country, had become irrelevant by the middle of the 19th century. As a result, there was no need for the military units of Bashkirs and Meshcheryaks.

The authorities gradually shifted to the transfer of the population to the peasant class, but were still hesitant that the loss of military status might spark displeasure among the population. In this regard, by the decree dated 21 January 1837 it was 'ordered to transfer to the taxable class those Bashkirs and Meshcheryaks who found the conditions and organisation of their service oppressive and burdensome' [Russian State Military Historical Archive, f. 405, inv. 6, file 9049, s. 277 reverse]. Orenburg governor general V. Perovsky during his reign

levied duties on 6,849 people, his successor V. Obruchev (1842–1851) in 1843 levied duties on 30,750 people from the 10th and the 4th Meshcheryak cantons, and in 1844, that number totalled 38,807 people [Russian State Military Historical Archive, f. 405, inv. 6, file 5874, s. 51 reverse; Asfandiyarov, 2005, p. 182]. By the end of the 1840s, cantons had been divided into 'serving and non-serving'. The latter were released from military service, but were still under military control and had to pay a monetary duty in the amount of 3 silver roubles from each serving man and 1 silver rouble from each retired Cossack and 'minor' [Russian State Military Historical Archive, f. 405, inv. 6, file 5874, s. 50 reverse].

The next step of transferring Bashkirs and Meshcheryaks to the peasant class was made in 1855, when the teptyars and bobylys (landless peasants) from Orenburg, Perm and Vyatka guberniyas were attached to the army. The army itself was called Bashkir and included 28 cantons. Nine of them were declared serving (the 1st–6th and 26–28th cantons), and the rest of them non-serving.

The situation remained like this until 14 May 1863, when the 'Regulation on the Bashkirs' was approved, which did not abolish the canton system completely, but rather provided a two-year period to prepare the final merging of Bashkirs, Meshcheryaks and Teptyars with the peasant population. Eleven new cantons, geographically coinciding with uyezds, were formed instead of the 28 previous ones. The heads of the cantons were Russian officers, but not representatives of the national military officials.

The canton governance system was completely abolished by the decree dated 2 July 1865. From the end of 1865 to the beginning of 1866, the Bashkirs, Meshcheryaks and Teptyars gradually fell under the jurisdiction of the governorate and uyezd offices related to peasant affairs and conciliators, and were forced to pay monetary duties.

Land tenure. In the 18–30s of the 19th century the bulk of Meshcheryaks remained on patrimonial Bashkir lands on the basis of contract records about settlement on the basis of monetary tribute payments to the landown-

ers. A small number of Meshcheryaks owned lands partly acquired as owners. Some settlements also arose on Bashkir lands previously confiscated by the treasury (including lands confiscated for participation in rebellions) and on lands granted by the tsars. Starting in 1832 after the issuance of the land decree, the Meshcheryaks, as members of the military class, were granted 30 desyatinas of land per one male according to the 7th census of 1816. Those who could not present contract records on settlement or bills of sale presented by the Bashkirs were only granted 15 desyatinas per one male [Asfandiyarov, 2006, pp. 205–206].

All the Meshcheryaks of the Bashkir Meshcheryak army were settled people who engaged in arable farming and cultivated garden crops. Bread was sold at rural markets or in the cities [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1284, inv. 232, file 52, s. 6].

Settlement and population. Meshcheryak cantons were formed in the places where Meshcheryaks were densely concentrated and had no special names (they were different in their sequence numbers). Population dynamics were determined by natural growth. In 1829, 872 officers, 29,709 Cossacks and 578 clergy members were registered in Meshcheryak cantons, meaning 31,159 males in total [Zhurnal Ministerstva Vnutrennikh del, 1831, pp. 124–125]. In 1842, there were 72,894 Meshcheryaks (36,768 male and 36,126 female) [Russian State Military Historical Archive, f. 405, inv. 6, file 5874, s. 48], in 1848, their number totalled 85,153 people [Russian State Military Historical Archive, f. 846, inv. 16, file 18900, s. 43], and in 1856, it reached 110,595 people [Keppen, 1857, pp. 270–273].

The 1st Meshcheryak canton was composed of yurts in the Troitsk and Chelyabinsk uyezds of the Orenburg guberniya, in the neighbourhood of the 4th Bashkir canton, and on the border of the Shadrinsk uyezd of the Perm guberniya and Yekaterinburg uyezd. 'The capital' of the canton was Adzitarovo village [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 25, No. 18477]. In 1847, the 1st Meshcheryak canton was abolished, and the first four yurts were assigned to the 5th canton (starting in 1847 it was called the 6th Bashkir canton), the



A Company Officer and a Cossack of the Bashkir Meshcheryak army. 1845–1855

5th yurt was assigned to the 4th tramontane Bashkir canton (starting in 1847 it was called the 4th Bashkir canton), and the 6th yurt was assigned to the 4th Western Bashkir canton (starting in 1847 it was called the 5th Bashkir canton) [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 22, No. 21741].

The second (starting in 1847 it became the first) Meshcheryak canton was located in the Strlitamak uyezd (canton centre in Buzovyazy village), and the third canton (the second starting in 1847) in the Birsk, Belebey and Ufa uyezds [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 25, No. 18477]. Yurts of the 4th Meshcheryak canton (the 3rd starting in 1847) were located in the Birsk and Menzelinsk uyezds (canton centre in Bogdanovo village). The 5th (the 4th starting in 1847) canton included Meshcheryaks of the Belebey Uyezd (canton centre in Turkeevo village).

In 1855, after the formation of the Bashkir army and 28 new cantons, the administrative units were no longer divided into Bashkir and Meshcheryak. It is known that the majority of the Meshcheryak population (50% or more of the canton population) lived in the 24th can-

ton located in the Ufa uyezd (22,341 people of both sexes) and in the 11th canton located in the Yekaterinburg and Shadrinsk uyezds (12,245 people of both sexes) [Keppen, 1857, pp. 270–273].

Duties. The entire male population of cantons from the age of 17 to 45 were required to serve in the military. Initially this was not limited to any certain period of time, and only in 1840, when a permanent staff for the Bashkir Meshcheryak army's management had been approved, was military service limited to: 25 years for officials and 30 years for Cossacks, 25 years of which was to be field service, and 5 years internal duty [Russian State Military Historical Archive, f. 405, inv. 6, file 9969, s. 21 reverse].

Their main duty was ultimately military service on the Orenburg border line. Summer service lasted 6 months (from 15 May to 15 November), after which the squads returned home and were replaced by others. The amount of people on winter service was three times less due to the rarity of encounters with the Kazakhs in winter.

Compulsory duties were produced according to 'subsequent' lists, one drafted for each canton. The number of uniforms for border guard duty as well as for other works, was determined on an as-needed basis and at the discretion of the Governor General [Russian State Military Historical Archive, f. 846, inv. 16, file 18900, s. 118]. The Bashkirs and Meshcheryaks served at their own expense, that is with their own weapons and horses [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–2, inv. 1, file 6755, s. 26]. According to the rules, each canton had two or three distance chiefs assigned to accompany and manage the Cossacks during their period of service.

As representatives of the military Cossack estate, the Meshcheryaks were active participants in wars. There were two Meshcheryak mounted regiments formed to fight in the Patriotic War of 1812 [Asfandiyarov, 2006, p. 255]. In addition, up until the 1820s the Meshcheryaks had been contributing to border control in Bessarabia, and also sending people for police and convoy service to Moscow, Ka-

zan, Nizhny Novgorod and Perm. The government also used detachments of Meshcheryaks for punitive operations in Orenburg guberniya and Kazakhstan, and up until the 1840s they were involved in milestone service along the Siberian Route.

Starting in the 1830s, the majority of Bashkirs and Meshcheryaks was enlisted in working and transport squads that were responsible for the construction of military facilities, cargo transportation, road construction, etc. While in the late 1830–early 1840s 30% of people on military duty were enlisted in working and transport squads, in the early 1850s this number reached 86% [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–2, inv. 1, file 6755, s. 26].

Along with military service, the population of cantons were responsible for a list of other duties, including mail transportation on the Orenburg borderline. In 1834, this duty was replaced by a fee of 23 silver kopecks from each male citizen. Starting in 1822, the Bashkirs and Meshcheryaks paid a special tax of 25 kopecks [Istoriya Bashkortostana, 1996, p. 361] (in 1842, 30 kopecks) from every person on the census list (except for public officials and clergy) to the special monetary fund to supply provisions during leaner years [Russian State Military Historical Archive, f. 405, inv. 6, file 5874, s. 49 reverse]. In 1834, the fee collected from the Bashkirs and Meshcheryaks of the agricultural cantons was replaced by a non-monetary levy of 0.5 pood of rye and wheat and 10 pounds of oat or barley per person. The population of cantons were also responsible for other non-monetary levies, such as mail delivery, road construction and repair, and a housing duty. Furthermore, they paid state and local governorate zemsky levies, money for maintaining clerks and scribes, and also for the stationery expenses of the canton administration [Istoriya Bashkortostana, 1996, pp. 358–362].

The introduction of a canton administration system and the Mishars obtaining a special status in the 19th century contributed to the isolation and preservation of a specific self-consciousness, which made it impossible for them to integrate into the social estate groups of the

Tatar population. The fact that the Mishars were a part of the military Cossack estate allowed them, as well as the Bashkirs, to study in secular and military educational institutions. Thanks to their military service, they could climb the career ladder while receiving brevet

and acting ranks, as well as personal and hereditary nobility, as in the following example:; it happened to the dynasties of the Valitovs in the 1860s, the Ishbulatovs in the 1860s, the Rezyapovs in the 1860s, the Tupeeys in the 1860s, the Yanyshevs in the 1860s etc.

§ 4. The Bashkirs

Ildus Zagidullin

In the 18th century the Bashkirs were serving irregular military duty and were still under the supervision of the civil administration. One of the main reasons for the fundamental change in their administrative office was the establishment of Bashkir cantons [Nigmatullin, 1959, pp. 169–171], and in 1803 their number totalled 12. All administrative military units were formed on a territorial basis, with cantons were divided into yurts (squads), each of them including from 700 to 1,000 male citizens [Istoriya Bashkortostana, 1996, p. 343–344]. In 1855, after the inclusion of the Teptyars and the bobylys (landless peasants) according to the new administrative division, the Bashkir army consisted of 9 protectorships, 28 cantons and 394 yurts [Istoriya Bashkortostana, 2004, p. 322]¹⁰. In 1862, it included 1,008,875 people,

including 549,452 'Bashkirs', 138,819 Meshcheryaks, 8,631 Tatars, 241,950 Teptyars, 51,340 'Cheremis' (Mari, Chuvash, Mordva), and 18,684 'Votyaks'. When it came to religious affiliation, the Bashkir army consisted of three groups: 936,568 Muslims, 70,221 pagans, and 2,087 Christians [Alishev, 2005, p. 275].

The irregular army had the following ranks introduced that differentiated it from Cossack organisations: a 'field master sergeant', who was in charge of troop units while heading towards the final destination of service, and also a 'remote commander', who had several Bashkir squads at their disposal. In service, Bashkirs were subordinate to Cossack officers [Zapiski, 1907, p. 29]. Men from the age of 20 to 50 were sent to the fighting troops based on their number of courts (on average 1 person for every 4–5 households) and servicemen, the support of whom was carried out at the expense of local residents. From 1798–1848, the Bashkirs and Meshcheryaks provided the Orenburg border line with more than 65% of its servicemen annually; they were the foundation of the irregular troops. In 1822, they totalled roughly 11 thousand people (70%). The detachments sent to catch fugitives were maintained by means of the state land tax. They served on this duty for three years, after which they were replaced by others [Asfandiyarov, 2005, p. 51–52, 57].

¹⁰ After the 1803 establishment of another Bashkir canton within the Shadrinsk Uyezd of the Perm guberniya, previously a part of the 2nd Bashkir canton, they were numbered as follows: The 1st canton—in the Osa and Perm Uyezds, 2nd canton—in the Yekaterinburg and Krasnoufimsk Uyezds, 3rd—in the Shadrinsk Uyezd, 4—in the Troitsk Uyezd, 5—in the Chelyabinsk Uyezd, 6—in the Verkhneuralsk Uyezd, 7—in the Sterlitamak Uyezd, 8—in the Ufa Uyezd, 9—in the Orenburg Uyezd, 10—in the Birk Uyezd, 11—in the Menzelinsk Uyezd, 12—in the Belebey, Bugulma and Buguruslan Uyezds. The Meshcheryak cantons were distributed among the following uyezds: The 1st canton—in the Troitsk and Chelyabinsk Uyezds, 2nd—in the Birk and Menzelinsk Uyezds, 3rd—in the Sterlitamak Uyezd, 4—in the Ufa Uyezd, 5—in the Bugulma Uyezd. Depending on the place of residence of canton leaders, the centers of the cantons varied. In 1847, the 1st Meshcheryak canton was discontinued. The first four yurts included in it were allocated to the 5th Bashkir canton, the 5th yurt—to the 4th Zagorny canton, the 6—to the 4th Western canton. (In 1832, the 4th Bashkir canton was divided into the 4th Zagorny and 4th

Western cantons that in 1847 became known as the 4th and 5th cantons, leading to a change in the numbering of Bashkir cantons: the former 5th one became the 6th, the 6th turned into the 7th, the 7th into the 8th, etc. The 2nd Meshcheryak canton became the 1st one, the 3rd one turned into the 2nd, 4—into 3rd, 5—into 4th) [Asfandiyarov, 2005, pp. 24, 48].

The government policy for the reinforcement of supervision over Bashkirs and Meshcheryaks eventually led to all the issues being transferred to the jurisdiction of the military governor. There was also a Military Office and the position of troop commander, who was in charge of the canton chief officers [Tagirova, 2011, p. 90]. (During this period the management of irregular troops was further centralised, and in 1835–1840 the Orenburg border line was reorganised, which led to an increased quantity of Cossack troops [Godovova, 2009, p. 157].) In 1853, the commander of the Bashkir Meshcheryak troops gained the right of division commander, which corresponded to the rank of appointed hetman in the Orenburg Cossack troop. The appointed hetman was in charge of troop management with counselling from the Military Office [Asfandiyarov, 2005, p. 36].

In the 1820s, the Bashkir troop capital was formed using the funds raised by various levies from the population and other income. It was used for providing loans during lean years, the education of Bashkirs in Russian educational institutions, and opening schools and hospitals, their maintenance, etc. After the canton administration had been abolished, the capital of the Bashkir troop (roughly 3 million roubles), became the property of the state [Asfandiyarov, 2005, pp. 136–137].

The latter half of the 19th century clearly reflected the aspirations of the Imperial authorities to turn the Bashkir military estate into peasants. In 1832–1834, with the help of recruited Muslims, the government built the Verkhneuralsk-Sterlitamak route, in 1835–1838 the Orsk-Troitsk new border line (9 redoubts and 12 pickets), actively involved the irregular troop in the transport squad for cargo transportation, and also utilised it to harvest timber and raft along the Sakmar and Ural rivers, repair and develop the buildings in Orenburg, Ufa and Uralsk, and work in the military administration in the potash, horse and bee industries, gathering ash for potash production in production units, etc. At the end of 1840, a significant portion of Bashkirs leading a settled life and Meshcheryaks were levied with a monetary tax instead of military service

(200,190 people). A total of 101,126 people from the census lists remained in the position they were. By the 1850s, line service by Bashkirs was no longer needed by the government. Instead, it was replaced with service duty in working squads that carried out various works for the state (labour duty), which in fact turned out to be more burdensome than line service [Asfandiyarov, 1968, pp. 161]. By 1860, the Bashkir troop had completely lost its significance as a military force: up to 90% of people drafted for service were deployed to work for the state [Asfandiyarov, 2005, pp. 98].

The people in different Bashkir cantons had significantly different lifestyles and economic structures. According to information from 1846, members of the Bashkir estate in the first canton (the Osinsky and Permsky Uyezd of the Perm guberniya), and the 10th (Birsky Uyezd) and the 11th canton (Menzelinsky and Sarapulsky Uyezd) led an exclusively settled lifestyle. Agriculture was also dominant in the 4th western canton (Troitsky Uyezd, 90.1%), and in the 8th (Ufimsky Uyezd, 83.3%) and 12th cantons (Belebey, Buguruslan and Bugulma Uyezd, 77.7%). In total, more than a half of all households in the Bashkir cantons led a settled lifestyle (52.5%), 47.4% lived a semi-nomadic existence, and the rest adhered to a nomadic lifestyle. According to information from the first quarter of the 19th century, the Belebey (2.78 quarters of sowed grain per person), Menzalinsky (1.75) and Ufimsky (1.71) Uyezds were the most developed agricultural regions. All in all, the Bashkir cantons were divided into three economic areas: agricultural (the 1st, 10th and 11th cantons), arable-livestock (the 2nd, 4th western, 8th and 12th) and livestock-arable (the 3rd, 4th tramontane, 5th, 6th, 7th and 9th). Most notably, the military administration throughout different periods and with varying levels of intensity engaged in endeavours to fight against the nomadic lifestyle of the Bashkirs. Due to the seizure of patrimonial lands in the Bashkir cantons, the livestock population was on the decline: from 1827 to 1855, the number of horses in farms had decreased on average from 1.37 to 0.98, and cows from 0.72 to 1.14 heads, but at the same time the number of sheep and goats had

increased from 0.99 to 1.44 [Asfandiyarov, 2005, pp. 112–115].

The nature of farm management can be explained by the fact that the term 'Bashkir' had two meanings, as a social estate and as an ethnicity. Tatar migrants from the Middle Voga River region to the Cisurals were listed as Bashkirs back in the district century. This occurred as follows. In the beginning, they paid tribute for their lands left behind in the Kazan Governorate, because as they had been put under the supervision of the Ufa administration, they were imposed with the same taxes as *yasak* Bashkirs. Not only did this stimulate the settlement of new-comers on the new lands, but the *yasak* also contributed to the consolidation of their position in the future. According to the historical sources of the latter half of the district century, a *yasak* *bobyl* [landless peasant], after he had 'established himself on the new land and gotten his farm in order', could be transferred to the Bashkir social estate by submitting a petition, paying a *yasak* on equal terms with the Bashkirs, or receiving a certificate from the local governor to reside on the given territory, and so on. The one and only document confirming ownership rights were *yasak* books. From the Bashkirs' point of view, the *yasak* was a symbol of the patrimonial right to land. Another way of penetrating into the ethnic Bashkir community was through the institute of *priпуск* [permits to settle in patrimonial lands] to patrimonial lands on the basis of contracts [Ramazanova, 1984, p. 41–50]. As a result, the taxable peasant Tatars of the Western and Northern parts of the Ufimsky Uyezd were now being referred to as 'Bashkirs' [Alishev, 2002, p. 25].

In the early 18th century, contemporaries distinguished three types of permits: the purchase of land, ownership on equal terms with Bashkir great landowners, and tenant occupancy. Often tenancy was set for an unlimited period of time [Ramazanova, 1984, p. 50]. As a result, the Bashkirs also included Serving Tatars and Serving Tarkhans from the Tatars, as well as Orenburg Cossack Tatars¹¹ [Denisov,

2006a, p. 79, 80, 113; Gabdullin, 2010, p. 41–42; Amirkhanov, 2010, p. 67–68]. To phrase this another way, 'the meaning of the notion of Bashkirs as an estate is proven by the fact that in the 19th century the members of other socio-ethnic groups joined the Bashkirs, sometimes under the name of "Bashkirs from Votyakin the" or "New-Bashkirs"' [Kappeler, 2012, p. 24]. The Bashkir estate included not only Tatars, but local groups of other non-Russian nations as well¹². And, vice versa, if a Bashkir family did not have the means to complete the tasks of the authorities, they could be transferred to the Teptyar estate. In the first half of the 19th century such families were not allowed back to the 'Bashkirs' [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–2, inv. 1, file 5017, s. 1–3 reverse].

One aspect that played an important role in land regulation was the law 'On the rights of Bashkirs for their lands in Orenburg Krai', dated 10 April 1832, which abolished the decree of 11 October 1818 prohibiting the sale of patrimonial lands. Compared to the decree of 11 February 1736, the requirements for the sale of patrimonial lands trading were now simplified by requiring only the agreement of 2/3 of large landowners, as opposed to all members of the community. They were also allowed to rent the lands for a period of no longer than 12 years. Another important condition was that the government had to make sure that the Bashkirs had enough lands to engage in livestock and agricultural farming. The lands could be sold only if each of the Bashkir *volost* had a

decree of the military authorities, a significant portion of residents in the Seitova Sloboda and its satellite settlements, villages of Verkhniye and Nizhniye Chebenki, Zyak-Ishmetovo, Aydaralino, Tyater-Araslanovo, Ashirganovo, Balykly, Lower Ibraevo, Sterlibashevo, the Nogai people of the Vozdvishensaya Fortress, Zhel'tiy and Nikitinsky Redoubts, Kundrovskaya Sloboda, the serving-class Tatars of the villages of Duvekayevo, Bolshaya Oka, Asekeevo, Sultngulovo, Kulsharipovo, etc. were included into the category of the Bashkirs [Denisov, 2006a, pp. 79–80].

¹² For example, in 1879, the Bashkirs of the villages of Novo- and Staro-Yanmyrzino of the Birsk Uyezd, numbering 19 and 14 families respectively, insisted that their ancestors descended from the pagan Maris [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–295, inv. 2, file 143, s. 318].

¹¹ Based on a study of the archival sources, D. Denisov established that in 1798–1865, following the

land fund of 40–60 desyatinas per person in the census list. Land relations among large landowners and *pripushhenniks* (settlers) were regulated by law as well. The *Meshcheryaks*, *Teptyars* and *bobylys* [landless peasants] residing in Bashkir patrimonies and serving Cossack duty were to receive 30 desyatinas per head, whereas Tatars, state-owned, appanage and other groups of settlers were given 15 desyatinas each (according to the 7th census) [Akmanov, 2007, pp. 288–289].

In the Bugulma, Buguruslan, Buzuluk, Menzelinsky and Troitsky Uyezds the General land survey was carried out quite fast, and now the state had a significant amount of land at their disposal. During the survey some settlements of the *pripushhenniks* (settlers) confirmed their right to separate dachas,—that is, the rented Bashkir lands. Just as before, the majority still continued to rent them as they did before. In order to put the law of 10 April 1832 into action, in 1848, the government established a Bashkir Land Survey Committee that in the 1850s, based on the results of the General Land Survey, determined the necessity of providing landless settlers with land in 157 (11.6 million desyatinas in total) out of 203 Bashkir dachas located in the Orenburg, and partially in the Perm, Vyatka and Saratov guberniyas. After the *Teptyars* and *bobylys* (landless peasants) had joined the Bashkir troop, in 1858, the Orenburg administration and the Bashkir land survey committee started providing these land-poor groups of the population (4081 male persons) with lands of 30 desyatinas per person listed in the census, by resettling them in the Bashkir dachas that were left as a result of land distributions among large landowners and settlers on military duty [Akmanov, 2007, pp. 296, 312, 315, 319].

The results of the work completed by the local authorities on dividing up land for the landless in 1858–1860 were quite disappointing. A total of 1.7 million desyatinas of Bashkir dachas were granted to the landless, and 1.3 thousand male souls were resettled from land-poor Bashkir dachas to areas with much more land [Akmanov, 2007, pp. 317].

Although according to the information from the General Land Survey of 1797–1804 the Bashkir large landowners had on average 40 desyatinas per person (according to the 7th census), this number gradually dropped later due to population growth and some of the owners losing their lands for various reasons. As a result, the increasingly expanding group of Bashkir settlers (135 thousand by 1857) could only count on 15 desyatinas per male soul [Asfandiyarov, 2005, pp. 114–119].

Thus, the Bashkirs and *Meshcheryaks*, although assigned to the canton government system and considered representatives of the military service class, were in fact part of a unique estate. A system of military organisation unique to the Cossack troops resulting from the modernisation the management quality and its modification to meet general military standards, was only introduced in 1834 with the establishment of the Bashkir *Meshcheryak* troop. Almost right after its establishment the government started to focus on putting an end to the military functions of Bashkirs and *Meshcheryaks* by replacing them with civil duties. The sphere of landownership (large landowners and settlers) also had dramatic differences with the same area in the Cossack military serving class. For them, the period of the canton system was when they had the most independence, as during this period Bashkirs and *Meshcheryaks* were administered by officials of the same faith.

CHAPTER 4

Teptyars and bobyls

Ilshat Fayzrakhmanov

The question of Teptyars and their origin remains one of the most controversial issues in historical studies. There is no doubt that the history of the Teptyars is closely connected to the history of the Bashkirs and economic development of the Cisurals. The Teptyars, settled mainly in the Ufa and partly in the Orenburg, Samara, Perm and Vyatka guberniyas, were influenced by the local ethnographic environment.

Historiography does not offer us a conclusive opinion concerning the time when this population group originated, but most researchers of the 18th century support the version according to which the Teptyars came into existence in the latter half of the district century [Georgi, part 2; Rychkov, 1770]. But in the 20th century, especially the second half, there emerged the opinion that the Teptyars did not actually appear until the late district to the beginning of the 18th century [Iskhakov, 1979; Pakhmatullin, 1988].

In Russia, bobyl referred to a person who had no household or, if they had a household, did not have to pay taxes for it or paid less. When it comes to land tenure, Teptyars and bobyls were made up of Bashkir pripusheniks (settlers); Bashkir large landowners allowed them to temporarily settle in their lands as tenants, meaning they had to pay the rent or perform some sort of service for the Bashkirs. It is known that the Teptyars documented their tenancy, whereas the bobyls lived there without any entitling documents (that is, without prior agreement). There were Tatars among the bobyls as well, however this group primarily consisted of members of the Finno-Ugric peoples. Initially, bobyls paid a yasak that did not have a fixed rate. In 1747, the bobyl and Teptyar yasaks were replaced with a poll tax at the rate of 80 kopeks, after which the of-

ficial documents started mentioning the term 'Teptyars and bobyls'.

The main theories of the 'Teptyar' socionym origin boil down to two versions. G. Akhmarov had associated this name with the Arabic word 'dāftār' ('book, notebook'), assuming that Teptyars were settlers, and Bashkirs wrote down the list of their settlers in special notebooks (dāftār, tāptār) or entered into agreements of tenure with them (the same 'defters' used in the meaning of 'notes') [Akhmarov, 1907a, p. 340–364]. According to the version suggested by A. Asfandiyarov, 'tiptār' is translated from Bashkir as a person rejected by their community and segregated into a separate estate of Teptyars [Asfandiyarov, 1987, p. 59–83].

The combination of poll taxes paid by Teptyars included a 'special' levy, recruit fees, taxes for military expenses, zemsky taxes (to the state), and governorate and social levies. N. Kazantsev counted the total number of taxes in the 1850s to come out to 2 roubles 55 kopeks (poll tax, 95 kopeks; state levies, 50 kopeks; governorate levies, 15.5 kopeks; national supplies, 8 kopeks; pension, 1 kopek; for Teptyar schools, 0.25 kopeks) [Kazantsev, 1887, p. 63]. According to B. Davletbayev, in the 1860s the Teptyars paid a total of 4.32 roubles [Davletbayev, 1984, p. 349].

In the middle of the 19th century the Teptyars paid state duties on 13 accounts: they provided recruits and horses for station posts and for 'conveying officials', took care of housing for the district superintendent of police and rangers, delivered mail, were responsible for the maintenance of post roads, bridges and river ferries, provided guards to escort prisoners and deliver mail, provided 'officials, arrestees and passing troops' with accommodations (especially if there were no post roads or tracks), provided guides, sent



Soldiers of the Teptyar Regiments.
1798–1801



A Soldier of the Teptyar Cossack Regiments.
1819–1825

people to serve as peasant police, etc. [Cheremshansky, 1859, p. 280].

Up until the 18th century the Teptyars did not have private ownership over the lands they resided in; instead, they rented them from the Bashkir communities. In the 18th century the procedure of land tenure for Teptyars was not regulated, which resulted in numerous land disputes. The Teptyars also occupied state-owned, private (rented) and their own lands [Yakupov, 2001, p. 109]. In 1832, the government issued a decree confirming the patrimonial rights of Bashkirs to their land, but also obligating them to cede some of those lands to Teptyars [Usmanov, 1981, p. 168]. With the passing of that decree, the Teptyars were freed from their dependence on the Bashkir large landowners.

From the 1730–1860s, squads headed by elders were the territorial units of the Teptyar's social organisation. The foremen supervised sotniks, desyatniks (peasant policemen) and the heads of villages. These individuals were responsible for scheduled tax collection, the execution of duties and levies, the execution of laws and orders, and the registration of the population [Kazantsev, 1887, p. 63]. They were also in charge of other material, social

and economic issues. Along with mullahs, the elders took part in trials for all disputed cases between the Teptyars and their families (arbitration). The role of elders and peasant policemen was particularly important during the period of Teptyar 'Cossack' regiments (1790–1835).

In 1790 Russia was at war with Turkey and Sweden, and in order to accelerate army reinforcements with irregular troops, in 1790, the government made a decision to form a five-hundred person Cossack regiment of Teptyars and bobylys. There were two Teptyar regiments formed in 1798 [Rakhimov, 2008, p. 26, 28, 34], and as a result the Teptyars became a semi-military estate. Although the documents often referred to the Teptyar regiments as 'Cossack', the service of Teptyars was not irregular in the true sense of the word, and they provided recruits to their regiment to serve for 15 years [Yakupov, 2001, p. 106]. The Teptyar population did not provide gear, supply food and so on, but they did pay the treasury 86 kopeks a year per person for regiment maintenance [Davletbaeva, 1984, p. 348].

The question of the reorganisation of Teptyar regiments arose at the beginning of 19th century, but an intensification of the for-

eign political situation and the Patriotic War of 1812 put the final decision on hold.

In 1835, the Teptyar military troops were involved in suppressing the rebellion of state peasants and restoring order, but in the course of action demonstrated 'unreliability', which was the official reason for their disbandment. Instead of in the disbanded five hundred people regiments, Teptyars continued to serve military duty in the Orenburg Cossack regiment of one thousand people: they provided recruits (1 person per 500) and paid special taxes for maintaining the Orenburg (later Ufa) Cossack regiment [Yakupov, 2001, p. 108].

The issues concerning the number of Teptyars and bobylys in the 18–19th centuries have been quite thoroughly studied by historians and ethnographers. From 1795 to 1815 their number had almost doubled (from 104,386 to 199,800 males, about 48%, or on average about 4.57% annually), which happened due to the natural population increase and the inclusion of *yasak* 'foreigners' or 'new settlers' in the Teptyar estate [Yakupov, 2001, p. 121–122]. From 1815–1834, the Teptyar population totalled 16,617 male souls, which was an increase of approximately 8%, or on average around 0.44% annually. From 1834–1858 the number of Teptyars once again increased significantly by 87,740 male souls, approximately 40.5%, or on average about 1.7% annually. The flow of 'new settlers' into the Teptyar estate was reinforced after the introduction of the 1832 'Provision' on granting lands from the Bashkir patrimonial lands to the Teptyars and bobylys (landless peasants) [Yakupov, 2001, p. 122]. Thus, while by the middle of the 18th century their number came out to 60 thousand male souls, by the middle of the 19th century they totalled 262 thousand [Bikbulatov, 1970, p. 2].

To fully understand the ethnocultural and ethnolinguistic processes running through the Teptyar social group, it is crucial to examine its ethnic structure. Up until the 1740s, the majority of Teptyars were represented by Finno-Ugric peoples. During the period between the second (1748) and third (1763) censuses, the population of Tatars was gradually growing due to the arrival of new settlers. According to the calculations made by U. Rakhmatullin, at the end of

the 18th century 40% of Teptyars were Tatars, 38% were Mari, 18% were Chuvash, and about 4% was composed of Bashkirs, Udmurts and Mordva [Rakhmatullin, 1975, p. 15]. D. Iskhakov believes that the main ethnic component of Teptyars (as an ethnic group) was Tatars mixed with Bashkir, Chuvash and, to some extent, Bersermyan and Mari. The Finnish-speaking part of the settlers was composed of Mari, Udmurts and, to a smaller extent, Mordva [Iskhakov, 1993, p. 90–91]. B. Davletbayev, as well as D. Iskhakov, points to the large number of Teptyars as such, but fails to mention their ethnicity.

According to G. Akhmarov, 'the entire body of Muslim Teptyars speaks a version of Tatar that is close to the dialect of the Kazan Tatars. Language, appearance and tradition-wise, they represent the Tatar element and are no different from Kazan Tatars. The exterior lifestyle of the Teptyars (buildings, clothes, homeware, food, etc.) is also Tatar in nature' [Akhmarov, 1907a, p. 17–18].

The Teptyars and bobylys fell in between taxable and serving estates, meaning they possessed characteristics of both categories. As a tax-paying population, they had limited land estates, paid a poll tax, served non-monetary duties for the state, etc. As a military serving population, the Teptyars and bobylys had to maintain at their expense and serve in two regiments of five hundred people. In 1855, the Bashkir troop was joined by the Teptyars and bobylys of the Orenburg, Perm and Vyatka guberniyas. Teptyars and bobylys were exempt from military service, and instead were levied a tribute of 60 kopeks from each male. Nine cantons out of 28 were declared serving, and the rest of them were non-serving. This means that 3/4 of the Bashkir troop population did not have any military obligations, while the remaining portion was under the military administration [Tagirova, 2011, p. 93]. Their social position thus changed as a result of the government policy aimed at the unification of various categories of the rural population with the status of state peasants. As a result, the Teptyars converted into 'rural dwellers' as part of the 1865 Reform for the abolition of the canton government system and the Bashkir troop [Shaykhislamov, 2006, p. 38].

CHAPTER 5

Peasantry

§ 1. State peasants

Ildus Zagidullin, Ramil Khayrutdinov, Ilshat Fayzrakhmanov

The social and legal status of state villagers in the first third of the 19th century The legal registration of state peasants in Russia was started off by the reforms of Peter the Great's administration. The decrees of 1718–1723 for the reinforcement of the tax system introduced a poll tax that significantly increased the number of taxpayers. In addition to the poll tax, a rent tax was also imposed on state peasants who did not belong to any landowners, as well as palace, monastery and manor serfs. The tribute gathered for this was practically equal to the feudal rent paid by serfs [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 5, No. 3245; Vol. 6, Nos. 3481, 3747, 3816; Vol. 7, No. 4145].

The 'Plakat' dated 26 June 1724 that united all previous decrees listed all the population groups in detail that were included in the group of state peasants and specified the tax rate of 74 kopeks per person and the rent rate 'instead of the income paid by the palace serfs to the Palace, the synod serfs to the Synod, and the manor serfs to landowners' of 40 kopeks per person [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 7, Nos. 4533, 4536]. The introduction of Tatars and yasak peasants of the Middle Volga region, along with Siberian peasants, smallholders, the chernososhny (free) peasants and the polovniki (landless and free) of the Northern Pomorye, to the group of state peasants was part of the Russian policy aimed at reinforcing feudal relations in the country, and legally consolidated the bondage of state peasants to the supreme landowner, the State.

The term 'state peasants' was changing its meaning from census to census and included various categories of the rural taxable population. 'The estate of state peasants in its broad

sense was gradually forming from a base of diverse components from the chernososhny (landless and free), yasak, bonded (to private and state factories, to the admiralty, etc.) peasants of smallholders, and old services of serving people. In the first half of the 1780s economic peasants were also added to this group, which included dismissed, vacant and other peasants. The term 'state peasants' in a narrow sense referred to the chernososhny and yasak peasants', as was pointed out by V. Kabuzan, the leading expert in census statistics [Kabuzan, 2002, p. 159–162].

The government was consistently pursuing its policy of forming the state peasant group by unifying various categories of the free rural population of the country. Back in the middle of the 1780s, taxes paid by state peasants were imposed on smallholders, in the early 19th century bonded peasants started to gradually quit factory jobs¹³, in 1816 the children of retired soldiers became taxable, in 1922 about 40% of yamshhiks (postmen) were added to the state peasant group, and in 1829 so were suitcase Tatars who were maintaining post offices (yams) at their expense (5,144 people from the census list), in 1828 taxable status was given to salters included in the Iletsk production field, as well as 'trading Tatars' (according to the 8th census, 310 people from the Orenburg guberniya), etc. [Buldashova, 2005, p. 32–33; Naydenova, 2006, p. 44, 46; Khayrutdinov, 2002, p. 23, 25]. Thus, in the first third of the 19th century the formation of the state peasant estate in the

¹³ The Tatars of the village of Bukeni of the Mamadysh Uyezd in the Kazan Governorate were assigned to work at the Izhevsk plant [Khayrutdinov, 2002, p. 22].

Russian Empire came about step by step to its completion.

In the Volga-Kama Region the population of the state village was increasing in number due mainly to natural population growth, and in the Cisurals one of the important factors was the migration of agriculturalists from neighbouring governorates, which had a positive impact on the dynamics of the state peasant population.

By 1857, state peasants made up 43.3% of the taxable population in the European Russia [Merkushin, 2002, p. 150]. The governorates of the Volga-Ural region were among the main regions of settlement for state peasants. Quantity-wise, the largest enclaves of state agriculturalists settled in the Vyatka (812.5 thousand, or 88.2% of all peasants), Kazan (541.8 thousand, or 82%), Saratov (538.8 thousand, or 58.1%), Orenburg (502.1 thousand, or 75.9%) and Perm (239.1 thousand, or 47.2%) guberniyas [see Annex 1, Table 6a].

While still forming one social whole, the state peasantry was also divided into numerous groups varying widely in their origin history, development, and ultimately, numbers. The state peasantry of the Kazan guberniya, for instance, included former yasak peasants, former Serving Tatars and Chuvash, murzas and their household peasants, economic peasants, *odnodvorye* [smallholders], dismissed, vacant, peasants-workers of factories, Ukrainian state serfs, Circassians and other groups of the taxable population. The three large social groups of former yasaks¹⁴, Serving¹⁵ and economic

peasants,¹⁶ made up more than 97% of the state peasants in the governorate [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 558, inv. 2, file 51, s. 53 reverse–54; f. 571, inv. 9, file 10, s. 33 reverse; inv. 9, file 35, s. 94 reverse].

At the same time, state peasants were being transferred to other categories of the rural taxable population (*appanage* peasants) or social estates. The Tatar state peasants in the Cisurals were also joining the Bashkir estate or Cossacks on their own initiative or as instructed by the government¹⁷. The residents of state-owned village were one of the main sources that contributed to the formation of the Tatar *meshhane* (*burgher*) and merchant estates.

The success of agriculture was significantly dependent on the availability of the lands, and the average size of the allotment given to state peasants in the Kazan Governorate in the early 19th century amounted to about 10 *desyatinas*. However, due to natural population growth, this number started to gradually decrease. Officials had counted a total of 532 land-poor settlements in the governorate, thus the government and local authorities tried to solve this problem by organising a resettlement of land-poor state peasants to free lands within the governorate, as well as to other less populated regions of the country [Khayrutdinov, 2002, p. 39–40].

During the first third of the 19th century, the number of serving-class Tatars increased by 29,359 people; their share grew from 15.54 to 17.41%. The increase of this group of peasants was also promoted by relieving the serving Tatars—the *Laschmann*—in 1818–1843 of the duty of supplying recruits, which couldn't but show in the natural reproduction figures.

¹⁶In 1837, there were 50,000 former economic peasants. Apart from natural reproduction, their ranks were supplemented by church officers, people 'unable to perform their duties', soldiers' children, and freedmen.

¹⁷In the beginning of the century, 4000 peasants were transferred to the Orenburg Cossack Army. This process was continued in 1835–1840 during the creation of the New Border Line in the Southern steppe. In 1840, when an independent territorial administrative unit was created for the OCA, all peasants residing within its borders were registered as a part of the Cossack class; in the Troitsk Uyezd, grain farmers of three *volost's* (the Kundravinsky, Lower and Verkhneuvelsk *Volost's*) became Cossacks, totaling 8,750 people in all. All things considered, 25,000 treasury peasants were transferred to the OCA [Naydenova, 2006, pp. 53–54].

¹⁴Yasak peasants were comprised of representatives of different peoples from the territory. In 1796, out of 216,259 recorded yasak peasants of the Kazan Governorate, the Chuvash prevailed—there were 112,514 (51.55%) of them. They were followed by the Tatars—55,732 (25.53%), the Mari—27,121 (12.43%), the Russians—15,094 (6.93%), the Mordva—5,401 (2.47%), and the Udmurts—2,397 (1.1%) [Russian State Historical Archive, Fund 558, List 2, File 51, Sheet 3ob–5].

¹⁵The numbers of serving-class murzas according to the 1796 order registration book was 219 people, that of servants of the Serving Murzas—266 males [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 558, inv. 2, file 51, s. 5]. According to the 5th revision, the governorate had 128 'princes of the murza class', 1566 murzas and 'serving Tatars of the murza class' (including 57 converts), 18 yasak murzas, and 1712 males in total.

In the Volga-Kama Region state peasants acted as tenants of state-owned lands. There was also a fourth type of land ownership in the region's governorates: lands granted to serving Tatars, or smallholders. Thus, by 1838 in the Kazan Governorate there were 23 dachas (granted lands) of 'serving Tatar Murzas' who did not prove their rights for manorial land [Khayrutdinov, 2002, p. 32].

There were a few different types of land tenure in Orenburg krai. In the early 19th century unauthorised settlements were forbidden, nevertheless, and up until 1843 state peasants were allowed to choose their own lands to settle themselves, all they had to do was pay all the tax arrears. The state granted the migrants a number of significant privileges for the execution of certain duties and tax payments. Although most state agriculturalists in the Cisurals occupied state lands, unauthorised settlements of peasants on state-owned and private lands were very common, with migrants often settling in the lands of Bashkir large landowners¹⁸. Settlers, only a small part of whom were Russian, as opposed to the migrants from the Volga region, resided alongside large landowners or in separate settlements. According to data from the Orenburg Treasury Chamber, in 1800 there were 1,380 settlements in the Bashkir volosts with 97,792 male settlers of all social estates, which totalled more than a quarter of the governorate's population. In total, 22.5% of them were peasants, or more than 13% state agriculturalists, and by the 40s their share among settlers had already reached 28%. A particularly large number of settlers resided in the Birsky (345 villages), Menzelinsky (187 villages), Belebey (163 villages), Ufimsky (124 villages), and Bugulma (more than 90 villages) Krai [Shaykhislamov, 1998, p. 55].

After the issuance of the decree dated 10 April 1832 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 7, No.5287] that lifted the ban on the sale of Bashkir lands, the state began to grant land allotments to settlers. The

lands fell to the disposal of the appropriate institutions. As state settlers, state peasants were granted allotments of 15 desyatinas per head according to information from the most recent census. However, the decree was not executed to its proper extent, which is why many state peasants continued using Bashkir lands without any partitions [Naydenova, 2006, p. 33].

As their financial status was changing, state peasants either purchased the rented lands or refused to vacate them when the lease expired. According to writer S. Aksakov, almost none of the settlements vacated their lands upon the expiration of their contracts [Buldashova, 2005, p. 76–79, 93].

As is well known, the law of 12 December 1801 had allowed state peasants, along with merchants, burghers, state immigrants and freedmen, to freely purchase non-occupied lands [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 24, No.20075]. State peasants purchased a massive amount of land at low prices from the Bashkirs in the second half of the 19th century. By the end of the 1850s, landowning state peasants made up 50–70% of the state village population in the Belebey, Birsky, Starlitamasky and Ufimsky Uyezds. On average, throughout the Orenburg guberniya there were a total of 14.85 desyatinas per each 21,480 landowners. As a result, in the first half of the 19th century South Cisurals was one of the first regions in terms of the number of landowners among state peasants in European Russia, and the first in terms of the number of desyatinas; it showed numbers that exceeded the average across Russia by a factor of 3.5 [Buldashova, 2005, p. 96, 97, 99]. State peasants in the Kazan Governorate were not as active in this sphere [Khayrutdinov, 2002, p. 37–38].

As a result of the administrative reform of 1775, state peasants were assigned to three parallel institutions: the Treasury Chamber, which dealt with economic matters, the Lower Zemsky Court (the uyezd administrative police institution headed by the zemsky captain elected by the local nobility and subordinate to the provincial government headed by the governor) and the Lower Zemsky Board in uyezds in charge of legal cases.

¹⁸ In the 1850s in the Belebey, Birsk, Ufa, Troitsk, Sterlitamak Uyezds, where the Bashkir lands were particularly abundant, the treasury lands were used by less than a quarter of the state peasants.

In 1797, the 'Surveying office of state farms and tutelage over foreign and rural household management' was created to develop all the industries of state farms. After the establishment of Ministries, the functions of the Surveying office were passed to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and in 1811 to the Department of State Property established in the Ministry of Finance.

Starting in 1787, residents of the settlement totaling more than 1 thousand people had been electing a rural elder, and for every 500 households a headman, two elected judges and one tax collector. In order to centralise the power and authority in larger and more strongly organised associations, in 1797 Pavel I created a new administrative unit on the example of the local authorities in the form of a volost covering up to 3 thousand people from the census list. Each of the volosts was administered by a volost government consisting of an elected volost head, a headman and a clerk. Moreover, each settlement also elected peasant policemen, tax collectors and grain store keepers to maintain order. These elections were generally staged, as contenders for these positions were in fact assigned by the district police captain. General issues of peasant life were addressed during volost meetings by the board of trusted peasant house-keepers [Shaykhislamov, 1998, p. 79–81].

Up until the latter half of the 1820s, a state peasant, leaving his home settlement more than 30 versts even for a small period of time had to receive a passport for at least one year. Passports were expensive, which put the brakes on the development of seasonal works. In 1826, passport prices were reduced, and new less expensive passports for half a year were introduced. In 1827, the government introduced leave tickets, which granted the right to leave the settlement for 2, 3 and 4 months, allowing peasants to go to markets located more than 30 versts away without any documents. Starting in 1827, peasants also no longer had to wait for passports to be delivered to the local volost administration, they could receive them themselves in the Uyezd Treasury, which significantly sped up the time it took to receive documents.

Social inequality among peasants in the state village formed due to the course of the

government's internal policies. The autocracy exploited the multinational peasantry by charging them with monetary (sometimes food) levies and compulsory state service. In 1833, the state introduced the following order for the collection of monetary levies: 1) state taxes, including a poll tax, rent, for the maintenance of water and land routes; 2) zemsky levies according to the governorate's plans; 3) civil levies as payment for the authorities and the construction and repair of spare grain stores; 4) various state fees for loans, unauthorized felling, and people not listed in the census record.

From 1796 to 1818, the poll tax increased from 1 ruble 26 kopeks up to 3 rubles 30 kopeks of paper money (then it remained unchanged until the end of 1861), and from the late 18th century to the early 1860s the rent had risen 3.4 times: from 3 rubles 57 kopeks to 12 rubles 30 kopeks [Shaykhislamov, 1998, p. 116].

In addition to general state taxes, state peasants also paid the main bulk of zemsky levies and served natural duties. Monetary levies were essentially a second poll tax, and service duties covered state rent and were basically no different from the villein socage. In fact, numerous general state expenses that were not included in the state budget plan were paid for by zemsky levies.

The decree of 14 June 1816 divided the zemsky monetary levies into general (governorate) and personal ('civil' levies for state settlements). The general duties included the following services: 1) post, 2) road, 3) military building maintenance, 4) repair and security for these buildings. 'Civil' levies were collected for the needs of the local rural administration, the maintenance of volost offices, payment for rural and volost administrations, the employment of guards and delivery men, and the maintenance of wagons for the zemsky court, spare grain stores, fire-fighting tools, etc. These levies were articulated by peasants during village meetings. Civil verdicts were approved in each rural community separately and eventually depended not so much on local need, but on the arbitrary decisions of the authorities, volost and uyezd administrations. The list of general and 'civil' levies was constantly updated with new, expense items.

The law of 28 November 1833 divided 'civil' levies into compulsory 'for the needs determined by law' and voluntary levies that were determined by the peasants' own arbitrary decision. Compulsory levies were designed for the maintenance of the rural volost administration, tracking fugitives running from recruitment, repairing country roads, and other purposes. Voluntary levies were intended for repairing churches, the maintenance and construction of public facilities, and natural duties. Rural headmen also had new types of report documentation, including log books and taxation books. In 1834, the taxable population was imposed with an additional district levy (in Kazan guberniya, 21 kopecks per person). The next year, the state introduced a new levy for the maintenance of the zemsky police at 30 kopecks per person.

Along with paying monetary fees, peasants had to perform zemsky duties for the district, which was a type of feudal villein socage. Service duties were rather wasteful and struck at the root of the peasant economy. Peasants had to suffer road duty (repair of roads, bridges, tow paths, verst stones, and the maintenance of river transport), which they sometimes were unable to do themselves, so they had to hire contractors, sometimes at outrageous prices. At any time of day or year they were obligated to provide passing officials, cargos, military squads, recruits, and prisoner squads with wagons. The true disgruntlement of peasants arose over housing (free quarter) duty.

A large part of the district monetary levies paid by state peasants was spent on the maintenance of rural and volost administrations. According to the reports of Kazan governors, during the period from 1807–1817, the amount of money collected for these purposes had increased from 54,433 rubles 42 kopeks to 138,982 rubles 10 kopeks, which is 2.5 times larger, and in 1826–1837—by a factor of 1.6.

The most wasteful duty for the taxable population was recruitment, which involved men aged 20 to 35¹⁹. In 1793–1833, military

service was limited to 25 years, and in 1834 to 20. Before 1831, recruitment was carried out when required, but then became an annual affair. The only time men were not recruited was from 1856 to 1861. Families sent their men in according to the lists drafted and approved beforehand, and unmarried men had to go 'before the married' [Buldashova, 2005, p. 107].

According to the 'Recruitment regulations' of 1831, special recruit stations were established in every volost if there were Muslim Tatars, regardless of their number, whereas other nationalities were recruited in one common station. The reason for this was that the local administration had to choose recruits from Tatars very carefully to avoid any refusals to serve [Ustav rekrutskij, 1857, Art. 713, 884]. In the volosts where Tatars were clearly a minority, the maintenance of special recruitment stations and recruitment headmen required additional expenses. The salary of recruitment headmen was specified by law ranging from 7 rubles 50 kopeks to 15 rubles, and additionally the same amount if there was 'record management'. Recruitment duty was 'completed' with a recruitment levy to pay for escort and food for recruits before they were sent away²⁰.

Exactions demanded by officials of all levels (this could also be specifically said about volost clerks), along with the inconsistent distribution of duties and taxes, bribery and abuse of power by officials were very common in Russia.

Thus, the autocracy laid duties and obligations on the shoulders of peasants that by all means exceeded the obligations the state had to its other subjects. Peasants suffered great expenses to manage to pay all their taxes and duties, which led to an accumulation of arrears. The arrearage of peasant farms was caused by an increase in the tax, duty and monetary levy rates from state peasants, land shortage, reduction of arable land plots, and unstable economic conditions in the first third of the 19th century. This process was also encouraged by the abuse

¹⁹ Coachmen, laschmanns and Iletsk salt makers were relieved of the military duty [Buldashova, 2005, p. 107].

²⁰ In the mid-1830s in the Orenburg guberniya, each recruit cost the land community at least 40 rubles [Buldashova, 2005, p. 107].

of power and iniquity of officials, the staff of serving authorities, the state village court, and peasant refusals to pay money.

In order to eliminate the main negative factors of the life of state villages, P. Kiselev started the state reforms of 1837–1841.

The 1837–1841 P. Kiselev Reforms in state villages. At the end of the 1850s, the residents of state villages (20,640 thousand male souls) made up one-third (32.9%) of the Russian Empire's population. By that time some of the Tatars of the Volga-Ural region were still within the groups of the rural taxable population that legally had a special status regarding service duties. This included the following groups: laschmanns (transferred to the state peasant class in 1860), Yurt Tatars²¹, horse-breeding peasants obligated to maintain state horse-breeding farms²², and Tatar immigrants. By taking into account said groups, according to the 10th census the Ministry of State Property was in charge of 513,809 male 'Tatar peasants'²³ [Druzhinin, 1958, p. 298].

Almost one-third of the treasury's income in the Empire came from the exploitation of state villagers. The government was therefore highly interested in improving the status of this category of peasants, which was the main source of its income. It was important to stop granting state lands to landowners, and instead allocate them among rural communities to equalise their territories, reduce the growing arrears of agriculturalists, and bring the duties of the rural taxable population into compliance with the profits of their land, and so on.

The all-around failure of grain harvests, cholera outbreak, peasant riots and shortage of arable lands, which intensified in the 1830s,



Count P. D. Kiselev.

quickened the development and implementation of reforms in the Ministry of State Property established in 1837 with Minister P. Kiselev (1837–1856) in charge, who was a passionate antagonist against serfdom. The reform was supposed to consolidate the civil rights of state peasants and the 'patronage' of the Ministry of State Property on the improvement of their financial status as the foundation of the country's material well-being. Eventually the reformation was aimed at increasing the solvency of state villages by supporting peasant farms [Naydenova, 2006, p. 127].

The lands still remained property of the state, and the peasant community rented it. From 1843 to 1856, thanks to measures taken by the Ministry in terms of land cutbacks, the sizes of allotments for agriculturalists in the Volga-Ural region had generally increased: from 2.8 to 4.1 desyatins in the Kazan Governorate, from 4.9 to 5.3 desyatins in the Perm Governorate, from 5.2 to 5.7 desyatins in the Vyatka Governorate, and from 8.9 to 9.4 desyatins in the Orenburg Governorate. At the same time, the size of allotments in the neighbouring governorates was decreasing: from 10.6 to 6 desyatins in the Saratov guberniya, from 4.6 to 3.4 in the Penza guberniya, from 3.3 to 3.1 in the Ryazan guberniya, and from 21.6 to 10.9

²¹ According to the data of the 10th revision, 11,464 male Yurt Tatars lived in the Lower Volga Region [Druzhinin, 1958, p. 298].

²² For example, in the Penza guberniya, a number of Tatar settlements were assigned to the Pochinkovsky Horse-Breeding Authority. Apart from paying the per-capita tax, they had to provide the workforce, 'feeding bread', wood and other materials [Merkushin, 2002, p. 167].

²³ The Imperial statistics also included in their number the settled Tatars distributed around the national periphery in the South and East of the Empire (153,882 males).

desyatinas in the Astrakhan guberniya [Druzhinin, 1958, p. 209, 210].

The P. Kiselev reforms helped to significantly expand the personal rights of state peasants, thanks in part to a reduction in the requirements for family sections, which was previously discouraged by the state. They also received certain privileges when migrating to less populated areas, started using their right to means, and were able to inherit property and dispose of unpopulated lands and houses in cities and settlements. By the law of 24 January 1849, peasants were able to transfer to urban estates with their families or alone, granted they paid taxes and arrears and had consent from the rural community, regardless of the opinion of their self-government authorities. This innovation provided the opportunity to transfer 'small trade producers' to the urban estate [Druzhinin, 1958, p. 17].

One particular accomplishment was the development of 'Additional rules' to the Regulations on the improvement of cities and settlements, which specified the terms of peasant migration and allowed land-poor communities (less than 5 desyatinas per head) to move to neighbouring regions (while receiving some privileges to settle in the new area), as well as the intra-governorate migration procedure [Druzhinin, 1958, p. 19].

From then on seasonal workers did not have to get a passport, and peasants received short-term tickets that could be renewed upon expiration. The only requirement was the community's consent for them to leave.

In order to resolve the issue of land deficiencies, on 23 January 1850 the state introduced a law that created favourable lease terms for state-owned taxable lands to land-poor rural communities. To provide the peasant farms with construction materials and firewood, on 25 August 1847 the state introduced a law, according to which every rural community that did not have a forest, received plots of land at the rate of 1 desyatina for every soul listed on the most recent census. The Ministry of State Property also created favourable terms for the purchase of state forest lands. In the land-poor districts, where it was impossible to set up allotments, peasants were granted the opportu-

nity to buy forest in the closest state dachas for half the price [Druzhinin, 1958, p. 16, 17].

In 1841, the government made an attempt to regulate social protection for the wives of state peasants who had been called up for military service. In 1851, the wives of peasants deported to Siberia received the right to refuse to follow their husbands without having to divorce them [Druzhinin, 1858, p. 75].

Nevertheless, in Russian terms, the status of 'free, rural dwellers' meant that agriculturalists were in fact under the supervision of and feudal bondage to the state: the authorities practiced forced attribution to other estates, meaning that their statuses changed (they put an end to the notorious 'exchange' of state lands and peasants in favour of the local authorities) [Druzhinin, 1858, p. 74, 574].

The Ministry of State Property was the first to attempt to improve the agricultural, veterinary practices and medicine of the countryside. However, the low socio-cultural level of Russian society and the critical need for agronomes, veterinarians, doctors, land surveyors, paramedics and other specialists were significantly holding back the implementation of P. Kiselev's plan. The Ministry of State Property was thus forced to adjust the training level of required personnel [Druzhinin, 1858, pp. 233–268].

One important step in solving this problem was the propaganda of progressive production methods and processes through the creation of model farms and village halls, and also the holding of regional exhibitions of agricultural produce, handcrafted and manufactured items. For instance, in 1847, the Ministry of State Property founded an agricultural farm just outside of Kazan featuring primary general education and a four-year practical training course, which in 1864 was transformed into the Kazan Agricultural Academy [Gubernskie Vedomosti of Kazan, 21 June 1872]. There was a total of three regional exhibitions held in Kazan, which was the start of an excellent tradition in this field. While the exhibition of manufacturers and natural producers of 1837 in Kazan guberniya mainly showcased manufactured items, the exhibitions held by the Ministry of State Property in 1845 (for Kazan guberniya), 1852 (for the Middle Volga Region governor-

ates) and 1860 (for the Volga-Ural governorates) presented items made by peasants, including Tatar agriculturalists [Istoriya Kazani, Book 1, pp. 536–568]. Such events helped reinforce the citizen activism of peasants and gave them insight into the latest achievements in the field of agriculture.

Thanks to the endeavours of the Ministry of State Property, state villagers now had more opportunities to actively develop businesses in various fields. One important factor of the spread of the best methods in agriculture was the effect of administrative resources. They were most prominently used in the implementation of the 1840 law on compulsory potato planting and communal tillages, which provided a solution to the food deficiency problem for rural communities during hungry and lean years [Druzhinin, 1858, p. 53–54].

The state started fighting land fraud committed by landowners, managed to decrease the overlapping of state and manorial lands, and legislatively determined the terms of using rented and forest estates. In 1839, in order to encourage agricultural development, peasants were allowed to open savings and subsidiary cash accounts. The introduction of compulsory mutual insurance was also another step in the general movement towards progress [Druzhinin, 1858, p. 61–62].

The readjustment of peasant duties was also another important factor. The Ministry of State Property was striving for the clear definition and equal distribution of zemsky duties among rural communities. One of the most important objectives of the reforms was to bring the monetary levies into conformity with income sources, which is why it called for a unified system of administrative interactions. For fiscal reasons, the government continued to widely use the frank pledge principle in land communities [Naydenova, 2006, p. 125]. The total arrears were reduced through the use of administrative pressure on peasants and threats from the authorities. Punitive measures were also quite common. V. Bervi-Flerovsky, who served in the Kazan Chamber of Criminal Court in the 1850s, describes the collection of arrears from Tatar state peasants in one of the settlements: 'First, after catching the defaulter Aminov, the

chief declared that "he will be whipped until he pays for everything in full". And the poor fellow was then whipped at different intervals. Meanwhile, his wife was looking for a benefactor who could pay off the arrears of her whipped husband. It cost her massive efforts to find just one-third of the money, and when she had it she came running to the chief to give it to him and beg for a deferral on the rest of the payment. But it was too late: the peasant was already laying dead under the whip' [quoted from: Druzhinin, 185, p. 209, 210].

Based on the appraisal works carried out in 1842–1856 in 21 governorates, a poll tax was imposed on land and trade (a land and trading levy), which made it possible to bring the rent payment closer to the typical state tax, and peasants to the tenants of state lands. Based on the results of cadastral works, the state first determined the average gross yield capacity of the land, then gross income was used to calculate the cultivation expenses using the average cost of working days in the region, and the remainder was considered net income. The rent made up a portion of net income [Naydenova, 2006, p. 129]. More than anywhere else, this innovation affected the western and central regions of the country, as well as a few of the Volga region governorates. The previous system of tax payments remained in effect in the Kazan, Vyatka, Perm, Orenburg and Astrakhan guberniyas [Druzhinin, 1858, p. 209, 210].

In 1840, a law introduced on the communal levy, which was designed to replace the previous district levies and was supposed to maintain the current government authorities, land division and formation of business capital. The total was determined on the basis of the expense lists of volost and village institutions, and also with regard to the needs of the Ministry of State Property. Despite the introduction of the communal levy, some private 'village-communal' levies were still collected by verdict of certain rural communities for the installation of bridges and embankments, the heating and lighting of multistory barracks near big routes, etc.

During the governance of P. Kiselev, monetary levies from agriculturalists were increased progressively. From 1846–1856, the

communal levy that replaced the previous 'village-communal' levies had increased 1.5 times, and zemsky duties (road, troop maintenance, etc.) by a factor of almost 2.5. In addition, peasants paid a levy for national food supplies, the arrears of previous years, and-so called fiscal penalties (for unauthorised felling, people hidden from the census, etc.), and in 1854 every male resident paid a total of anywhere from 7 rubles 28 kopeks to 7 rubles 44 kopeks. In the 1840–1850s, the average state rent and poll tax arrears of state peasants in Russia amounted to 50% of their annual salary, but in the governorates this average was dramatically different (in the Vyatka, Perm and Orenburg guberniyas it came out to 9%) [Buldashova, 2005, p. 114]. On the occasion of Alexander II's coronation, the state reduced the arrears of state peasants twofold, and by 1856 they totalled 5 rubles 13 kopeks per one male [Druzhinin, 1858, p. 209, 210].

The Ministry of State Property also introduced a more advanced recruitment system drawing procedure (from the men available, not the census lists), and in 1840 a drawing procedure system based on family lists went into operation. However, this innovation did not make duty any more orderly, and the local authorities still saw it as a means of personal enrichment and gain [Merkushin, 2002, p. 166]. Positive changes were brought about by dividing recruits on the basis of marital status into three categories offering the appropriate privileges (exemption for widows, families with two workers, the only worker in a family, etc.). Starting in 1847 rural communities were now allowed to hire volunteers [Buldashova, 2005, p. 109].

As is well known, by the beginning of the 1860s the monetary fees of state peasants in the South Cisurals increased to 6 rubles 43 kopeks. More than half of this was feudal rent, otherwise known as the 'state tax' [Buldashova, 2005, p. 107]. Nevertheless, state peasants paid much less than appanage peasants and serfs. In the middle of the 1850s, the rent payment came to approximately 78.2% of what was paid in the appanage department and a few times less than paid by the manorial peasants [Druzhinin, 1958, p. 133].

Before the P. Kiselev reforms there was no centralised system of state village management. As a result of the reform, the government created a uniform five-level system of state estate administration: 1) The Ministry of State Property; 2) governorate palaces of public assets, which were divided into economic and forest (for supervision over state forests) divisions; 3) districts that unite volosts and supervise the volost-communal self-government system; 4) volosts; 5) rural communities that were in charge paying the salaries of officials. One important addition to the new administration system was a rural police institute created in 1839 [Naydenova, 2006, p. 124].

Districts, which were typically localised to separate uyezds, were responsible for the execution of state orders and supervised the volost village administrations. The district chief was in charge of district forest rangers.

Districts were divided into volosts of 6 thousand male peasants each, and the volost management team was responsible for the improvement of settlements and the proper execution of duties and tax collection from peasants. Each volost elected a volost foreman and two assessors, who also had a clerk (who managed the records and was the main figure in the volost). The decisions of the Village Rasprava (Judiciary Committee) that needed to be further considered were passed to the Volost Rasprava [Uchrezhdeniya vlastej i mestny'x volostny'x, 1857, Art. 4578–4593, 4961–4978].

Village communities included the following institutions: village board for solving public affairs (village elder, head man, tax collector, public store keeper, and delegates: 2 people from every 10 households), village administration (a village authority of some sort), and Village Rasprava (Judiciary Committee) for court trials. Volost elders had the following administrative rights: the right to charge peasants with fees up to 1 ruble, punish them with up to 20 strokes with a stick and place them under arrest for up to 6 days.

The times of village board meetings were strictly regulated. The law stipulated that the peasant board meet three times a year, which was a strictly economic and fiscal decision. Thus, the peasants met: at the start of a year to

allot tributes, duties and levies; in the spring to organise field works and, when required, take measures against defaulters who had tax and rent debts from the previous period; and in autumn to discuss the issues of community village needs and measures against defaulters. The village board only had additional meetings in cases of emergency. The village board was also responsible for the following issues: elections of village elders, head men, tax collectors and other positions of the village administration for a term of 3 years, the nomination of candidates to volost administration positions, the dismissal of peasants to other estates, the admission of people from other estates to the village community, the issuance of migration permits, the division of village community lands among peasants, levy allotment procedures, measures for charging and preventing the accumulation of arrears and shortages, the investigation of recruitment duty cases, the appointment of guardians for underage orphans, reviewing requests for funds in case of accidents, and others.

Communities had specific legal rights; they could appeal to the court on behalf of the workforce, and entrust management to one of the members. Rural communities gained the right to force out unwanted villagers under a communal sentence (as a punitive measure) with the allotment of the appropriate means for travel expenses [Uchrezhdeniya vlastej i mestny'x volostny'x, 1857, Art. 4979–5033, 5068–5084]. Peasant communities were entitled to rent the state lands they used for a maximum of 50 years.

The elders and headmen were usually assigned regardless of communal opinion, and their work was supervised by uyezd officials [Druzhinin, 1858, p. 113].

A village headman was elected for every 100 households (two headmen for 300 houses). This position was in charge of order within the community, had the right to release villagers from community service and duties, served as police officer and supervised economic matters. Peasant policemen were assigned on a voluntary basis out of every 10 households for a term of one month [Uchrezhdeniya vlastej i mestny'x volostny'x, 1857, Art. 5034–5037, 5056–5062].

The solution to the national problem of the organisation of peasant self-government bodies manifested itself in the following way: the authorities tried to prevent national volosts consisting of Muslim Tatars from forming, and Christians from being assigned as volost elders in volosts with a multiconfessional population. The law stated as follows: 'In settlements, communities and volosts where idolaters live along with Christians, idolaters cannot be chosen as members of the village and volost administration, and where Christians live with Muhammadans, the head man is elected from among Christians, and those under his supervision can be chosen from among non-Christians' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, section 1, No. 23, part 3, Art. 106]. As a result, when organising the territories of new volosts, the officials tried to organise them in a way so that the population in each of them was multiconfessional.

The Village Raspravas (Judiciary Committees) dealt with disputes between peasants: 1) if the dispute was based on oral agreements and terms of purchase and rent; 2) if the dispute concerned real and personal property that was not documented; 3) when peasants appealed with complaints about fellow villagers seizing their land lots [Uchrezhdeniya vlastej i mestny'x volostny'x, 1857, Art. 5398–5409].

However, village boards were not of significant social importance, public sentences were determined by default, ignorance of the rural taxable population allowed the village and volost administrations to add various decisions to the texts that were not approved by the community, signatures were gathered without including all the members of the village board, and so on [Druzhinin, 1858, p. 119].

Volost Raspravas dealt with complaints about the unsatisfactory verdicts of the Village Rasprava, material lawsuits up to 15 rubles, complaints about the Village Rasprava making decisions on cases entitled to be heard in 'common court forums', on disputes about domestic spiritual will and testaments, and other issues [Uchrezhdeniya vlastej i mestny'x volostny'x, 1857, Art. 4964–4969].

'Common Court Forums' heard the disputes of peasants on real and personal property that

costed over 15 rubles if the real property had not been documented or was owned by peasants, or when the dispute was between members of various estates. Volost and Village Raspravas investigated cases of personal insult, public order offense, theft and embezzlement, vagrancy, fights, debauchery, etc.

After the retirement of P. Kiselev, the number of volosts and village communities was decreased by means of their reinforcement, and village administrations and raspravas were abolished. But institutes of village headmen or delegates in settlements still remained in force. Chiefs of district administrations were also replaced by officials of special orders, who were sent by the House of Public Assets to supervise volost authorities and manage local state property.

The village and volost self-government widely practiced blackmail and collected various levies for public need that were typically not controlled by the district officials. For instance, an additional 5, 10 and 15 silver kopeks to the passport tax were demanded from those left for seasonal work in the volost administrations of the Ryazan and Perm guberniyas; volost clerks in the Orenburg guberniya charged up to 6 silver rubles for each discharge ticket [Druzhinin, 1858, p. 122].

The main objective of the government's course was to increase agricultural profitability by virtue of the policy of 'patronage' and by reinforcing management and control. However, the government managed to fully achieve only the second objective: the growth of economic returns from peasants by increasing taxes and duties. The increase of monetary levies from peasants was predicated by an attempt of the government to solve their financial problems and led to an increase of arrears from 1838 to 1856 by 65%. The established system of peasant self-government was transformed into an executive institute of governorate houses of public assets [Druzhinin, 1858, p. 575]. Nevertheless, unlike the majority of Russian reforms, the reforms of P. Kiselev were one of the most successful administrative projects.

During the chairmanship of M. Muravyev (1857–1862) in the Ministry of State Property, the policy of state administration underwent

drastic changes. 'The attempt to bring manorial peasants into the category of "free rural dwellers" was replaced with open ambitions to transfer state peasants into the conditions of the private economy, reduce their allotments, increase their rental payment and start selling the land' [quoted acc. to: Druzhinin, 1858, p. 577].

Thus, the transformation of state peasants into 'free rural dwellers' endowed with legal, property and personal rights, was of the utmost importance, considering that the government was intending to abolish serfdom and, as time has shown, the model of state villages created by the government in the second half of the 19th century became an example for the reform of the social and legal status of manorial and appanage peasants in the beginning of the 1860s.

Laschmanns. One of the categories of state villagers was referred to as 'laschmanns'. The social group of laschmanns was introduced as a result of the efforts of Peter I to create a Russian Navy. The ship-building yard, founded by Peter I in Kazan in 1718, was developing quite successfully. From 1722–1829 the Kazan Admiralty (decommissioned in 1831) built 324 ships of various sizes, including 7 bomb vessels, 12 rowing frigates, 24 cutters, 57 launches, and others.

Ship construction materials in the Kazan Admiralty and other shipyards were prepared by groups of the rural taxable estate, including former murzas and Serving Tatars. The term 'laschmann' (Low German *laschen*—to chop off, to adze, to cut, and *mann*—a human) can be translated into English as 'a person who chops, adzes and cuts wood'²⁴.

As for issues that did not concern timber harvesting, the laschmanns were governed by the governorate and uyezd authorities and the court, the lower echeleons of which were the authorities of peasant self-government. The double subordination of laschmanns to the Ka-

²⁴ The fundamental document for the system of stocking ship timber was the order of 31 January 1718, based on which the entire non-Russian serving population of the Kazan, Nizhny Novgorod, and Voronezh governorates and the Simbirsk uyezd was assigned to the Admiralty [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, Vol. 5, No.3149].

Table 25

The number of laschmanns [loggers] assigned to fell and haul ship timber according to the provisions of 25 August 1817 [Russian State Archive of the Navy, f. 159, inv. 1, file 26, s. 317–320; Russian State Historical Archive, f. 383, inv. 22, file 32226, s. 28]

Governorate	Laschmanns [loggers], males			
	total number (1821)	in the %	Total number (1856)	in the %
Kazan	57,850	48.1	59,589	49.6
Nizhny Novgorod	8,631	7.2	9,427	7.8
Simbirsk	27,550	23	29,966	24.9
Vyatka	6,173	5.1	10,719	8.9
Penza	3,967	3.2	2,916	2.4
Saratov	2,722	2.6	—	
Orenburg	1,172	1	—	
Tambov	11,925	9.8	7,597	6.4
Total:	119,990	100	120,214	100

zan Admiralty and local authorities continued in short intervals up until 1817.

But by virtue of the 'Regulation on laschmanns and their duties for ship timber harvesting and storage' dated 25 August 1817, the management of the ship timber of the country was passed to three administration institutions according to the number of districts: the North, Nizovoy, and Baltic. Laschmanns of 8 guberniyas²⁵ were transferred under the supervision of the Nizovoy District Administration (subordinate to the Admiralty) on all issues that concerned ship building, and on all other issues they were under the jurisdiction of the governorate's administration. The state established laschmann volosts, and the Nizovoy District Administration of Ship Timber was located in Kazan, in the Admiralty Sloboda [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 44, part 1, p. 109–110].

The system of laschmann peasant self-government was the same as in the state villages.

Population dynamics and settlement. During the first half of the 19th century, the number of laschmanns changed many times over, both increasing and decreasing. According to the 15 census data, in 1795 their number totaled 112,357 individuals [Complete Code

of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 24, No.17772]. To prevent the long-distance travel of laschmanns from their residencies to the timber harvesting sites, another 609,664 yasak peasants, mainly Tatars, Chuvash, Mordva, Mari and Udmurt were assigned to perform the harvesting and hauling of ship timber starting in 1800²⁶. According to the 16 census (1811), all the workers registered in the Admiralty combined totaled 943,139 men, including 133,192 Serving Tatars [Russian State Archive of the Navy, f. 159, inv. 1, file 24, s. 47 reverse–50].

By virtue of the 1817 Provision, the number of laschmanns was reduced by almost 8 times—down to 120 thousand people [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 34, No. 27023]. The territory where laschmanns resided was limited to 32 uyezds of 8 governorates, and almost half of all foresters lived in the Kazan Governorate. In 1821, an additional 15,832 Serving Tatars from the Saratov guberniya were allocated to the laschmann duty, which resulted from the need for ship timber guards in this governorate [Complete

²⁵ The Kazan, Nizhny Novgorod, Simbirsk, Vyatka, Penza, Saratov, Orenburg, and Tambov guberniyas.

²⁶ For the Nizhny Novgorod Governorate—13,308 males, for the Vyatka guberniya—143,804 males, for the Simbirsk guberniya—94,551, for the Kazan guberniya—219,083, for the Saratov guberniya—47,969, for the Orenburg guberniya—90,949 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 25, No.19224].

Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 37, No.28791].

Any excess number of laschmanns were transferred to the state peasantry from census to census. For instance, according to the 8th census (1834) their number reached 160,460 people, in 1837 an 'excess' 40,324 of them were transferred again to the appanage (11,361 people in the Simbir guberniya) and state (28,963 people in other governorates) peasantry [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 383, inv. 30, file 416, s. 45–45 reverse].

According to the 19th census, in 1850 the total number of laschmanns came to 146,798 people; by the virtue of the Provision dated 7 August 1856, their number was once again reduced to the number established in 1817 [Veshnyakov, 1857, p. 33] (see Table 25).

Laschmann duty. Laschmanns were obligated to carry out work on ship timber sites on the basis of a feudal duty: harvest ship timber 'as much and as often when needed for orders, cut, finish and haul timber from the forest to piers and fields', and prepare mast pine, pieces (wooden parts) for artillery and construction timber for admiralty buildings [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 34, No.27023].

Timber harvesting presented numerous difficulties, including winter accommodations in the woods, and the hazards of cutting and felling trees. Cutting and felling huge boles and laying roads for timber hauling (so-called *saban roads*) required tremendous effort and immense amounts of strength. They had to cut the thickest and strongest trees, including centuries-old oak, pine, ash, maple and other trees, which made the job of foresters even harder. The only tool they used to cut wood was the axe, as saws in that period were not common. Men and horses were dying at work, and most of the time laschmanns spent the night in huts made of tree branches. Mounted workers had no more than 7 hours a day to feed the horses and let them rest [Russian State Archive of the Navy, f. 159, inv. 1, file 411, s. 80].

In the first half of the 19th century, the work of laschmann was progressively becoming more demanding, as the amount of trees acceptable for ship building was dwindling

in number, which made their placing, cutting and hauling more difficult. The average distance from felling sites to the piers where the ship timber had to be hauled to added up to 51 versts, but now trees had to be carried to a distance from 25 to 250 versts [Russian State Archive of the Navy, f. 159, inv. 1, file 411, s. 63 reverse, 65 reverse]. As the felling sites were getting farther away from where the laschmanns lived, they had to cross distances of between 300–500 versts. According to the Provision of 1799, unmounted laschmanns had to harvest timber not for just two working months (October, November) like they used to, which included only 46 working days with the exclusion of holidays, but for 60 full working days, meaning from 1 October until 18 December [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 25, No.19224]. In order to provide the navy with the needed amount of ship timber, labour norms were made even more severe: every day a mounted worker had to deliver timber weighing up to 15–18 pood a distance of 25 versts. Every two unmounted workers had a target of at least 10 logs of 4 sazhen to cut and process every day. If a worker failed to meet their target, not only could he be paid less, but also paid nothing at all [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 25, No.19224]. Typically, at the beginning of hauling (from December until the middle of January) each horse could carry up to 12, 13, and even 14 pood daily. From the middle of January the exhausted horses could barely even carry 8–10 pood a day [Russian State Archive of the Navy, f. 159, inv. 1, file 411, s. 76 reverse–77].

The 1817 Provision doubled wages compared to the amount it was in 1799: when they hit the target unmounted laschmanns were paid 40 kopeks a day, and mounted workers 80 kopeks; in addition, the practice of hiring outside help to work instead of them, which became very common, was legalised [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 34, No. 27023].

Laschmann settlements were obligated to send an annual average of 8 thousand workers, men from the age of 18 to 55, specifically for timber harvesting. In the end of 1817, the annu-

al duty for unmounted laschmanns was served by an average of 2576 people.²⁷

About 5.5 thousand mounted laschmanns worked on the hauling of ship timber every year.

Payment for laschmann work was increased twofold at the end of the 18th century, which is why for laschmann peasants residing close to felling sites, admiralty jobs were an additional source of income. This increase explains cases when the laschmann of certain villages sent their representatives to Kazan to the manager of the Nizovoy District Ship Timber Administration with petitions to continue their laschmann duty. Therefore, from 1831–1837, 1311 peasants formerly included in the Admiralty submitted petitions of such kind [Russian State Archive of the Navy, f. 159, inv. 1, file 411, s. 30–30 reverse].

From 1818–1843, unmounted laschmann made up 28% and the mounted 72% of the total number of workers [Russian State Archive of the Navy, f. 159, inv. 1, file 411, s. 73 reverse]. Thus, the number of mounted laschmanns compared to the 18th century when their quantity was approximately equal to the quantity of unmounted workers, was gradually increasing, which could be explained by the ever-growing distance between the timber harvesting sites and piers.

Due to a lack of horse feed, mounted laschmanns often left duty without authorisation. On many occasions commission agents dismissed laschmanns to return home before the end of their work for a certain fee, which could total up to 6–12 rubles from each. Some of the laschmanns, referred to as yamshhiks (lashers), whose horses were used by commission agents for travelling, were freed from working in shipyards. For such a privilege the commission agent charged them a monetary fee of 15–17

rubles [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 383, inv. 22, file 32226, s. 5–5 reverse].

Taxes. The lashmann fought to better their condition and completely abolish their duty. They wrote petitions in which they asked to improve their conditions, which included an absolute release from logging [Gilyazov, 1982, p. 167]. As A. Kleyankin noted, 'the entire history of the lashmann is the history of their continual fight against the 'laschmanness' [Kleyankin, 1978, p. 213].

The system of payment for laschmann in the 19th century did not undergo any sweeping changes. All funds determined for payment to the laschmann were included in the treasury as a tribute. State help in the provision of laschmann with horses, food, and forage for horses was minimal [Russian State Archive of the Navy, f. 159, inv. 1, file 411, s. 59 reverse–60].

They also made attempts to change the method of payment for laschmann labour, which resulted from the increasing accumulation of arrears in the treasury²⁸. The main reasons for the accumulation of arrears were a lack of land allotments, poor what harvests, a fall in prices for farm products in the production of which they were engaged, and quarantine restrictions resulting from cholera outbreaks [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 560, inv. 1, file 809, s. 8–9].

In the first half of the 19th century, the authorities tried to pay actual earnings instead of how they used to formally offset them as tributes, and to collect taxes according to when they were owed. However, the new system also had many imperfections [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 560, inv. 1, file 809, s. 3–4].

According to our calculations, over the period from 1818–1843, the proper expenses of laschmann for their labour exceeded their salary counted as tribute for the treasury by a factor of seven [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 383, inv. 22, file 32226, s. 12 reverse]. Unmounted laschmanns spent money on clothes

²⁷ For better a arrangement of works, the laschmanns were divided into 6 groups: Four parties (2,000 people) were busy with stocking timber, one party (336 people) treated the logs at clearings, and another party—the doggers (240 people)—sawed and prepared the ship timber for release [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 44, Part 1, Page 109–110. About 5.5 thousand mounted laschmanns worked on the hauling of ship timber every year.

²⁸ In 1832, in 7 governorates included in the Lower district of ship timber, there were 117,707 laschmanns, annually due to pay state duties in the amount of 1,596,000 rubles. For the previous years, they accumulated a 1,076,700 ruble debt.

and footwear, 2 axes with repairs and welding, and self-sustenance during work and travelling the woods, with each expending a minimum of 19 rub 17 kopecks. The expenses of mounted laschmanns in one working season amounted to 59 rub 60 kopecks [Russian State Archive of the Navy, f. 159, inv. 1, file 411, s. 71–72].

Unlike the governorates pertaining to the Nizovoy ship timber district, in the Baltic and Northern districts, as well as in the Western and Ostzeysky guberniyas where they logged and delivered timber to piers, all works were performed by employees. Considering the proximity of these governorates to St. Petersburg and Arkhangelsk, timber delivery from piers to wharves was less costly than delivery from the governorates of the Nizovoy district. From 1836–1845 (10 years), in the Nizovoy district 335,248 rub were paid to laschmanns for the felling and delivery of ship timber to the rivers, while the delivery of timber to ports itself cost 1,643,715 rub (the ratio is about 1 to 5). In the Baltic, Northern districts, and in the Western and Ostzeysky guberniyas this ratio was about 1 to 1.4 [Russian State Archive of the Navy, f. 159, inv. 1, file 689, s. 111 reverse–112. Therefore, one of the main reasons for the continuation of forced laschmann labour

in the governorates of the Nizovoy district lies in the unwillingness of the government to incur extra charges during logging and the delivery of timber to piers.

Thus, despite the set of measures taken by the government for the improvement of the laschmanns' condition, the compulsory nature of their work did not change. Overall, improvements were limited, as their efficiency fell owing to the ongoing exploitation of laschmann labour by the government. While they engaged in the logging, primary processing and delivery of ship timber to piers, laschmanns also played an important role in the development of the Russian fleet. On 28 March 1860, the decree was announced on the transfer of laschmann to the state peasantry class [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 35, p. 1, No. 35611]. The main reason for the rejection of the Russian government of the use of laschmann labour was the social and economic situation in the country, which was characterised by the growth of the hired labour market and other elements of capitalist development, meaning it was impossible to continue with former state serf institutions like the laschmann peasantry. From this time on they began to log timber with the help of hired employees.

§ 2. Peasant serfs and appanage serfs

Svetlana Eremina, Ildus Zagidullin

The Tatar peasant serfs. The legislative initiatives of Peter I designed to eliminate the Tatar-Muslim feudal nobility, especially the decree of 12 July 1715 (it was allowed to keep Muslim serfs and take serfs from Christians together with the land allotments allocated to them), led to the loss of a considerable part of Tatar murza lands and a drop in the number of their serfs.

In the first half of the 19th century, the absolute majority of Tatar serfs belonged to the Tevkelev family. In the last quarter of the 17th century, Davletmambet Tevkelev had estates in the Yaroslavl and Vladimir uyezds, and the estates of his son Mamesh were in the Vladimir, Kasimov and Kerensky uyezds. Over

the course of time his estates in the last two uyezds were given to his daughters as dowry [Azamatova, 2008, p. 67]. Their brother, the Russian diplomatic official Kutlu-Muhammad (1674–1766), obtained Nazar village in the Tersinskaya volost in 1718, and Tangachi across the Kama River in 1720 from the Yaushevs [Alishev, 1973, p. 21]. Most likely, in the 18th century he also bought some other Tatar settlements located on the lands of the Yaushevs²⁹. In the 1780's, in the Yelabuga

²⁹ In the latter half of the 17th century, the Yaushevs owned the villages of Tersya, Nazyar, Nazyarbash, Akkozino, Agryz, yarykly, Mordovskaya, Ardash, and Pseev [E'tnoterritorial'ny'e gruppy', 2002, p. 95].

uyezd of Vyatka guberniya the Tevkelevs had 540 serfs [Pislegin, 2011, p. 101]. The Serf Tatars of the uyezd lived in the settlements of Tersya, Staro-Baltachevo, Biktovo (Yur'), Nazyar, Tuba, Mordovo, and Chishma. In the first half of the 19th century, Mordovo belonged to Yunusova and Nazyar belonged to the successors of G. Muratov, and the others belonged to the Tevkelevs [E'tnoterritorial'ny'e gruppy', 2002, p. 94].

In Ufa province, the lands and serf population were 'granted' ³⁰ to K. Tevkelev after his suppression of the rebellion of 1735–1740, in other words for his 'merits' in the cruel suppression of a civilian riot, and also for uniting Kazakhstan with Russia. Therefore, they pardoned his capture and enslavement of the Muslim Yasak people [Azamatova, 2008, pp. 67, 74–75].

According to census records, the ethnic composition of Tevkelev villages was in a state of constant change. At the initial stage of the formation of the landowner household, people were brought in mostly from the Kasimov uyezd of Ryazan guberniya (village of Podlipki), and the Yelatma Uyezd of Tambov guberniya (the village of Antonovo (Narma)). These migrations did not stop over the following decades from the places where the ancestors of the Tevkelevs received their first lands. Among the transferred peoples there were also peasants who earlier belonged to other murzas. However, the main supplies of human resources to Tevkelev villages in the Ufa province were the Tatar settlements located in the Yelabuga and Sarapul uyezds of Vyatka guberniya. Through careful migration management they equaled out the number of men and women, and formed new ancestral lands (Novy'e Kar'avdy', and others). The attitude of landowners towards their serf brothers in faith corresponded to the general attitudes of the period: in the documents there are many cases of peasant punishments like exile to Siberia and military recruitment [Azamatova, 2008, pp. 76–77]. As a communal feature, the polygamy of serf Muslims should be noted in particular.

In Belebey Uyezd, Muslim serfs who belonged to the Tevkelevs lived in the settlements of Kilimovo, Novo-Kilimovo (from the 19th century), Baltachevo, Novo-Baltachevo, Ustyumovo, Akhunovo, Novoe Akhunovo (from the 19th century), Lomovo, Tyuryush-Tamash, Karavdy, Novye Karavdy and Kugul, in Ufa uyezd the village of Kugushevo, and in Menzelinsk uyezd in the village of Kadykeevo [Azamatova, 2008, p. 76].

At the end of the 18th century, the serf Tatars belonging to the Timashevs lived in Orenburg uyezd in the Tamgachi (Almaly') settlement. They obtained them from the Tevkelevs from among the peasants living in the villages of Novo-Baltachevo and Tersya. After receiving manumission, they were expelled from their lands and the settlement by the landowner. In the sources from the 18th century, there is a mention of serf Tatars in the Verkhniye Yerykly village (the lands of the Yaushevs) in Menzelinsk uyezd. In the 19th century, three more villages were established in Ufa uyezd: Agirdi (which belonged to the Maksyutovs), Sorokamy'sh (the Bayryakovs' possession) and Uzy'tamak (the possession of the Alkins) [E'tnoterritorial'ny'e gruppy', 2002, p. 96].

Thus, the small group of serf Tatars who lived in about 30 villages was only a portion of the total mass of the Tatar rural tribute population.

Appanage serfs. In the 18th century, state peasants of the Volga-Ural region were not influenced by the autocratic policy of their transfer into private hands. However, in 1797, after the development of the appanage department, some state peasants were transferred under the supervision of this new department because imperial lands and properties were formed with the help of simple partitioning. In some governorates, Tatars were ascribed to the serfs of the appanage, in particular in the Ardatov uyezd of Simbirsk guberniya there were 241 Serving Tatars among them [Research Institute of Humanities under the Government of the Republic of Mordovia, I-1234, p. 32].

In October 1797, nine appanage distribution centres were formed, each of which managed 50–70 thousand male serfs. Peasants of Simbirsk, Nizhny Novgorod, Penza and Kazan Governorates fell within the Kazan appanage

³⁰ The first serfs were the enslaved wives and children of rebels.

distribution centers. Country governing bodies named 'prikazy' were organised at the local level, and several dozen villages (3–3.5 thousand peasants) fell under the jurisdiction of each of them [Gorlanov, 1986, pp. 95–97].

This system of government showed the awkwardness of its design within the first 10 years of its operations and arrears increased sharply, which gave the government quite a scare. Alexander I made an attempt to reform the administration of the appanage department, and appanage offices were formed instead of the previous distribution centres. In Russia, there was a total of 19, and under the control of each of them were about 200 thousand peasants of the appanage, along with retired soldiers, corporals and peasants of other titles.

The main task of the appanage office was the efficient collection of tributes and supervision over the payment of arrears by peasants. They also had to execute the orders of governors, zemsky police and the treasury chamber about the delivery of recruits, the payment of state tributes and the execution of various public duties by peasants.

Appanage peasants acted the same way in relation to the imperial family as private peasants did in relation to their landowners. But as for personal rights, there was a substantial difference between appanage peasants and serfs, although the legislation was based on similar principles. Only in 1858 were appanage peasants given personal and property rights equal to other free rural social classes.

When searching for work, seasonal workers ('otkhodniki') had to obtain the agreement of the land community, then get permission from the local authorities after providing them proof that their allotments would be cultivated by their relatives or other fellow villagers. Starting in the 1830s, the appanage authorities reduced their number of issued passports, as they considered that the expansion in the number of seasonal workers caused more losses than profit. The appanage department applied various means to reduce the number of seasonal workers. Except for direct prohibition and an increase in the cost of passports, they also made other attempts to heighten the interest of peasants in agriculture by using the latest agricultural tools, etc.

In 1835, in Simbirsk guberniya all inhabitants of state villages, including *Iaschmann*, were transferred to the jurisdiction of the appanage department. Thus, the Tatars of Simbirsk guberniya, generally the descendants of Tatar *murzas* living there in the 17– the beginning of the 18th century totaling 56,715 serfs of both sexes and smallholders, began to represent a new category of rural inhabitants—appanage peasants.

Farming was the main occupation of appanage peasants, and at the same time the average per capita allotment for an appanage peasant was significantly reduced. In Simbirsk guberniya in 1800, 4.48 desyatinas of land was the per capita share listed in the census, and among the land 3.9 desyatinas were arable. By 1862, these figures had fallen, with the total allotment on average coming out to 3.84 desyatinas, with arable land making up no more than 3.2 desyatinas [Gorlanov, 1986, p. 164].

The appanage department suggested the idea of establishing agricultural schools that would provide 'mentors who can introduce the rules of arable farming everywhere' [Istoriya udelov, 1902, pp. 180–181]. In these schools they planned to train specialists and the owners of 'model farms', which they planned to build in each and every appanage. The authorities received the money to construct such schools from members of the common people. In addition, the community undertook to keep indigent pupils of schools at their own expense [Central State Archive of the Chuvash Republic, f. 193, inv. 1, file 4178, s. 1].

The model farms where they planned to teach other peasants using the examples of agricultural school graduates to use the latest techniques and tools, and also to promote new crops, and the use of fertilizers, etc., were closed 14 years later owing to a frustration of the hopes they were originally invested with [Istoriya udelov, 1902, pp. 212–213].

The appanage farm management control reform of 1808 did not affect the lowest rung of the administrative hierarchy—the country community, which ultimately preserved its status as an intermediary between administrative structures and ordinary peasants.

The head (starosta) who was in charge of the community was elected at the village community assembly. The term of his service was from 3–5 years depending on the uyezd, and his main duty was to mediate between the 'mir' (commune) and the appanage office, and manage the treasury of the 'mir'. The head presided at village community assemblies, took charge of general labour activities, maintained order in the settlement within his jurisdiction, considered minor cases, heard simple cases and quarrels, and had the right to punish the guilty party of minor crimes.

Within the appanage department there was some discrimination of the non-orthodox population. In fact, there was an officially recorded provision that only Russian peasants, or as a last resort—members of other nationalities professing Orthodoxy, could be elected to administrative positions within the community: 'In the settlements, societies and volosts where Christians live together with idolaters, idolaters cannot be elected to rural and volost leadership positions' [Serkina, 2002, p. 89].

Heads were obligated to coordinate the activities of the society in critical situations such as fires, floods, loss of cattle, etc., to prevent deforestation and the destruction of crops. Thus, rural heads combined the functions of a representative power, administrative apparatus and police.

Heads were paid a salary out of the funds of common community members, and usually did not exceed 6–8 rubles. In addition, they were exempted from all types of natural servitude for the period of their duty. Heads had deputies such as tax collectors, sailors (rangers), forest rangers, and field guard and fireguard heads who were elected from among community members [State Archive of Ulyanovsk Oblast, f. 537, inv. 1, file 161, s. 14].

Rural heads were obligated to appear before the volost board twice a week to resolve current issues. Volost boards were soon replaced by the prikaz, which in the first half of the 19th century was the highest administrative unit of local serf government. The board of the prikaz was usually located in the central settlement of the volost community. It consisted of a head of the prikaz, a state chief, a chief of the pri-



Additional record of possessions of the peasant community in Nizhnyaya Sun village of Mamadysh Uyezd Kazan Governorate. 1867.

kaz, and a scribe. The head was required to inform peasants of all government and appanage orders, 'to keep them in order', and to enforce moral principles.

The enlargement of officialdom, increase in maintenance expenses and complication of the decision-making procedure, all this caused the opposite effect of its intention. Instead of the expected rise in profitability of appanage farms, peasant arrears started to grow, the arbitrary actions of officials intensified, and bribery continued to flourish. The complex vertical power structure could not solve essential problems, and likewise deprived common peasants of the right to control their farm.

Thus, the inhabitants of appanage villages made up the local group of the rural Tatar tribute population. According to law of 23 June 1863, appanage peasants acquired the rights of free rural inhabitants and obtained ownership of their own allotments which were required to be purchased.

§ 3. The land tenure of Tatar farmers in the post-reform period

Ildus Zagidullin

The post-reform period became an important stage in the formation of a new relationship between the state—that is, the regulator on land matters, the owner of state lands and the Russian peasantry. In respect to the solution of the land problem, the actions of the authorities were evasive towards the country's tribute population, and it in large part remained absent from the Great reforms of the 1860–1870s. They contributed to the preservation of conservative relations in rural communities and the consolidation of its positions on the land issue, hindered the development of capitalist relations and aggravated the agrarian question in the multinational village.

The results of the land reforms of the 1860s.

The abolition of serfdom and the registration of redemption payments poorly affected the residents of Tatar villages owing to the small number of landed peasants among them. In Ufa and Orenburg guberniyas, peasants of the Tevkelevs received on average 5 desyatinas per capita (census data), and only the inhabitants of Kilimovo acquired donated lands [Azamatova, 2008, pp. 83–88]. In 1859, the Tatar farmers who moved from Ufa guberniya to Belyi Klyuch (Alkino) in the Mamadysh uyezd of Kazan Governorate for the third time 'were poorly arranged' by the landowner Alkin. Owing to crop failures in 1865, they could not pay redemption payments for 17 per capita lands. In 1869, the government allowed them to postpone their payments for 5 years, and by 1879, they had accumulated 2482 rubles in debt. During the estate's inventory it turned out that only 11 farms out of 15 had one horse, and as for real estate, they had no household buildings except for some shabby houses and grain warehouses. Only manifesto of 15 May 1883 abolished arrears on redemption payments of all sizes and allowed them to resume payments, even though peasants desired to refuse their allotments [Materialy', 1936, pp. 40–50].

Under law of 26 June 1863, *appanage peasants* were given 'possession' of lands that were in their use, and the poll tax ('podushnaya podat') was transformed into an obligatory re-

demption payment that never went up but they had to pay off in the span of 49 years (starting in 1865). The redemption sum was based on the former rent capitalised at 6% per annum [Istoriya Udmurtii, 2004, p. 263]. According to the 10th census, there was a reduction of per capita allotments owing to a natural population increase after the last reduction of lands that belonged to appanage peasants. The allotment area in Kazan guberniya was reduced nearly 11% (3.9 desyatinas), and in Simbirsk guberniya they were also given 3.9 desyatinas [Khodsky, 1891, pp. 119, 123].

The law of 24 November 1866 entitled 'Land Arrangements of State Peasants in 36 governments' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 41, Section 1, No.43888] defined the legal basis of the land use of state villagers. In 14 governorates, including Kazan, Ryazan, Samara, Saratov and Simbirsk guberniyas where lands were delimited, title-deeds were to be printed within two years, in Astrakhan within 4 years, in Nizhny Novgorod and some other governorates where the land survey was not yet finished, within 6 years, and in those governorates where land plans had not yet been drafted (Vyatka, Orenburg, Perm, Ufa, etc.), also within 6 years. The state also required farmers to pay labour rent—a feudal rent—that took into account the revaluation of land payments over the last 20 years.

In Kazan, Ryazan, Samara, Saratov, Simbirsk and some other governorates, the labour rent sum remained in its pre-established amount. Beginning in 1867 in the remaining above-mentioned governorates, labour rent increased due to the addition of a special surtax.

Time showed that the levying of a 20-year invariable labour rent was unprofitable for former state peasants. Considering that according to the reforms of the 1860's, the redemption price of 1 desyatina of land allotment in Kazan guberniya for former landed peasants amounted to the absolutely massive sum of 22 rubles and 7 kopeks, and for former appanage peasants 13 rubles 56 kopeks. Former state peasants also

paid 77 kopeks of labour rent over 20 years, or 15 rubles 40 kopeks, for the use of 1 desyatina of good land [Smykov, 1984, p. 74]. But in reality they actually paid 2/3 of the repayment sum of former landed peasants and did not become the owners of the allotments.

The law allowed repayment by communities and some peasant farms through the payment of a labour rent capitalised from 5% at the rate of 1 ruble for every 5 kopeks of labour rent. However, this right was not supported by government lending and borrowing, as was the case with landed peasants and its effect of depriving them of the possibility to buy out their own allotments.

Compound communities received common title-deeds that later frequently led to land disputes. They also registered meadow and forest estates under the ownership of several rural communities [Materialy' dlya sravnitel'noj, Ed. 7, p. 40]. In the Kazan uyezd, for example, of the 71 communities using 31 unmarked lands with a total area of more than 8 thousand desyatinas, 11 communities were attached to two common allotments, and one—to three allotments [Materialy' dlya sravnitel'noj, Ed. 3, p. 31].

Forest was to be allotted at the rate of 1/8 (12.5%) of a communal allotment, which translated into a considerable reduction of forest lands. In Kazan Governorate, the ratio of forest area in all peasant lands was three and more times less than the original ratio stipulated by the legislation. In fact, they had no more than 23% of the wood they used till 1866 [Chernyshev, 1948, p. 409].

The law appointed the existing allotments to state peasants, but no more than 8 desyatinas per capita (census data) in land-poor uyezds, and 15 desyatinas in uyezds with large amounts of land.

However, almost everywhere much less land was appointed to communities than was officially permitted. In our opinion, in most cases 'title-deeds' recorded the lands the agricultural communities had been using before. In other words, the authorities did not make expensive arrangements for the reduction of additional allotments necessary for sustainable farm management. As a result, in a number of governorates where the Tatars lived, their communities received less allotments than any other ethnic groups of state villagers. Because the local administration ignored

the requirement for additional allotments during the preparation of 'title-deeds', in our opinion the reasons for the less-than-desirable situation might possibly be the following: the Tatar communities received less allotments during the previous reduction than the neighboring nations, and the rather high natural population increase rates in the pre-reform period that had a negative impact on the size of per capita allotments.

Among the multinational peasantry of the former state villages of Kazan Governorate, per capita allotments were irregular: the Russians received 6.4 desyatinas, the Mordva and Udmurt—6 desyatinas, the Mari—5.7 desyatinas and the Chuvash—5.0 desyatinas. The Tatars received the lowest allotment of all—4.7 desyatinas [Krest'yanskoe zemlevladienie, 1907, pp. 84, 88]. The Tatars witnessed a reduction of field acreage, which subsequently led to the deterioration of the overall condition of fodder resources and resulted in a lower level of animal stock supply on their farms [Trudy' statisticheskoy, pp. 55–56].

According to the results of the agrarian reforms of the 1860s 19th the farmers of former state villages acquired more land than landed peasants. In Kazan Governorate, former landed peasants received an average of 2.7 desyatinas per capita (census data), former state peasants—5.2 desyatinas, in Samara guberniya—3.4 and 10.8 desyatinas respectively, and in Vyatka guberniya—3 and 6.6 desyatinas [Khodsky, 1891, pp. 30–36].

The agrarian reform of 1866 not only did not improve the economic and social situation of peasants, but eventually led to a reduction of forest area and delayed the beginning of buy-back operations for 20 years.

Thus, as a result of governmental transformations in the communal land ownership of the Tatars, several groups of rural farms, and subsequently several different behavior models, were formed: 1) the local group of former Tatar serfs bought out their allotments or received small donation plots of land; 2) the main part of Tatar rural population—former state peasants—continued to pay labour rent; 3) according to the reform of 1863, appanage peasants who became 'owners' of the used lands were transferred to obligatory redemption payments; 4) the delimi-



Tatar family harvesting. Photo from the early 20th century.

tation of lands of landowners and former military and civil settlers (*pripushchenniki*) continued right to the downfall of the autocracy.

Agrarian reforms of the 1860's did not affect the system of land tenure in the Orenburg and Ural Cossack army.

The transformation of labour rent into redemption payments for former state peasants. The inequality of land assignments and the amount of tribute levied on the lands of various categories of farmers put the rural tribute population in varying conditions. Considering the difficult economic and social situation of former landed peasants who received minimum allotments and paid unreasonable redemption payments that exceeded the value of the land, the government decided to shift a part of their taxes onto the shoulders of former state peasants. The financial aspects of the reform were directed at a gradual equalisation of the economics of all main categories of the Russian peasantry.

The transformation of labour rent into obligatory redemption payments was connected with the cancellation of the poll tax. On 1 January 1884, the government started to pursue its plans and reduce the poll tax amount. In 1886, it was cancelled for former landed and appanage peasants, and in 1887 this extend-

ed to former state peasants as well [Anfimov, 1976, pp. 32–33].

In accordance with the law of 12 June 1886, farmers were transferred over to obligatory redemption payments consisting of labour rent and a forest tax that increased by 20%. If there were any objections regarding redemption payments, peasants had the right to ask by proxy for a reduction in their payment. 'If necessary', their petitions were checked at the local level. However, the administration always had the last word concerning the ultimate repayment.

In Kazan Governorate, the sum of the labour rent and forest tax was increased on average by 45%, in Penza—by 39%, in Samara—by 31%, in Vyatka guberniya—by 40%, in Saratov—by 57%, in Ufa—by 55%, and in Orenburg—by 59%. Peasants had to pay this sum annually (without any changes) over the span of 44 years. For the purpose of long-term profits and considering the experience of other agrarian reforms, the government established the deadline for their payment till 1 January 1931 [Anfimov, 1976, pp. 34–38, 40].

In terms of financing, the law of 12 June 1886 was 'a predatory operation performed for fiscal reasons' [Ananyich, 1974, p. 201]. The redemption price of one *desiatina* of a peasant

allotment in Kazan Governorate was raised to 41 rubles, in Penza guberniya—to 67 rubles, in Saratov—to 38 rubles, in Samara and Ufa Governorates it was 19 rubles, in Vyatka Governorate—16 rubles, and in Orenburg—6 rubles. As a result, the annual redemption payment in Kazan and Vyatka guberniyas turned out to be only 10% less than the total amount of labour rent and poll tax paid before, in Penza guberniya—2%, in Samara—0.6%, in Saratov—4%, in Ufa—6%, and in Orenburg—3% [Anfimov, 1976, pp. 40–41].

It is interesting to compare the sum of the redemption payments of former landed peasants after the mitigation in 1881, and of state peasants under the law of 12 June 1886. In Kazan Governorate the first annually paid 1.39 rubles, the second—1.05 rubles, in Penza—1.66 and 1.29 rubles, respectively, in Perm—0.5 and 0.6 rubles, in Saratov—1.37 and 0.97 rubles, in Samara—1.16 and 0.48 rubles, in Vyatka—1.13 and 0.66 rubles, and in Ufa—1.14 and 0.79 rubles [Khodsky, 1891, Table 24].

In cases of prior redemption operations, peasants had to pay money at the rate of 1 ruble for ever 5 kopeks of repayment without the extension of credit or any additional resources by the Ministry of Finance. In 1893, pre-term repayment was allowed for certain owners of their allotments only upon the agreement of 2/3 members of the rural community who had the right to vote in the community.

Analysing the financial estimates of the reform, prominent Russian economist P. Migulin agreed that 'the repayment of rent by state peasants was not carried out as a correct credit transaction, and furthermore could not be, as there was nobody to act as creditor. In general, all these operations concerning the repayment of rent by state peasants appear to actually be a disguised increase in labour rent' [cited by: Ananyich, 1974, p. 211].

The payment of redemption charges by all categories of peasants was ceased by the government in 1907, but before this peasant allotments were excluded from the market.

In general, the transformation of labour rent into redemption payments in 1886 made former state peasants the main taxpayers, and gradually led to a decline in living standard and the equali-

sation of their economic and social position with other categories of peasants.

Changes in land tenure. From the 1870's–1905, generally speaking it was all-Russian tendencies in land issues mainly caused by regional differences and government policies that were characteristic of the land tenure of various groups of the Tatar population.

Communal land ownership. The results of the agrarian reform of 1866 and the natural increase of the Tatar population, as a result of which they now occupied the leading position [Smykov, 1973, pp. 39–40], in many respects predetermined the development of rather deep-running distinctions when providing them with land.

Twenty years later, after the territorial revision of Kazan guberniya, the Tatars had the greatest proportions of communities (43%) and farms (43.5%), with allotments up to 3 desyatins of land. Among the Chuvash these figures amounted to 19% and 2.5% respectively, and among the Russians 16.2% and 10.7% [Obshchij svod, 1896, p. 217]. By the beginning of the 20th century, the situation grew even worse: from 1866 to 1907, Tatar allotments were reduced by 46.8%, and as for other nations this process was continuing along at a more modest pace [Krest'yanskoe zemlevladienie, Ed. 13, pp. 88–95].

In Vyatka guberniya at the end of the 1880's, allotments of arable land totaled 12.3 desyatins in Tatar farms, 26 desyatins in Russian farms, and 24.6 desyatins in Udmurt farms. An analysis of the average data in these groups paints a rather miserable picture. Among Tatar farms, landless and land-poor farms with allotments up to 10 desyatins totaled 47.5%, 'with the average amount of land' (10–25 desyatins)—45.4%, and farms with a lot of land made up 7.1%. On the peasant farms of other ethnic groups the situation was much better, and the Russians had the following figures: 30.7%, 52.5%, and 16.6%, respectively, while the Udmurts had 9%, 51.9%, and 39.1% [Morozov, 1936, p. 28, 29].

From 1877–1905 in Ufa guberniya, the average provision of per capita allotments for former state peasants decreased considerably from 19.5 to 14.3 desyatins, and in Orenburg guberniya from 32.7 to 24.3 desyatins. The

sharp decrease in the allotment areas of Bashkir landowners and settlers can also be explained by the sale of patrimonial lands by the former and the delimitation of the lands of the second, when the 'excess' allotments of military settlers were handed over to the treasury. In 1877 in Ufa guberniya, Bashkir landowners and settlers owned an average of 37.3 desyatinas of allotments and in Orenburg—91.1 desyatinas; in 1905 these data sharply decreased to 24.2 and 44 desyatinas, respectively. It should be noted that the actual provision of settlers with land was below the figures mentioned below. As their lands were not divided thoroughly, it is impossible to speak of more precise data [Usmanov, 1973, pp. 39, 43]. During the reduction of lands, former military settlers lost half of their allotments, and a further decrease of the allotment area occurred under the influence of the natural population increase. However, in comparison with state peasants they lived in rather favorable conditions.

For the purpose of expanding arable lands, the peasantry also engaged in intensive deforestation. However, this could not serve as the final solution to the 'land hunger' that appeared in the Middle Volga region in the 1880's.

Quaternary tenure. At the turn of the 17–18th centuries in Russia, there was a unification of service people 'on the principle of a common homeland' into a closed class of nobility provided with exclusive privileges. According to the methods of land tenure, service people were equated 'based on their tools' with smallholders, and retained their right of personal land use. After the Serving Tatars and Murzas were registered as state peasants and taxes were levied on them at the end of Peter I's reign, only those who had official documents were able to retain ownership of their property. As a result, according to the law, Serving Tatars who did not have confirming documents were not owners, but holders of state land. In the late 18th century, the sizes of the land allotments of most Serving Tatars in the Middle Volga region were no larger than those of state peasants because they had been split up, and often were a part of communal private lands that were used only by members of their families [Gilyazov, 1982, pp. 109, 111].

In the 19th century, land allotments of former Serving Tatars were reduced even further.

In 1882 in Tambov guberniya, more than half the farms of former small holders who owned lands under the quaternary right had allotments of 3 or less desyatinas, and only about 4% of the farms were 15 or more desyatinas, which made it possible for the farms to function properly [Mukhamedova, 2008, p. 57]. In Kazan Governorate, 34 of 37 villages with quaternary land tenure (8831.4 desyatinas) belonged to the Tatars [Nikolaev, 1997, p. 88]. At the end of 19–beginning of 20th centuries, quaternary land tenure decreased. Some quaternary peasants sold their land to 'a third party', some of them changed over to communal land ownership [Nikolaev, 1997, p. 30].

In the latter half of the 19th century, quaternary land tenure for Tatar peasants meant ownership of land that belonged to a group of persons as common property. The plots of joint owners were not individual lands, but parts of common land. Though quaternary lands were not subject to radical repartition and joint owners considered them to be private property, the government issued redemption payments for these lands [Obshhij svod, 1896, p. 370].

Quaternary land tenure changed over to communal ownership due to difficulties and complications in the land relations of joint owners. The Serving Murzas in a number of settlements of Kazan Governorate experienced such changes to equalized communal land ownership under pressure of members of communities [Zagidullin, 1992, pp. 39–40].

In a number of settlements where Serving Tatars lived together with state peasants, a new type of land tenure appeared. Contemporaries called it *household land tenure*—the right of prominent peasant families to have a particular number of desyatinas of common land without designating the areas [Materialy', 1936, pp. 100–101].

Private land ownership. Private land ownership existed in the form of personal property and the property of village communes or unions.

During the post-reform period, the Russian merchant class took over the role of active agricultural land buyers. By 1877, 15% of all land that was purchased in Middle and Lower Volga guberniyas belonged to merchants. In some cities, they bought and rented out land, and even

A peasant household
in Yaltan village of
Chistopol Uyezd.
Kazan Governorate
Photo, 1902.



tilled fallow ground. They owned the largest purchased lands (1336 desyatinas) [Statistika pozemel'noj, Ed. 4, pp. 15–16].

Tatar merchants were also interested in land, although their acquisitions were not so large. In 1868, 8 Kazan and Arsk merchants owned 3554.1 desyatinas in Kazan uyezd. The largest areas belonged to Iskhak and Ibragim Yunusov (2,000 desyatinas), Ismail Apakov (937 desyatinas), Khasan Yakupov (146 desyatinas), and Mustafa Usmanov (174.4 desyatinas) [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 12198, s. 362 reverse–346, 368 reverse–383].

In the Ural region in mid-19th century, predominantly Russians were the main landowners, partially along with Tatar and Bashkir nobility [Usmanov, 1973, p. 35]. Land allotments began to be made to merchants, townspeople and peasants in the region in the following decades. The law of 10 February 1869 allowed Bashkir landowners to sell plots that exceeded 15 desyatinas per capita according to the 10th census. As a result of such 'free' sale of land, in 1869–1878 Bashkir landowners lost 1.047 million desyatinas of land. In Ufa guberniya, the land was sold for 1 ruble per desyatina, which was 7–25 times less than the market price at the time. Taking advantage of the cheap Bashkir land, in 1869–1878, Tatar and Bashkir nobles, merchants and officials bought 30,000 desyatinas of land in Ufa and Orenburg guberniyas at unbelievably low prices [Usmanov, 1981, pp. 45–47].

The government was forced to intervene in the unchecked situation and changed the rules for selling in the law of 9 May 1878. From then on, the initiative to sell the land had to come

from the village communes, and the guberniya administration held public bidding based on that. This practice was changed in the law of 15 June 1882, according to which land could only be sold by Bashkirs themselves, with no bidding, and only to the treasury and peasant settlers.

In the late 19th century, the Khusainov brothers owned a large amount of purchased land in Orenburg, Orsk, Chelyabinsk and Troitsk uyezds, where their cattle grazed and then were driven to Orenburg, to the slaughterhouse they owned, every autumn [Denisov, 2009b, p. 53].

Tatar entrepreneurs who did the preliminary processing of animal products rented pastures for grazing cattle from Bashkir landlords. In the late 19th century, Khusainov merchants had 44 such plots with a combined territory of 73,745 desyatinas in Orsk uyezd [Denisov, 2009b, p. 53]. Another group of people interested in purchasing large plots of land were manufacturers. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Ramiev brothers, gold industry entrepreneurs, rented Tamyano-Tangaulovskaya volost, which was half a million desyatinas in size, and also a major part of the 1st and 2nd Burzyan volosts, for a low price [Raimov, 1941, p. 13].

The size of the land purchased by townspeople and peasants was much smaller than the land purchased by merchants [Materialy' dlya izucheniya, 1880, pp. 16–19]. Tatars formed the local group among those people. Tatar crop

farmers bought small land plots (for tillage, pasture, hayfields) according to the needs of their peasant households or communities. During this period, peasants saw the chance to enlarge their tillage in renting plots.

As a result of redistributing Bashkir dachas, it was only at the end of 19–beginning of the 20th century that pripushchenniki (Bashkir and Tatar settlers) received relatively small allotments. According to M. Rodnov's opinion, 'objectively, redistribution of land between landowners and settlers prevented the mass migration of Tatars from densely populated North-Western uyezds to "empty" Bashkir lands, where eventually an influx of Russian and other settlers went. Tatar communities lacked sufficient land, while entrepreneurs predominantly turned to trade' [Rodnov, 2004, p. 394].

The pripushchenniki, who generally received land that was smaller than the space they took up, tried to become land owners by getting title deeds. Many cases were handled in court [Usmanov, 1976, p. 35]. In Bugulma Uyezd of Samara guberniya, 70 Tatar and 'Bashkir' communes received 'ownership registrations' as state serfs in 1868. However, at the end of the 1870s all 7,164 households sued, claiming that they were incorrectly registered as state serfs, since their ancestors had been granted the land by rulers or had bought the land themselves. The communes managed to prove that they were the owners of their lands (they had an average of 10 desyatinas per registered person) and freed themselves from paying rental taxes [Sbornik statisticheskix, Vol. 5, pp. 29, 30, 422].

The property acquired in Volga region belonged mainly to the treasury, local authorities and landlords; in the Ural region there were large properties of Bashkir landlords as well [Rodnov, 2004, p. 318].

By 1905, the percentage of private property owned by communes and unions in the European Russia was 14.5%, in Ufa region it was 33%, in Orenburg region it was 44.3% of all privately owned land, which can be explained by the influx of settlers. In Orenburg guberniya, half of the available private land (451,900 desyatinas)—the larger plots—was taken by industrial and commercial unions [Usmanov, 1976, pp. 29, 33]. Local village communes

and unions owned smaller areas; the relatively large plots among those generally belonged to unions of settlers who didn't form official land communes when they received land [Rodnov, 2004, p. 171].

Thus, the main tendency in land ownership amongst multinational peasantry during this time period was that allotted lands decreased and the thirst for land began in the Middle Volga region in the 1880s. Meanwhile, discrepancies in plot sizes remained high among landowners of the Volga-Kama and the Ural regions. Development of large farms was hampered by the tax burden, redemption payments, and rural overpopulation. Among Tatars, only Meshcheryaks, Teptyars, bobylys and landlords owned their lands outright. Among peasants, most land was bought by communes. A new phenomenon was rural communes buying lands to expand agricultural production. These communes united groups of the most enterprising farmers.

Repartition of land. The order in which peasants could use the land was determined by communal traditions. Agricultural communes were subdivided in three categories: simple (consisting of residents of one village), separate (several communes in one village) and complex communes (ones that combined residents of two or more villages). From the administrative point of view, each separate commune was a separate village community.

In 1907, 18% of communes among agricultural unions were separate due to their relatively high percentage among Russian former peasant serfs (37%) and Mordovians (21%). Separate communes were typical for multinational villages as well. Combined communes accounted for 14.6%. In this group, Chuvash (50%) and Mari (60%) communes prevailed, among other ethnicities the percentages were as follows: Tatars—4%, Russians—3%, Mordovians—7%, Udmurts—11%. Simple communes prevailed in the guberniya (68%): among Tatars—95%, Udmurts—90%, 50%, Maris—39%, Russians—61%, Mordovians—71% [Krest'yanskoe zemlevladienie, Ed. 13, p. 38 Counted by us].

All ethnic groups typically separated from the 'main' villages. When moving to new plots, Tatar peasants broke the connection with their

former communes and formed their own. There were separate communes in a number of settlements where descendants of former Serving and yasak Tatars lived. In Simbirskaya guberniya, for example, 18 multicommunal Tatar villages united to form two village communes each. Quarters of land owned by Serving Tatars were not redistributed among the households, which was the reason that complex communities functioned among them [Nikolaev, 2003, pp. 303, 306, 308].

If during the pre-reform period the profound repartitions were regulated by systemic censuses, in the post-reform period, beginning in the 1880s, communities themselves started to regulate the equal use of land among peasant households. Tatars usually conducted repartitions every 12 years [Sbornik statisticheskix, Vol. 5, pp. 21, 30], rarely—once every 3, 5, 6, or 15 years [Obshhij svod, 1896, pp. 351–353]. In this regard, the law of 8 June 1893 on increasing the period of time between repartitions up to 12 years didn't cause any major changes.

Profound repartitions did not stimulate an increase in productivity of the plots. Essentially, the commune rented land to its members for a given period of time with the help of repartition. Current owners of plots were not interested in fertilizing their land when it came time for a repartition. The previous owners kept their plots in very rare cases [Obshhij svod, 1896, p. 361]. Apart from profound repartitions, communities did private repartitions to redistribute land more fairly when a household handed over land to another for some reason.

Mixed strip farming provided equal distribution of tilled land. Having widely distributed land strips protected farmers from natural disasters [Rodnov, 2004, p. 208].

As communes began to experience a lack of land and some commune members of Ufa and Orenburg guberniyas went bankrupt, they began to distribute land among former state serfs by nalichnaya dusha (each registered person that was considered present until the next census took place). The previous rules applied to landlords and settlers who had large plots [Usmanov, 1981, pp. 163, 180]. As decades went by without repartitions, crop farmers started to perceive the plots as their private property. Un-

official personal land ownership *formed inside the commune* [Rodnov, 2004, p. 289].

One of the major reasons for shortage of land and the weakness of peasant households was frequent family partitioning. Partitioning and forming two-generation families was more intense among Tatars in the following cases: after the head of the family died, or if newlyweds wanted to run the farm on their own, or as a result of family quarrels where women played major roles, etc. [Materialy' dlya izucheniya, 1880, p. 80; N-ch, 1869, p. 28; Zagidullin, 1965, pp. 81–82]. This bankrupted poor farms and impoverishing middle-class ones; turned prospering households into weak ones; decreased the average draught power and cattle on farms, which required considerable amounts of money to buy [Belkovich, 1887, pp. 105].

To 'hinder family repartitions', the government law of 18 March 1886 shifted the approval rights to village gatherings. However, in Tatar communities it was unaccepted to interfere in your neighbours' family affairs.

A. Chayanov, agronomist, pointed out that there was great potential in increasing the number of workers in households [Chayanov, 1989, pp. 90–110]. Many multi-crop households of wealthy peasants were large family patriarchal farms [Rodnov, 2004, pp. 246–247]. Zemsky leaders also saw a direct connection between how many workers the farms had and how much draught power they had. This, in turn, influenced the amount of farmland and the size of the rented land [Sbornik statisticheskix, Vol. 5, pp. 40, 65]. For example, in Malmyzh uyezd of Vyatka guberniya during the period between 1858 to 1884, Tatar households decreased from 10.1 people to 5.5. Among these were a large percentage of weak farms—70.5% (6.5% of farms had no workers, 64% had one) [Materialy' po statistike, Vol. 1, p. 28]. In Kazan Governorate, the average household size decreased by one-third to 5.7 people [Zagidullin, 1992, pp. 57–59]. In Bugulma Uyezd (1885), every Tatar household had an average of 5.4 people, 72% of farms only had one worker, 6.7% didn't have any [Sbornik statisticheskix, Vol. 5, pp. 13, 14, 40].

Rental relationships. Renting land became a necessary part of agrarian relationships. This

was a consequence of numerous factors mutually influencing each other in peasant agriculture. Rental relationships can be subdivided roughly into several levels: communes renting land to or from somebody; rental relationships inside a commune, between peasants of different communes, etc. The actual amount of land used by peasants didn't correlate with the land they owned. Renting land was a result of the low welfare of farms and income inequality between residents of post-reform villages. County councils noted that peasants rented out their land because of their financial insolvency; not because they had a surplus of land. The smaller the size of land owned by a crop farmer, the more often land was rented among Tatars: weak farms that didn't have cattle, equipment or seeds offered their 'vacant' land for rent—the parts of their plots that weren't used. The plots with no owners were rented out to the well-off members of the commune or the neighbouring farmers for half the crops as payment, or for money needed to pay the taxes [Materialy' po statistike, Vol. 19, pp. 22, 111, 115; Sbornik statisticheskikh svedenij, Vol. 5, pp. 86–87; Daishev, 1955, pp. 64–66].

In the last quarter of the century in all uyezds of Samara guberniya, Tatars and Bashkirs handed their land over to speculators. As a result, their plots were smaller than the averaged-sized ones that determined their needs [Svodny'j sbornik, Ed. 1, p. 64].

In the majority of cases, when land was rented out or by the commune, it was done to benefit its members. Some Tatar communes found themselves in dead-end situations when paying their taxes after bad harvest years. Usually their land was used to get the money they needed. These were mostly unfavourable lands, wastelands, pastures and grasslands. It often happened that a commune didn't have enough to feed its cattle and bought its lands back. There were also fictitious rents: land was pawned to debt holders and then bought back after the first harvest. In the 1880s, the Tatars of Kazan Governorate had the largest amount of rented out lands—73.7% (4,524 desyatins). Among them 6 communes rented out all their land [Obshhij svod, 1896, p. 378].

Another significant reason for renting land out together as a commune was the strict gov-

ernmental measures for collecting arrears from peasants. For example, in Tetyushinsky uyezd in February–March 1885 (arrears were collected during this period), peasants had to turn in 1564 desyatins of land for 1 to 12 years as arrear due to this policy.

During the post-reform period, the number of households that stopped farming rose. These were farms whose owners left their home and found a source of subsistence on the side, and farms with no owners. In Kazan Governorate most of such households were found in Russian former landlord communities (17.7%), among Tatars—9.8% [Obshhij svod, 1896, p. 387].

Economic insolvency of Tatar households was becoming the major reason for inactive renting. In the 1880s in Kazan Governorate, grasslands were rented by half of all communes of Russian former landowners and serfs; among Tatar peasants it was only by 1/5 of village communes. Almost the same dramatic difference can be seen in renting tilled land: among Russians—86% of communes, among Chuvashs and Mordovians—50%, among Tatars—41%. The availability of nearby vacant lands played a major role in choosing tilled land for rent [Obshhij svod, 1896, pp. 427, 442].

According to Y. Smykov, during the last quarter of 19th century, entrepreneurial rent prevailed in the Middle Volga region. In southern uyezds of Samara guberniya, capitalistic farms appeared that 'accepted hired man power to develop trade agriculture' as well as improved equipment and machinery [Smykov, 1984, pp. 106–107, 116]. Tatar farms, the majority of which had land and tillage of up to 10 desyatins, were in a group of farmers with a half-subsistence, patriarchal economy.

In 1892, Orenburg guberniya led the European Russia in the size of purchased, traded and rented peasant land (22.5 desyatins); after it was Don Oblast (11.4), Astrakhan (10.5), Ufa (8), Samara (6.9), and Saratov and Perm guberniyas [Svod staticheskikh, 1894]. Lands of votchinniks (large landlords), which were rented at unusually low prices, were very profitable for entrepreneurial peasants of the Ural region. In the latter half of 19th century, the well-off household class appeared among pripushcheniks (settlers) and votchinniks (large landlords),

as well as the Bashkir and Tatar peasantry [Rodnov, 2004, p. 323].

It's important to note that in villages, groups of farm hands and poor people appeared. There was a surplus of man power and it increased along with natural population growth. In the last quarter of the century in Middle-Volga region Tatar poor people and farm hands comprised more than half of their commune members (56.8% in Kazan Governorate), which was much higher than the percentage of the same category among Russian peasants (39.7%) [Smykov, 1973, p. 60]. At the turn of the century, the surplus of man power was one-third of the total working population [Materialy' Vysochajshe uchrezhdennoj, part 1, pp. 216–217, 348].

The well-off class formed due to agricultural initiative and diligence of certain peasants, expansion of tillage, intensive work of family members, usury, and different pre-capitalistic forms of exploiting poorer neighbours (using other people's labour as 'favours' or 'help', etc.) [Zaynullina, 2008, p. 46–48]. Acute agricultural overpopulation, land hunger, transition to repartitions based on *nalichnaya dusha* (last census count) worsened the position of wealthy crop farmers. At the turn of the century, there were fewer and fewer well-off farms. At the beginning of the 20th century, up to the First World War, the social structure of agricultural communes of the Ural region was notable for the nu-

merical predominance of patriarchal subsistence classes (poor to middle class), which made up to 60% of the whole rural population; the percentage of well-off households was less than 10% [Rodnov, 2004, pp. 297, 305].

The social-economic development of Tatar villages was generally characterised by a tendency for capitalistic relationships to spread unevenly in agricultural regions. In Volga-Kama villages in particular, the average plot sizes decreased, the average draught power of farms decreased, and the number of horseless farms increased. Groups of farms that didn't till their lands formed in such villages. According to P. Savelyev, 'this decrease, bordering on pauperization, cannot be accepted as capitalistic differentiation' [Savelyev, 1994, p. 358].

Thus, in areas where traditional semi-subsistence economy predominated, the usual way of life didn't allow a market economy to develop, which often led to decline and regression. The level of regional social-economical development played a major role in the development of farming for non-Russian peasantry. In areas where entrepreneurial farming developed quickly, the rules of market economy interfered in the life of patriarchal villages and destroyed community traditions [Rodnov, 2004, p. 381]. Favourable conditions for organizing capitalistic peasant farms were found in the rich and

fertile southern uyezds of the Volga and the Ural regions with low population density and low land prices.

§ 4. Taxes and duties of former state peasants from the Middle Volga region in 1866–1905

Oleg Mariskin

Estate restrictions. In general, the reforms of the 1860s reinforced one of the remnants of serfdom—the stratification of the tax system. Peasant communities remained mandatory and burdensome. The peasantry remained the lowest tax level, and was obliged to carry all the burden of poll tax, perform various monetary and natural obligations, and had conscript obligation. Peasants were subject to corporal punishment (which was abolished for other classes in 1863). They

were not eligible for state service, etc. The establishment of the *volost* (peasant) court also demonstrated that significant elements of the class system still existed. Members of *volost* courts were annually elected from peasants at *volost* meetings. At least three of the elected judges participated in court sessions. The courts only heard civil (claims for sums under 100 rubles) and minor criminal cases (fights, insults, waste of property, etc) of peasants. As forms of punishment, a *volost* court could sentence an offender to community service for up to 6 days, arrest for

up to 7 days, could fine up to 3 rubles and could order corporal punishment of up to 20 lashes.

The reforms that followed in local government, education, and military service extended the rights of the peasantry. Peasants were eligible to be elected to local government bodies. They received access to secondary and higher educational institutions. Individuals that graduated from higher educational institutions, as well as from secondary educational institutions with honours, had the right to join the civil service regardless of their class origins.

In 1874, recruitment was abolished, and the entire male population (21 years old) became subject to the draft. Admittedly, this didn't fully eliminate the class inequality of peasant rights.

Natural obligations. According to the 1861 'Regulations Concerning Peasants Leaving Serf Dependency', peasants were obliged to pay the following state and zemsky monetary taxes: 1) poll tax; 2) crop failure fund levy; 3) zemsky levies, both state and general governorate and specific ones; 4) levy used to prepare tax registers. As a form of self-taxation, peasant communities developed mir (volost and village) levies and natural obligations.

During the post-reform period, peasant communities were burdened with the following zemsky natural obligations: road obligation (to maintain postal, trade and military dirt roads connecting towns in the guberniya and uyezd to one another and to mooring docks, fortresses and other military facilities, also to maintain bridges, dams, dikes and other crossings); water navigation obligation (to maintain so-called 'natural tow paths' for navigable and drifting rivers, lakes and bays); cart obligation (to maintain and sup-

ply carts for policemen, investigators, and civil servants travelling on official business, as well as for zemsky postal service; to provide carts for recruits and various military units); quartering obligation (to provide flats to uyezd police and civil servants of certain ranks and help them in their everyday needs, as well as house troops); and prisoner transfer obligation (to escort prisoners if there are no military guards, to provide night lodging to prisoners and their escort, to heat and light these premises, to maintain carts for prisoner transfer). Village communities and landowners of all classes were obliged to exterminate insects and animals that could harm fields and meadows. Zemsky institutions had the right to turn natural obligations into monetary payments at their discretion [Ustav o zemskix, 1903, pp. 2, 263, 264, 267, 268].

The 'Statute on Village Condition' listed the following mir natural obligations of peasant communities: to maintain local public administration; to set up and maintain village produce shops; to keep dirt roads, boundaries and boundary signs, lotic waters and ditches in good condition; to support a village guard; to support elderly, senile and crippled members of community; to take action in case of fire (including forest fire), flood etc. [Polozhenie o sel'skom, 1903, p. 361]. Additionally, former state peasants alone were given the forest natural obligation to dig and plow the forests in order to create fire-fighting boundaries.

All in all, as N. Brzhevsky rightfully noted in the beginning of the 20th century, 'Considerably burdening peasants unevenly, and encumbering only the former taxable classes, the natural obligations, by their general constitution and their

Table 26

The composition of peasants of the Middle Volga region in the post-reform period (in %)

[Trudy' komissii, 1872, p. 4, 6, 8]

Governorates	Peasants		
	former state	former landowners'	former appanage
Kazan	82.61	15.01	2.38
Penza	47.87	52.13	—
Samara	64.43	16.34	19.23
Simbirsk	8.31	42.38	49.32
Total:	54.15	29.33	16.52

everyday practice are, so to speak, an anachronism from the pre-reform period' [Brzhevsky, 1908, p. 22].

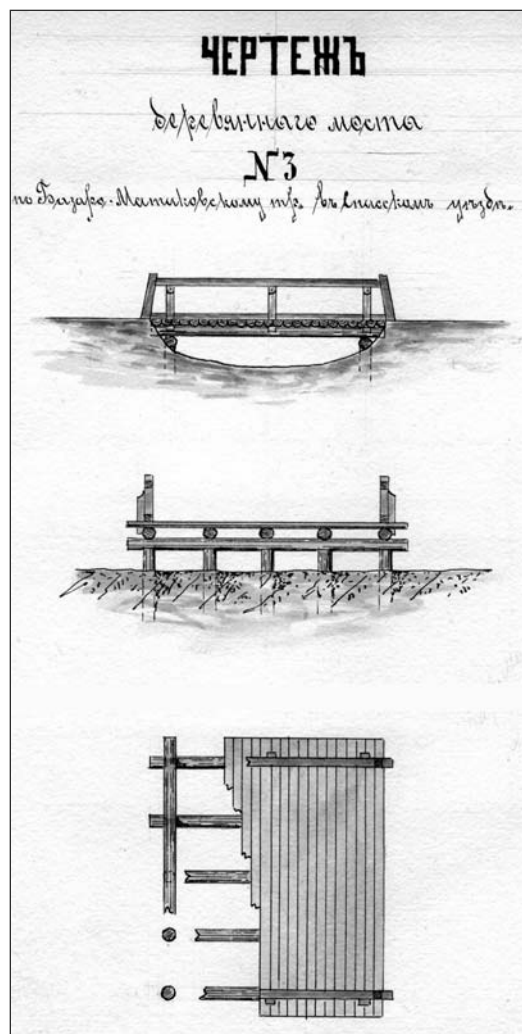
The quartering obligation in the multiethnic Kazan Governorate was hindered because of the different ethnic customs of the local people. More specifically, in Spassk uyezd (1867), only Christian peasants fulfilled the quartering obligation to house troops, while Muslim peasants evaded this obligation [Mulgaliyev, 2011, p. 86].

Tax functions of the community. Communal ownership of land was the basis for community's existence as a taxable unit. State, zemsky and mir levies as a general rule were distributed between householders at a meeting using the same numbers that were used for community land division.

Volost levies were divided between villages at volost meetings, in most cases taking into account the census data on population [Brzhevsky, 1908, p. 128]. The unevenness of such taxation is obvious. First of all, since the 10th census—that is, since 1858, census data on the actual population of different volost villages was totally inaccurate; secondly, individual peasants from different villages received different amounts of land.

As for the mir village levies, a part was distributed on the same terms as state and zemsky levies—the very levies covering the mandatory expenses of a village community. The rest of mir levies were quite often distributed on other terms, depending on their purpose. For instance, levies from cattle herders and to keep a common ox were distributed based on the number of head of livestock; levies for night guards and for fire carts were paid equally by each homestead, etc. [State Archive of the Russian Federation, f. 586, inv. 1, file 586, s. 14 reverse–15].

During the post-reform period, the idea of progressive income taxation didn't receive approval among the peasantry: communities didn't adjust any type of taxation based on the earnings of a homestead. Distributing taxes based strictly on the distribution of land was influenced by the traditional idea of the economic and tax significance of land as the main capital held by peasants. In peasants' opinion, using income as a basis for distributing levies, more than any



A drawing of wooden bridge No. 3 on the Bazarovskiy Tract in Spassky Uyezd of Kazan guberniya, which should have been built by peasants as road duty.

other basis, could have led to 'village meeting abuse'. At the same time, village communities quite consistently resisted preferential taxation of poverty-stricken or temporary needy householders. The exceptions were very rare.

The formal criteria for evaluating a family's ability to work was whether payments from land plots were regular or irregular. In order to do this, the community had the authority to discipline. There was a system of coercive measures that laid at the core of joint responsibility. But at the same time, being a 'land allotment possession' union, in many respects it retained democratic characteristics. In respect of taxes, the village community actually served as a kind of a



Sending carts with rye to the mill. Ufa Governorate Photo, M.A. Krukovsky Early 20th century.

barrier buffer. On the one hand, it was a mechanism for seizing funds, an element of the state tax system. But on the other hand, it protected peasants from being treated arbitrarily when officials collected taxes and was a tool in the fight against excessive tax burdens. As a rule, village communities did not coerce individual members, resorting to it only under police pressure. [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 91, inv. 2, file 756, s. 10 reverse].

Property seizure and sale were the most commonly used coercive measures. In the 19th century, property of non-payers was seized in some 60% of debtor villages in Russia. Non-payer property was sold in—20% of villages where seizures had been performed [Svod svedenij, 1898, p. 43].

Village administrations suffered from police pressure as well [Russian Museum of Ethnography, f. 7, inv. 1, file 1339, s. 3]. For instance, in Spassk uyezd of Kazan Governorate, the non-payer peasants were arrested for 3 to 5 days, while a village elder was arrested for 5–14 days for improper collection [Russian Museum of Ethnography, f. 7, inv. 1, file 466, s. 29].

In Chistopol uyezd, peasants were banned from selling grain until non-payer communities paid all the levies imposed on them in grain [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 7482, s. 3 reverse].

By the end of the 19th century, the decision to distribute arrears between all payers

was extremely rare at meetings, which signaled the disappearance of joint responsibility [Simonova, 1969, p. 173]. Joint responsibility for collecting peasant taxes was abolished legally step-by-step. In 1869, joint responsibility for paying direct taxes was abolished (except for redemption payments) in villages with less than 40 recorded persons [Ministerstvo finansov, part. 1, 1902, p. 478]. According to the law of 23 June 1899, villages or their parts with communal land that by record owned less than 60 individual allotments were freed from joint responsibility in all fixed state and zemsky levies. The introduction of zemsky administrators significantly decreased the importance of police in collecting state and zemsky levies [Brzhevsky, 1908, p. 14]. Tax inspectors, on the other hand, initiated more rigorous control over tax book-keeping in volosts and over how public money was handled and transferred to the respective departments.

The law of 23 June 1899 granted village communities the right to set their own periods of the year when each individual village had to pay a part of the yearly taxes. Beginning in 1899, communities consisting of two or more villages (compound communities) were divided into separate tax units, and each community received its own tax list.

In many villages of Kazan Governorate, the specific periods set earlier didn't coincide with the time when peasants sold grain and worked

odd jobs—that is, with the times they were most capable of paying, which also made the administration reconsider the dates. In particular, already in 1900 new specific periods were set by uyezd congress acts in Kazan, Mamadysh and Cheboksary uyezds [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 3, inv. 1, file 6550, s. 3] and the primary tax payment time was postponed to autumn. According to minutes of 1901–1914, village meetings available to us, in Kazan guberniya, 4–6 particular periods were set up to pay state and zemsky taxes.

The introduction of particular payment periods encouraged payers to treat their tax obligations more conscientiously and eliminated the former instances of arrears accumulating in a disorderly manner and joint responsibility being exercised arbitrarily.

According to the law of 12 March 1903, payment of fixed levies was made the personal responsibility of each householder, both for communal and homestead (hereditary) land holdings. The task of collecting arrears was given to tax inspectors, who could decide whether to apply various coercive collection measures to non-payers or to add the arrear to the tax sum if the former was no greater than 20% of the latter.

Poll tax. After the reform, the poll tax still remained the main tax burden for peasants. All in all, in 1867 poll tax revenues made up 44.3% of all state tax revenues. Depending on local conditions, the Russian poll tax ranged from 1.15 rubles to 2.61 rubles [Ministerstvo finansov, part 1, 1902, pp. 476–477]. Across the Middle Volga region, it was from 1.68 to 1.78 rubles [Trudy' komissii, 1872, pp. 4, 6, 8].

Table 27

Total poll taxes and replacment levies collected from peasants of the Middle Volga region in 1872 (in rubles per recorded person) [Trudy' komissii, 1872, pp. 4, 6, 8].

Guberniya	From former state peasants	From former landowners' peasants	From former demesne peasants
Kazan	1.78	1.78	1.78
Penza	1.68	1.68	–
Samara	1.78	1.78	1.78
Simbirsk	1.82	1.88	1.88

In 1875, a per-person state zemsky levy and a public levy on former state peasants were added to the poll tax. By 1875, the poll tax had increased up to 49.5%, then lowered gradually and made up 34.7% of all taxes in 1884 [Statisticheskij vremennik, Ed. 15, 1886, pp. 150–151].

Until the end of the 1860s, tax policy was characterised by an increase in direct taxation, a determined course to use forced collection measures, and an absence of tax exemptions.

The abolition of the poll tax in 1886, 1887 was an important step on the path of replacing class taxation with property-based taxes. N. Bunge's reforms initiated the modernisation of the Russian taxation system, thus contributing to the process of industrialisation in the country.

However, in addition to the general easing of state tax obligations, sources indicate indirect taxation and mir levies increased [Podatnaya inspekciya, 1910; Statisticheskie dannye, 1883; Statisticheskij vremennik, Ed. 13, 1886]. A. Anfimov estimated that between 1881 and 1894, mir expenses alone almost doubled for peasants of European Russia [Anfimov, 1984, p. 79].

After the abolition of the poll tax, collection of arrears continued. In 1888–1891, the excess budget revenue was 209.4 million rubles [Schwanebach, 1903, p. 13].

Land taxation. In guberniyas where zemstvos were introduced, the publication of temporary rules changed first and foremost the very notion of zemsky obligations. On the one hand, the temporary rules limited the notion of zemsky duties, taking out state obligations and

specific obligations. But on the other hand, they broadened the notion by introducing guberniya and uyezd zemsky obligations [Trudy' komissii, 1869, p. 9]. This initiated the division of the Russian budget into several levels. Guberniya and uyezd zemsky levies actually made up the local budget of regions.

State zemsky obligations were essentially state taxes [Vasilchikov, 1870, p. 305]. In 1865, the average levy per person was 0.98 ruble (from 0.33 to 1.33 rubles) [Trudy' komissii, 1869, p. 10]. On 1 June 1870, when estimates of state zemsky obligations for the 1872–1875 period were made, one-fourth of the total sum was shifted to land taxes from all the owners 'indiscriminately' (the distribution of the remain-

ing three-fourths was left the same). The levy was estimated to bring 40.5% per year, of which 60.5% was placed on peasant land [State Archive of the Russian Federation, f. 678, inv. 1, file 684, s. 12–12 reverse].

With the edict of 10 December 1874, the state zemsky levy no longer existed as an independent revenue item. During the distribution of this levy, some changes were introduced to dividing the guberniya into categories, and additional property classes were taxed. For instance, Kazan guberniya was assigned a higher 4th category, while Samara guberniya was lowered by one and ranked as 8th category [Vestnik finansov, 1884, p. 139–140; Trudy' komissii, 1879, p. 54–56].

Table 28

Distribution of state land tax in the late 1870s for village community lands

Guberniya	Category	Rate for 1 tenth share of good land, kopecks			Average charge of 1 tenth rate, kopecks
		middle	lower	upper	
Simbirsk	2nd	8.00	0.25	31.00	12.20
Penza	3rd	6.20	4.00	8.25	6.40
Kazan	4th	4.50	0.90	6.10	4.81
Samara	8th	1.10	0.02	10.50	1.04

Land taxation was based on double land valuation: guberniyas were categorised as separate tax units in order to determine total taxes due from each of them; land inside the guberniyas was appraised in order to distribute the taxes between parts of the guberniyas with different revenue capacities. As a result of the varying earning capacity of lands within a guberniya, the taxes assessed for each payer were not the average guberniya amount, but were specific amounts set by local institutions. For instance, the average tax rate in Kazan guberniya was 4.5 kopeks per desyatina, but the lowest rate was set at 0.9 kopek, and the highest was 6.1 kopeks [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 573, inv. 1, file 117, s. 3].

In 1883 after the land tax overhaul, taxes were calculated based on the amount, value and earning capacity of lands (table 29).

State land tax was a distributed tax. According to the law of 17 January 1884, it was left to guberniya zemsky meetings to distribute this

tax between uyezds, and up to uyezd zemsky boards within uyezds under the terms established for local zemsky levy distribution.

Thus, total direct obligations of former state peasants included separate taxes established during different periods of time and distributed in a peculiar way, with no relation to other payments and mostly without taking paying capacity into consideration, which significantly undermined both the economic basis of peasant agriculture and financial stability of Russia.

Zemsky levies. In average across Russia from 1871–1900, guberniya and uyezd zemsky levies from allotment lands increased by 109.1%, including 150% in Kazan, 107% in Simbirsk, 100% in Penza, 14.29% in Samara guberniyas (table 30). Zemsky levies increased only slightly in the latter guberniya because of the 40% decrease during the famine of 1891–1892 [State Archive of Samara Oblast, f. 150, inv. 3, file 296, s. 21].

Table 29

Land valuation and amount of the state land tax and zemsky fees in 1883 by governorates of the Middle Volga region [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 573, inv. 1, file 325, s. 13, 29, 35, 37; State Archive of Pskov Region, f. 60, inv. 1, file 4011, s. 76–98; State Archive of Pskov Region, f. 60, inv. 1, file 4602, s. 99–115]

Governorate	State land tax		Average levy of the zemsky fee, kopecks per desyatina	Increased tax with zemsky fee		Amount of village community lands, in desyatinas	Total state land tax from village communities, rubles
	levy up to 1883, kopecks per desyatina	Amount of the estimated increase, %		per desyatina, kopecks	ratio to income (% of value)		
Kazan	4.60	77	12.3	20.46	8.3	3,197,916	261,092
Penza	6.30	114	20.9	34.40	8.4	1,823,248	246,528
Samara	1.06	271	6.2	10.14	8.6	6,578,818	247,006
Simbirsk	8.01	54	12.4	24.76	6.7	1,691,341	294,020

Table 30

Average amount of territorial payments from allotments in the guberniyas in the Middle Volga Region, kopecks per desyatina [Materialy' vy'sochajshe, Part 2, 1903, p. 258–262, 290]

Years	Samara guberniya	Kazan guberniya	Simbirsk guberniya	Penza guberniya	In 50 guberniya
1871–1875	7	12	14	13	11
1876–1880	7	14	19	19	14
1881–1885	10	19	21	22	16
1886–1890	10	20	21	21	17
1891–1895	6	26	25	24	20
1896–1900	8	30	29	26	23

Between 1880 and 1901, direct taxes rose by 50 million rubles. Direct tax revenue increased from 172.9 to 220.9 million rubles. At the same time, the revenue from indirect taxation increased by 108%—from 393 to 819.6 million rubles, with especially significant increase during S. Vitte's tenure as minister. Between 1880 and 1892, the revenue from indirect taxation increased by 37% and from 1892 to 1901—by 50% [Schwanebach, 1903, p. 31].

In the late 19th century, peasants remained the main group of direct taxation payers, bringing in 123.3 million rubles (86%), or more than six-sevenths of total monetary taxes (141.25 million rubles); while only one-seventh was distributed (almost evenly) between the categories of private landowners (6.9%) and urban inhabitants (7.1%) [Svod danny'x, 1902, p. 11].

Village community taxes. The structural division of rural community administrations re-

mained practically unchanged up to the Revolution of 1917. According to the law, it was made up of the village gathering and the village elder. A village meeting was attended by householder peasants of the rural community as well as all elected village officials. A householder (head of the family) represented the family before the authorities, the community, and the religious establishment. He was responsible for his house, farm, paid all taxes and also was the one who answered for all misdeeds of his dependents. In the Mamadysh uyezd of Kazan guberniya (out of 306 communities studied), both married and single men were called to meetings, but the latter could vote on the condition that they take a portion of the land share [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 91, inv. 2, file 777, s. 298]. In Tatar settlements, traditionally, the Muslim clergy had a great deal of influence over the intracommunity life.



Poor Tatars. Kazan Governorate Photo by V.A. Karrik. 2nd half of the 19th century.

Apart from the village elder, officials such as tax collectors; wardens of bread stores, schools and hospitals; forest and field watchmen, etc could be elected. After the reform, the rural community started performing the role of a lower administrative unit, acted as a sole legal entity before the state to perform its administrative, business, financial and court obligations.

Traditionally, the community had the right to levy local taxes. Village community taxes differed from other taxes primarily in that first the needs of the community were determined in advance, and then the community established the amount of the tax accordingly. Peasant communities established village community taxes for building and maintaining churches, starting village schools, paying teachers and taking care of other public and economic needs [Sbornik statisticheskix, 1883, p. 86]. The upkeep of mosques, clergy and schools of the Muslims was carried out under Shari'ah regulations and common law. On the whole, about 35% of village taxes in the early 80s of the 19th century in guberniyas of the Middle Volga area went towards salaries of officials

[Statisticheskij vremennik, Ed. 13, 1886, Appendix].

Apart from village taxes, peasants were expected to pay for district expenses, most of which were of an administrative nature. During the post-reform period, a volost was not so much a self-government unit, but a territorial unit to manage peasants. At the volost level, administrative functions were performed by the volost government. A volost was headed by the volost foreman and his assistant. The staff of the volost government consisted of village elders, tax collectors, leaders of ten-man and hundred-man police units, wardens, and clerks. Judgments over peasants were handed down by volost judges. Affairs of major importance were resolved at volost meetings attended by elected representatives from all settlements. A mandatory volost meeting was held annually at the end of the year. It was devoted to reviewing the estimated amounts spent to maintain the volost government [State Archive of the Russian Federation, f. 586, inv. 1, file 115, s. 67].

According to data from 46 guberniyas of the European portion of Russia, in 1881, salaries of officials made up 45.3% of community expenses, maintenance of public buildings made up 10.3%, horses for travelling made up 26%, public education made up 6.1%, and public health made up 2.5% [Statisticheskij vremennik, Ed. 13, 1886, p. 20]. In the Middle Volga region, the salaries of officials, maintenance of public buildings, clerical expenses, official trips and per diem consumed over 90% of all volost taxes [Statisticheskij vremennik, Ed. 13, 1886, pp. 272–273]. Clerks and tax collectors received salaries, the other village officials performed their duties without remuneration and in most cases were exempted from community natural obligations [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 91, inv. 2, file 768, s. 3 reverse; file 777]. In Kazan guberniya, volost foremen in different communities received a salary from 110 to 300 rubles, volost clerks received 480 to 1040 rubles, village elders received 47 to 488 rubles, and tax collectors received 50 to 485 rubles [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 156, inv. 1, file 17, s. 5–6].

In 1895, in 47 guberniyas of the European portion of Russia, 80% of all volost expenses

Table 31

Receipts from government, zemsky and community taxes from peasants of Kazan guberniya in the late 19–early 20th centuries. [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 573, inv. 1, File 1254–1274; inv. 17, File 23734, 23750, 23756, 23759, 24091, 24093, 24101, 24117, 24134, 24141, 24144, 24184, 24185; inv. 18, file 24261, 24399, 24428, 24512, 24611, 24699, 25267, 25273, 24720, 24819, 24830, 27156, 27171, 27177, 27180; inv. 25, file 332–354, 789–805, 1005–1023, 1078–1098; Svod svedenij, 1898; 1899; Part 1, 1902; Svod svedenij, 1902; 1907; 1909; 1910]

Years	In '000 rubles			Share in %		
	treasury	territorial	secular	treasury	territorial	secular
1891	287.36	225.44	301.60	35.28	27.68	37.03
1892	1370.33	563.86	483.90	56.67	23.32	20.01
1893	3214.06	865.19	472.40	70.61	19.01	10.38
1894	2809.61	910.51	442.60	67.49	21.87	10.63
1895	4604.58	1064.18	898.60	70.11	16.20	13.68
1896	2810.92	912.30	883.20	61.02	19.81	19.17
1897	3000.64	905.49	918.00	62.20	18.77	19.03
1898	854.85	354.37	835.10	41.82	17.33	40.85
1899	3502.64	1110.53	1147.20	60.81	19.28	19.92
1900	3732.80	1079.50	1074.50	63.41	18.34	18.25
1901	2600.10	963.60	1098.30	55.77	20.67	23.56
1902	2708.30	1040.70	1098.00	55.88	21.47	22.65
1903	3034.30	1262.50	1123.40	55.98	23.29	20.73
1904	2853.90	1106.70	1109.40	56.29	21.83	21.88
1905	1211.30	835.00	1098.00	38.52	26.56	34.92
1906	189.2	262.2	874.6	14.27	19.77	65.96
1907	574.4	1253.9	1235.40	18.75	40.93	40.32

were attributed to maintaining volost management [Leontyev, 1914, p. 83].

In the late 19th century, N. Brzhevsky stated that increasing community expenses tended to lessen the burden of treasury duties [Brzhevsky, 1908, p. 200]—that is, as soon as payments to the state treasury were reduced, community expenses immediately grew, sometimes consuming all or most of the income freed by the reduction of state taxation.

According to the reports of tax inspectors, general community taxes in the late 19–early 20th centuries (with the exception of the famine of 1891–1892) increased by 2.9 times and in 1912 amounted to 6,873,100 rubles in the Middle Volga region, and tripled in Kazan guberniya. While in 1893, 18 kopecks were levied on average per desyatina of taxable land, in 1912 this amount reached 50 kopecks.

Before 1905, community taxes were much lower than government taxes; after elimination of redemption payments, they became equal. At

the same time, the proceeds from community taxes exceeded zemsky taxes by 1.4 times on average. An analysis of tax receipts indicates peasants paid community taxes rather stably even in the years of bad harvests, indicating they were a priority for the rural population, unlike government and zemsky taxes.

In the late 19–early 20th centuries, within the structure of community collections, the ratio of volost to village collections was practically the same and amounted to 1:1.5 in the guberniyas of the Middle Volga region. The share spent on maintaining the volost and village administrations decreased due to the relative increase in tax receipts and in 1905 amounted to 27% (in 1881–45.3%). Over 9% of community amounts comprised expenses for public education, the same amount was attributed to religious needs; about 8% was spent on paying government, zemsky and other taxes; and 5% on the cart tax [Mirskie doxody', 1909, s.32, 34; Mirskie doxody', 1895, s. 19, 31]. During this period,

the taxes used to cover agricultural expenses increased significantly (over 15%)³¹.

Later, agricultural expenses grew even more, which indicated they were of utmost importance for the peasants [Popov, 1915, p. 10]. Therefore, the volost and village community taxes in the late 19–the beginning of the 20th centuries, in fact, were essentially a local budget that provided peasant communities with significant financial resources, a certain share of power and authority within the limits of the settlement, volost, and uyezd.

Burden of taxation. During the post-reform period, the total amount of taxes collected from peasants did not correspond to the profitability of their land or to peasant field holdings in general [Bekhteev, 1902; Nuzhdy' derevni, 1904; Schwanebach, 1903]. Documents from a government commission indicated that 'in certain localities, even in the Black-Earth Belt, the total of all payments is 5 times higher than profitability' [Doklad vy'sochajshe, 1873, pp. 35–36]. This circumstance had already led to an increase in arrears in the 1870s. By 1875, arrears of peasants in Kazan guberniya amounted to 451,800 rubles; by 1882, within 7 years, this sum had increased by more than 6 times. Within 9 years, by 1891, the tax arrears amounted to 8,405,807 rubles, meaning that they had tripled during the period, and during the entire 16-year period they had increased by 18.6 times [Engelgardt, 1892, p. 50].

The fiscal position of peasant households after the poor harvests and famine of 1891–1892 was catastrophic. For example, while by 1 January 1891, peasants of Kazan guberniya were registered as owning 410,000 horses, by 1 January 1892, only 280,000 of them remained [Engelgardt, 1892, p. 7]. The rest of them had died due to lack of funds for feed. By 1 January 1892, arrears reached 12.5 million rubles.

Archive documents contain numerous petitions from village elders asking for tax deferments and for loans for food and seeds for the fields. There were many who wanted to move

to Siberia [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 8447, s. 50–372]. At the same time, in 1891–1892, the government granted 'loans for food and seeds' amounting to 13 million rubles [Engelgardt, 1892, p. 8].

By the end of 1891, in the European portion of Russia, tax arrears had reached 72.6%, including commodity taxes, which were 41.3% of the amount due, government—79.1%, zemsky—75.1%, community—17.3% [Svod svedenij, 1898, p. 2]. The relation of government tax arrears to zemsky tax arrears in Samara guberniya was 625%, in Kazan guberniya—469%, in Simbirsk guberniya—374%, and in Penza guberniya—370% (Table 32).

In 1893, the arrears on general taxes per male resident in Kazan guberniya on average amounted to 14.02 rubles, and in Penza guberniya—8.61 rubles, Samara guberniya—15.69 rubles, Simbirsk guberniya—6.96 rubles [Zadolzhennost' sel'skix, 1894, pp. 6, 11, 13]. The arrears per desyatina in Penza guberniya amounted to 266 kopecks, in the Simbirsk guberniya—226, Samara guberniya—245, Kazan guberniya—394 (the largest in Russia) [Svod svedenij, 1898, pp. 3–4].

The payment sizes were inversely proportional to the size of the peasant's land allotments: the larger the allotment, the smaller the payment per desyatina, and, conversely, the smaller the allotment, the larger the payment per desyatina. According to the 1882–1883 household census, in Samara uyezd, a peasant with an allotment from 1 to 2 desyatina per taxable person paid about 5 rubles annually in total per desyatina, while a peasant with an allotment from 8 to 10 desyatina paid no more than 1.50 rubles per desyatina [Sbornik statisticheskix, 1883, p. 12–13]. According to the household censuses held in Samara guberniya in the latter half of the 1880s, redemption payments amounted to 38.4%, state payments were 13.6%, territorial taxes were 15.1%, and volost and community taxes were 33% of the tax burden for households [Sbornik statisticheskix, vol. 1–6].

When recalculated per worker, the ratio of the total of all taxes in Kazan guberniya is different: former government peasants paid 19.52 rubles, former appanage peasants paid 19.94

³¹ In the Kazan and Samara guberniyas, the public collection from former state peasants was 38 kopecks per person, in the Penza guberniya it was 39 kopecks [Trudy' komissii, 1872, pp. 16–17].

Table 32

Amount of tax arrears of peasants in the Middle Volga region in 1893

[Zadolzhennost' sel'skix, 1894, Art. XXVII]

Governorate	Total tax arrears, rubles	Percentage of tax arrears			Percentage of tax arrears in Russia in total
		kazennye sbory	zemsky sbory	mirskie sbory	
Kazan	13,548,236	93.0	6.3	0.7	11.44
Penza	5,946,171	82.1	16.4	1.5	5.02
Samara	17,547,148	90.8	8.2	1.0	14.81
Simbirsk	4,730,810	84.6	11.0	4.4	3.99
For All Russia	118,475,442	81.0	15.6	3.4	100.00

rubles, and former peasants of landowners paid 16.86 rubles [Dudkin, 1884, pp. 111, 125].

For all three classes of peasants, the tax on the poor was equally burdensome and consumed almost a quarter of the gross income that did not cover the immediate needs and mostly comprised side income. At the same time, even for a rich family, taxes amounting, according to Anuchin, to 40–50 rubles on average (13 to 20%) could not be considered small by any means for net incomes of 200–300 rubles [Anuchin, 1881]. According to budget research, in Kazan guberniya in the late 19th century, peasants paid 3 to 5% of their gross income in taxes. Rich households paid 14% of their net income, average ones paid 28%, and poor ones paid 52% [Stanishevsky, 1899, pp. 14–17; Sherikh, 1899, pp. 25–30; Komarov, 1900, pp. 17–20; Iznoskov, Ed. 2, 1900, pp. 16–23, 38–42; Ed. 3, 1900, pp. 27–41].

When assessing the tax burden of peasant households in Kazan guberniya and the other Middle Volga guberniya, A. Engelhardt remarked, 'As related to income, taxes consume 1/6 of the gross income. It seems impossible to compare taxes with net income because peasant households, in fact, do not have a net income, but we calculate theoretically that taxes consume 53.2% of agricultural profits.

All this indicates the discrepancy between the income received by peasant households and the capital being spent. This discrepancy is so significant that the income received is barely sufficient to support the worker and his family, and also indicates the low profitability of the agricultural industry and the abnormal

conditions it is laboring under. The accumulation of arrears can also be explained by this fact' [Engelhardt, 1892, p. 50].

Data from budget research of peasant households in 13 guberniya of the European portion of Russia (1870–1880) indicate that on average from 5.5% to 27.1% of the gross income and from 11 to 76% of the net income from agricultural went towards taxes [Materialy' vy'sochajshe, part 3, 1903, p. 208].

By paying taxes out of the working capital every time, the population became economically weaker each time and less able to obtain the missing funds, which made arrears grow, despite cuts in direct taxes in the late 19th century.

The economic and tax burden gave the peasants a legitimate reason to protest. During the post-reform period, the peasant movement in the Middle Volga region primarily spoke out against excessive taxes, charges and duties. The peasants categorically refused to pay the numerous taxes—oborok, redemption fees, poll taxes, zemsky taxes, community taxes, state taxes, insurance fees, etc. According to the calculations of Yu. Smykov, 51.5% of all uprisings in the region in 1861–1865 were against duties and tributes [Smykov, 1973, pp. 111–112].

Revolutionary events forced the state to abolish the collection of redemption payments starting in 1907 and to halve them in 1906. However, peasants continued paying the arrears on this tax for past years. The manifesto of 21 February 1913 (in honor of the 300th anniversary of the rule of the House of Romanov)



Lean Year. The hut of peasant Salavatov in Kadomka village of Sergach District. Nizhny Novgorod Governorate.
Photo by M.P. Dmitriev. 1891–1892

formally did away with all arrears on the abolished redemption payments [Ministerstvo finansov, 1914, p. 102]. This way, the financial aspect of the peasant reforms of 1861 was finally eliminated.

In the early 20th century, the general burden of taxes and duties paid by peasantry lightened a little. According to the calculations of A. Anfimov, the ratio of the entire amount of taxes and payments to the income from agriculture in 1901 was 28.74%, and in 1904 it was 24.80% [Anfimov, 1984, p. 111]. After redemption payments were abolished in 1907, taxes and duties paid by peasants did not exceed 12.86% of their income on average [Weinstein, 2000, p. 84]. The share of direct and indirect taxation of the peasants in the Middle Volga region corresponded to the general Russian level: 11.7% of income went towards taxes [Kratkie byudzhety, 1915; Itogi ocenочно-statisticheskogo, 1923]. This had a positive impact

on the development of the peasant economy and the country's economy in general.

The revolutionary events of the early 20th century forced the state to make important reforms, such as abolishing joint responsibility among the rural population (1903); modifying the passport regime (1906); canceling the special punishment rules for peasants falling within the purview of the volost courts (1906); granting the right to leave the community (1906); equalizing the rights of peasants with other classes with respect to entering state service or educational institutions, receiving a clerical title or joining a monastery (1906); finally abolishing the poll tax (1907); and abolishing redemption payments for land (1907). With the introduction of the representative institution and new political rights, the peasantry was legally freed from its specific, birth status-related restrictions and start quickly turning into a social class.

CHAPTER 6

Parish Islamic Clergy

Ildus Zagidullin

After the fall of Kazan, the spiritual development of the Tatars started to stagnate. The destruction of the funding system of Islamic institutions that had been maintained mostly at the expense of waqfs and state support and other factors transformed the functions, composition and names of titles of the parish clergy.

The radical changes that took place in the region are noticeable when one compares the titles of the clergy of the former Crimean Khanate with the Volga-Ural regions during the Russian period. For example, there were the following clerical titles in Crimea: a mufti, qadi-esker, qadi (exercised judicial functions according to the Shari'ah), khatib, imam mu-ezzin, ferrashi (a servant at a mosque), shaykh (an elder at a teqie), mudarris, and gochi (a teacher at a maktabeh). Each of them, as a rule, performed only their own spiritual duties [Zagidullin, 2009, p. 90–94]. Spiritual leaders performed several functions at a time in underpopulated Tatar rural communities that were unable to maintain several clerics: that of an imam, who presided over public prayers and performed spiritual needs for the locals; a qadi (judge), who resolved the issues of inheritance and disputes between parishioners; and a mugallim (mudarris), who taught the basics of Islam. In the 17–18th centuries, in the Tatar mahallahs, members of the clergy were known as abyzs and (or) mullahs. Sh. Marjani wrote that in past centuries, every mullah and person able to read and write was known as an 'abyz', from the term 'hafiz', a person who has memorized the Quran [Marjani, 1989, p. 242–243]. The title 'mullah' (from Arabic *Mawla*—ruler, master, minister, an honorary title of a learned person) was frequently used as a synonym for the term 'imam' [Farkhshatov, 2006, p. 286]. Notably, during the Empire period, all parish clergy were named mullahs in clerical corre-

spondence; they were divided into those designated—that is, appointed by the authorities, and undesignated—public clergy that had not passed the approval procedure in the manner prescribed by the law. In Muslim parishes of the Middle Volga region, undesignated mullahs could be found even as late as in the last years of the first quarter of the 19th century [Kobzev, 2007a, p. 76], and in some locations near the Urals, up to the early 1880s [Farkhshatov, 2006, p. 287].

Data going back to the second quarter of the 18th century recreate the ecclesiastic positions in effect in the Urals region: 'afende, ahun, mullah, abyz, and where there is a mosque, a muezzin as well, who, like a sexton or church warden, always serves at the mosque; the Bashkir have few mosques, and each of those is a cathedral mosque, while in other uyezds the Tatars have a mosque almost in every village, where they gather every Friday or during holidays for prayer; in ecclesiastical positions in other locations of the Great Tataria; seals are given by teachers to ahuns based on scientific principles, so that the latter can make others ahuns based on the same principles, though without a seal' [Proceedings of the Society of Archeology, History, and Ethnography, Ed. 6, pp. 166]. In this region, the government recognized the Muslim clergy, whose legitimacy was expressed in the fact that yasaq was collected from every Bashkir household with the exception of elders and spiritual leaders [Istoriya Bashkortostana, 1996, p. 199].

In the first third of the 19th century, in the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly district, there was another, not quite traditional ranking of ecclesiastic titles. For example, according to 1833 data, there were the following ecclesiastic titles: ahuns (68 persons), hatibs (100), imams (1792), mullahs (1164), muhtasibs



Mullah dressed in a holiday suit Ufa Governorate, Chishma village. Photo by M.A. Krukovsky Early 20th century.

(343), mudarrises (439), but there were no muazzins. Obviously, the hatibs were dispersed among the mullahs. According to the statistical data for 1839, they are also missing; however the ecclesiastical titles of mullah and mudarris had disappeared but the numerical strength of hatibs had increased exponentially (1903), the number of imams grew a little (1185), while the number of ahuns (65) and muhtasibs (285) somewhat decreased [Zhurnal ministerstva vnutrennix del, 1840].

By founding the Collection of Muhammadan Laws in 1788, the government regulated the procedure of appointing parish clergy by making a synthesis of Shari'ah and Russian laws. An ecclesiastical position was not hereditary; the parishioners endeavored to elect the most studious graduates of madrasas as imams. A public resolution signed by 2/3 of heads of parish households was considered legitimate. The document was drawn up in the presence of volost heads and rural officials, and among the military serving class in the presence of canton officials and yurt aldermen; then it was

presented by peasants 'for witnessing' at the volost administration, and by the representatives of the military serving class through canton officials to the zemsky court and from there to the guberniya administration [Svod uchrezhdenij, 1857, Art. 1247, 1245, 1246, 1248].

The governorate administration made sure that the persons elected as imams were politically reliable and 'of good standing'³². Candidates were approved before they passed the examinations at the Spiritual Assembly. By sending them for testing to the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, the governorate administration in fact decided the issue of his appointment to the ecclesiastical position, the examination was secondary, and the subsequent approval of the clergyman in the position by the local secular authorities was a mere formality [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 594, s. 5 reverse-6]. Based on results of the examination, the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly issued a certificate stating the ecclesiastic title of the candidate to the spiritual position. As a rule, a hatib was at the same time assigned the title of a mudarris (head of a madrasa, senior teacher); an imam was assigned the title of mugallim (teacher); and a muezzin, that of a mugallim-sabiyan (teacher of small children) [Azamatov, 1996, p. 144]. Then, by a recorded resolution, the governorate administration approved the candidate to the spiritual position. After the candidate made an oath at the police office, using the text from the Sacramental Obligation of a person taking a bureaucratic post, he was issued a statement (decree) and explained the duties of a spiritual official.

According to the Senate Decree dated 31 August 1826, the clergy of Orenburg and Tavria districts were recommended to re-

³² The following persons were not allowed to take an ecclesiastical title: 1) 'those under investigation or on trial for crimes and actions, and also imprisoned or punished more severely based on a court order, as well as those who, after being on trial for the crimes or actions resulting in such punishments, were not exonerated; 2) those eliminated from service based on a court order or from the clergy for wickedness, or from the communities or classes, to which they belong; 3) those declared to be poor debtors; 4) those in trusteeship for squandering' [Ustavy' duxovny'x, 1857, Art. 1570].

frain from engaging in 'commercial business' [Azamatov, 1996, p. 144] with the exception of minor trading.

In 1891, Russian education qualifications were introduced for those wishing to hold spiritual positions that did not apply to candidates to the posts of muezzins.

Starting in 1892, a circular letter of the Ministry of National Education prohibited imams who had studied at foreign Islamic religious educational institutions from teaching. Local authorities did not always exercise their right to prohibit imams who had studied abroad from teaching, they examined each case individually.

One of the first spiritual titles to receive recognition from the authorities was the title of *ahun*. In the Ural region, an ahun was elected by spiritual leaders and elders of the area, and he represented the interests of Muslims before the administration. In 1735, in Orenburg krai, all 10 ahuns were Tatars from Kazan and other uyezds; however, their allegiance to the government was considered doubtful by the authorities, and their activities were uncontrolled. As a result, by the Decree of 11 February 1736, one ahun was appointed for each daruga (administrative unit) after he swore allegiance to the Russian sovereign. The ahun was then approved by the governor and issued a certificate. The administration started neglecting the principle of the local clergy electing an ahun, preferring to personally appoint 'a convenient person' to the position. In the instructions to the Legislative Commission (Ulozhennaya Komissiia) of 1767–1768, the Bashkirs requested to restore the frequency and elective nature of ahuns [Azamatov, 1996, pp. 16, 17, 19; Gvozdkova, 1999, p. 190].

The cooperation of authorities with spiritual leaders in the Ural region was influenced by geopolitical interests of the Empire in the Kazakh Steppe. The Orenburg Expedition established in 1734 had an official position of an ahun used to resolve foreign political issues [Denisov, 2009b, p. 20]. In 1785, the position of ahun was created in the Orenburg Border Commission. It was given to the future first Orenburg mufti M. Khusainov, who in 1786 received the title of 'the first ahun of

the territory' with the right to issue permits for building mosques and assigning religious titles [Islaev, 2004, pp. 349]. He also recommended Tatar mullahs for the administration to send to Kazakh camps [Sultangalieva, 2011, pp. 155–156].

Prior to the establishment of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, in Orenburg krai ahuns held examinations for future spiritual officials to check their knowledge of fundamentals of Islam, awarded the spiritual titles established in the Islamic world, decided whether to 'allow or not allow' the Friday midday prayer, and participated in the decision making regarding the building of a mosque. It is important to mention that in the draft provision of 1789 on the competence of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly compiled by Baron O. Igelström, the institute of ahun was established in every uyezd. The ahun was charged with supervising mosques, schools and ecclesiastical persons [Materialy' po istorii, Vol. 5, pp. 566].

In the district of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, along with the mufti, ahuns were considered senior clergy and were exempted from being recruited [Svod uchrezhdenij, 1857, Art. 1228, 1231]. However, the growing number of ahuns and the ensuing devaluation of this title forced the Spiritual Assembly to introduce the post of senior ahun. During the rule of Mufti Gabdessalyam Gabdrahimov (1825–1840) first the senior ahuns, and then during that of Mufti Gabdelvakhit Sulejmanov (1840–1862) the ahuns were given the duties of the district representative of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly at the local level [Azamatov, 1996, pp. 92–94]. They investigated infractions of the clergy and represented the religious administration and the clergy before the regional government.

In the latter half of 19th century, the attempts of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly to secure ahuns as a medium-level institution in the system of management of spiritual affairs were unsuccessful. Their positions, rights and duties were not regulated officially, which made ahun status an honorary spiritual title, in most cases awarded to reputable and learned imams. In the late 19th century, there were occasions of awarding

this title even to candidates to the positions of mullahs based on results of examinations to the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly. After leaving ecclesiastical service, a person lost the honorary spiritual title of ahun [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 150, file 404, s. 71]. However, at the regional level, reputable ahuns still acted as an intermediary between the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly and parishes. They supervised the activities of the clergy, checked parish registers as necessary, and conducted investigations, made inquiries, etc. at the request of Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly [Steinfeld, 1893, p. 276].

In Western Siberia, when interacting with the local authorities, ahuns acted as district clergy in uyezds [Bakieva, 2011, p. 13].

In 1856, in the district of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly there were 37 ahuns, in 1889–65, in 1908–150 [V pamyat' stoletiya, 1891, p. 32; Zagidullin, 2007, pp. 143].

Muhtasibs (from the Arabic word for 'to teach, check') were required to monitor the morals of the parishioners and spiritual leaders. According to the explanation of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, in the 1850s, the main duty of a muhtasib was to see that the parish registers were kept properly [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 954, s. 13 reverse]. In the middle of the century, the number of muhtasibs decreased fivefold: in 1855, there were 66 of them [Zagidullin, 2007, p. 143]. The status of muhtasibs was also not defined. It became an honorary spiritual title assigned based on a recommendation of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly and resolution of the governorate administration 'to reward good service'. Moreover, the title of muhtasib was given not only to hatibs but also to persons who had left the spiritual path [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 2, inv. 2, file 3741, s. 1–13]. At the end of the century, the spiritual title of muhtasib was rarely encountered in the lists of clergy.

In the district of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, the lowest spiritual positions were held by *hatibs*, *imams*, and *muezzins*. Their duties were regulated superficially by the laws, their duties were governed by the instruc-

tions of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The Muslim clergy performed occasional religious rites, effected and dissolved marriages, examined claims on wills and divisions of property according to the laws of Shari'ah, and examined cases of children defying their parents and of spousal infidelity [Ustavy' duxovny'x, 1896, Art. 1347, 1418]. An important aspect of the legal status of a religious person who was in charge of civil affairs was his conciliatory duty, which largely gave him authority among the Muslims [Reisner, 1905, p. 178].

Their hierarchy was not maintained at all times, causing disputes and in-fighting. If there were two spiritual leaders holding the same title in a parish, the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly elected the senior mullah from among them. The main duty of a hatib was to read the khutbah during holiday services. He also kept the parish register in the Tatar language and supervised other spiritual leaders with regard to performing occasional rites for the parishioners. Muezzins were allowed to perform the duties of an imam only if this had been specifically stated on their certificate from the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly. The duties of a muezzin including calling the parishioners to worship (they called 'azan' from the minaret or the mosque roof); praying special prayers (*du'a*) before each prayer began; and ensuring cleanliness and order at the mosque [Farkhshatov, 2006, p. 71]. To hold this position, one did not need to graduate from a madrasa.

In 1855, to stop the abuse of power, an age restriction was established: to become members of the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly, ahuns, muhtasibs, mudarrises, candidates had to be at least 25 years old, to become hatibs and imams they had to be 22 years old, and muezzins had to be 21 years old [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 30, No. 29040].

Mullahs could perform rites only in their own parishes [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 666, s. 141]. It was typical for Islam in Russia that the authorities allowed only the appointed mullahs to perform all Islamic religious rites and teach religious subjects.

The parish clergy were the court of first instance and the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly was the highest court that Muslims could petition if they disagreed with the decision of the mullah.

The government assigned the clergy a number of administrative duties. As a representative of the authorities, a mullah 'administered the oath' to officials, advisory organs of city local government, zemsky assemblies, recruits or conscripts [Klimovich, 1936, p. 63], witnesses

and defendants at court proceedings [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 98, inv. 1, file 2219, s. 281, 282], and parishioners after a new Russian tsar was crowned [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I-295, inv. 11, file 13629]. They drew up civil state documents and issued certificates of birth, death, marital status, and conscription age of parishioners based on the parish register (starting from 1829). In 1891, the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly commissioned imams to deliver lists of infants that needed vaccinations to the uyezd zemsky administration every six months [Naganava, 2006, p. 104].

The clergy answered to the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly and were subject to its judgment and fines for neglecting their duties. They could be temporarily or completely removed from their posts, and the decision of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly was approved by the governorate administration. The clergy were fined for improperly fulfilling their duties, drinking alcohol, immoral acts, conflicts with parishioners, etc. based on the public verdict of the mahallah. If a criminal case was brought to court, orders of the authorities were ignored or statements were made against the government, they were re-



Certificate ('ukaz') of mullah Yarulla Shamsutdinov. Kurmanakovo village of Laishevo uyezd. Kazan guberniya, 1869.

moved from the post administratively, without a court session or investigation [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 15, file 404, s. 50]. Complaints about decisions of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly were submitted to the local governor who referred them to the Minister of Internal Affairs [Ustav' duxovny'x, 1896, Art. 1424, 1425].

The Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly was frequently unable to maintain control over the parish clergy; it merely reacted by making decisions based on claims submitted by parishioners or imams about each other. Its decisions were delivered to the person in question through the governorate or volost government after an investigation by the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly that, as a rule, was assigned to the local administration as well as a reputable imam [Garipova, 2011, p. 174].

Imams were not civil servants and did not receive a salary or pension. Therefore the maximum age at which they could serve was not regulated and was determined mainly by the state of their health and their ability to perform their duties.

Starting from the mid-19th century they started to award medals to parish spiritual leaders for faithful performance of their duties, usually on an anniversary of their service.

The government took steps to make the status of the Muslim clergy close to that of the Christian clergy. In 1850–1873, imams were exempt from recruit duty. In 1874, they again were bound to military service, and were freed from it only by the law of 23 June 1912 [Iskhakov, 2003, p. 245].

In 1850, ahuns and parish spiritual leaders were no longer subject to corporal punishment [Arapov, 2001, no. 83]. In 1863, this provision was extended to their children [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 38, No.39594, item 10]. In 1893, the Ministry of Internal Affairs allowed parish spiritual leaders to mail their correspondence addressed to authorities and government institutions free of charge through police departments and volost administrative offices [Sbornik czirkulyarov, 1902, p. 62].

In order for imams to regulate the five daily prayers and maintain control over the movements of the parish clergy, in 1896, the Ministry of Internal Affairs introduced the rules of dismissal. They took vacations with the permission of the governorate administration and were allowed brief absences (not more than two weeks) at the discretion of governorate officials, with the knowledge of the local police department. In 1900, receiving permission for short absences was simplified by granting them the right to leave after notifying the uyezd police office.

In Muslim irregular regiments, represented in the Ural region by the Bashkir and Meshcheryak, the Muslim clergy were considered a privileged social group. They were exempt from all duties in cash or in kind. In the parishes of teptiyars, the clergy did not enjoy such privileges as in mahallahs of irregular troops [Azamatov, 1996, p. 105]. After the Bashkir Army was abolished in 1865, all imams had the same social status in the district of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly—they were governed by the provision stating that a spiritual leader in the district of the Orenburg

Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly paid duties as a representative of the social class to which he had belonged before being appointed to the spiritual post.

Just like the Orthodox clergy, the Muslim parish spiritual leaders were not members of the village land community, even though most of them were peasants and were subject to the corresponding duties and taxes. Starting from 1826, parishioners were allowed to distribute the taxes and duties assigned to them between members of the land community.

A long period of study at the madrasa, the learning of the Arabic and Persian languages as well as of religious subjects required financial expenses and intellectual abilities, as a rule, more available to the sons of mullahs; the latter conveniently placed their children in spiritual leadership positions. In this manner, dynasties of clergy were formed in which positions were successively passed down in mahallahs, creating a caste-like clergy [Kobzev, 2007a, p. 70]. As S. Rybakov justly noted, 'the Russian law created the Muslim clergy as a class, mullahs with rights and prescribed duties, foreign to the Muslim world, not stipulated by the Muslim law (Shari'ah)' [Rybakov, 2001, p. 267].

Along with a growth in the number of parishes, there was a dynamic growth in the numbers of clergy. While by 1833 certificates had been issued to 3,907 spiritual leaders (in 3,133 mosques), by 1868 their number increased to 6,553 (in 4,053 mosques). In 1889, the spiritual needs of the 3.4 million Muslims in the district of the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly were serviced by 7,203 clergy members (in 4,254 mosques), in 1908, 8,312 clergy members (in 5,230 mosques) [V pamyat' stoletiya, 1891, p. 32; Zagidullin, 2007, p. 143].

Therefore, the Muslim clergy, thanks to their high social status within the parish in the Tatar and Bashkir communities, comprised an influential social stratum, to a certain extent similar to a corporate group.

Section III

The Socio-Economic Development of the Tatars in the Volga-Ural Region



CHAPTER 1

Socio-Economic Processes Among the Tatars of the Volga-Ural Region in the Pre-reform Period

§ 1. Socio-economic development in the region

Nailya Tagirova

The socio-economic development of Russia in the 19th century has been defined by contemporary researchers as a period of modernisation when an industrial economy and society were established, and urbanisation took place. The start of the century saw the 'steam revolution,' and it ended with the oil and electrical 'revolutions' that laid the foundations of 20th century industry. The economic success of industrial countries of Western Europe made them leaders of the global economy.

In Russia in the 19th century modernisation 'germinated' gradually, maturing deep in socio-economic life. Proto-modernisation is a term commonly applied by researchers to the first half of the century¹ [Proskuryakova, 2006;

Arsentiev, 2004a; 2004b]. At the same time, the Russian Empire was 'growing' new territories: in the west (the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Finland), in the south-west (North Caucasus), and in the south-east (Middle Asia, Turkestan). The eastern boundaries of the Russian Empire stretched as far as North America, including Alaska (until 1867). The empire was 'constructed' over the course of the entire century, and by its end it was the largest empire in the world by size.

The empire's territorial expansion; the maintenance of military stability and governance of new borders; the development of the borderlands and promotion of economic growth, and, as a result, the country's economy were all important aspects of life in the empire and were subject to Russian modernisation in the 19th century.

P. Milyukov presents an overview of the development processes that took place in Russia in his 'Essays on the history of Russian culture.' He identified three geographical zones, three triangles that faced different sides of the country, but which were, 'if not by nature, but by history... associated with the Russia's core.'

1) 'Russia's central triangle rests upon its western boundary and tapers into the Middle Volga Region. This represents the strong connection between Russia and Europe, both geographically and historically.'

'The two other triangles face the opposite way, tapering to the west. They take us to Asia':

¹ 18th –the first half of the 19th century is a special period known as 'proto-modernization' among modern scholars. At this stage, the economy: 1) is based on agriculture; industry is 'built' in the agrarian economy and closely connected with it; 2) a rather high level of commodity production is established; 3) proto-industrialization is presented in various forms of industrial production, including small (urban craft, artisan and homemade peasant crafts) and large (manufacturing, centralized and scattered, and 'proto-factory'); 4) there is a spatial division of labour, and it does not always coincide with the later geography of industrial centres; 5) trade is carried out not only at local but also remote (including foreign) markets, which contributes to the development of the domestic commodity market (and the internationalization of markets), the concentration of capital, the formation of the labour market; 6) the transition from natural productive forces (when individual agricultural and handicraft production prevailed) to public, which involve, firstly, 'cooperation' (cooperation on the basis of a market functional division of labour); secondly, on a division of labour in the labour process (manufacture); 7) personal dependence relations were replaced by personal independence relations on the basis of a person depending on the flow of

goods and money, that is, the market: by the end of this period, the main classes of a bourgeois society began to form' [Proskuryakova, 2006, pp. 4–8].

2) The north-eastern triangle, 'which is more closely related to the central triangle, leads to Siberia'; 3) The south-eastern triangle 'leads to the Caspian-Aral steppes' [Milyukov, volume 1, pp. 90–91].

The interests of central government in the 19th century were focused on the Volga-Ural lands. This was where geostrategic, economic, political, and administrative issues aimed at furthering the empire's eastern expansion were decided.

Administratively, these lands were divided into guberniyas and krais under the control of governors and governor-generals. The territory, stretching from the Caspian Sea in the south to the area between the Volga-Kama and Volga-Vyatka Rivers in the north, from the Ural Mountains in the east and the Oka-Sura River basin in the west, in the administrative areas of the first half of the century was made up of Kazan, Penza, and Simbirsk guberniyas (the Middle Volga Region), Saratov and Astrakhan guberniyas (the Lower Volga Region), Vyatka and Perm guberniyas (the Northern Cisurals), and Orenburg guberniya (the Southern Cisurals). Siberia (Asian Russia) in the 19th century was still 'a primary zone of empire-building' [Milyukov, volume 1, p. 470], or 'a third stage province' [Sverkunova, 1996], when the 'resettlement of the Russian population from non-Russian territory in the Urals to Siberia' had just started.

The agrarian economy had expanded in these lands for centuries. The direction, nature, and particularities of its expansion were determined by geography as well as other natural and climatic conditions. Plains made up most of the territory. Rolling hills were interspersed with lowlands and gentle rises, river systems (Volga, Kama, Belaya, their tributaries) and forests. From the north-west to the south-east, the landscape gradually changed from forest to forest-steppe, to steppe, forming three bands of land requiring three methods of economic management:

Forest band:—the Kazan and Penza Guberniyas, most of the Simbirsk Guberniya, the northern lands of the Samara (the Stavropol, Bugulma Uyezds) and Ufa (the Birs, Menze-

linsk uyezds) krais. Here there were predominantly podzolic and grey forest soils. The forest area extended towards the Vyatka River to the north-east.

Forest-steppe band:—the south of the Simbirsk Guberniya (the Syzran Uyezd), most of the Samara Volga Region (the Samara, Buguruslan, and Buzuluk Uyezds), the central Uyezds of the Ufa krai (Ufa, Sterlitamak, Belebey).

Steppe band: the Novouzensk and Nikolaev Uyezds in the Samara Trans-Volga Region, the Kamyshin and Tsaritsyn Uyezds in the Saratov Guberniya, most of the Orenburg Region and the Astrakhan Region. Feather-grass steppes with fertile chernozem soil were present in the south of the Belebey and Sterlitamak Uyezds of the Orenburg krai. The steppes extended to the south-east, including Siberia. The Siberian and Trans-Ural areas had their own unique characteristics. Climatically, they were divided into the lands from the Urals to Yenisei (an almost European climate), Central Siberian (a strictly continental climate) and eastern (influenced by the Pacific ocean) [Milyukov, 1994, pp. 92–93].

The mountainous terrain of the Ural range, which was surrounded by forests (the Zlatoustovsk Uyezd, the western parts of the Orsk, Verkhneuralsk, Troitsk, Chelyabinsk Uyezds of the Orenburg Guberniya), jutted into the black earth region like a wedge.

In the early 19th century the Volga was regarded as the border between Europe and Asia.

Various types of economic activities were present: agriculture, nomadic stock raising, and mixed farming methods (agricultural-stock raising, stock raising, and forestry) [Kuzeev, 1978, p. 100], were adapted and integrated in surprising ways to suit the environment and climate of the Volga-Ural Region. Agricultural economies and mixed agricultural and craft economies were developed in the forest and forest-steppe bands of the Middle Volga Region, which were inhabited by indigenous communities and Russians. Bashkirs and Kalmyks were involved in nomadic stock raising in the steppe regions. Siberia in the 19th century was inhabited by 'aborigines' (the local population), exiles, and

the military, and there was a necessity to move away from military development and building of fortified local agricultural centres towards the creation of regular trade relations.

In the first half of the 19th century the government's domestic policy was aimed at settling the south-eastern territories with natives of the empire's central regions in order to gradually displace nomadic activities and develop agriculture. These processes have been described in depth [Tarasov, 1984; Kabuzan, 1992; Povolzhye (The Volga Region), 2007; Ocherki (Essays), 2010]. In particular, it has been noted that in the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries the more central territories—the Volga Region, the Cisurals, Novorossia—were more actively settled² (see: Appendix I, Table 1). In the 1840s migrants from the neighbouring Volga Region guberniyas were replaced by peasants from Central Russia, Ukraine, Lithuania, and Belarus (Russians, Ukrainians, later, Poles, and Estonians). These processes changed the ethnic composition of the region: the proportion of Russian peasantry increased, and in some regions even became the majority. The male population increased (from 27.4% in 1795 to 36.3% in 1857) (see: Appendix I, Table 2). The ratio of landlords to state peasants also changed in favour of the latter [Ocherki istorii, 2010, p. 91]³.

By the middle of the century (based on the 10th census), the population of the Volga-Ural Region was over 6 million (6,390,763 people), the overwhelming majority of whom were peasants—that is, 80.7% (5,155,957 people). At the beginning of the 19th century the Volga Region was considered a densely-populated region comprising mostly Slavic peoples. Only the southern and south-eastern steppe areas remained poorly populated. The concentration of manpower in this promising region with its rich and partially virgin lands was the basis for

a breakthrough in agriculture, as long as the necessary institutions were present. Agricultural immigration contributed to the expansion of agriculture, while nomadic stock raising and cattle breeding steadily declined. Agricultural structures adopted characteristics and priorities that were clearly agrarian in nature.

The demographic changes were accompanied by economic changes. They are not significant over a one or two generation period, but a civilisational 'shift' related to fundamental changes in land use did in fact occur. Nomadic stock raising did not simply give way to a production-based agricultural economy. The changes in land use also changed the economic relations: traditional landownership transformed into capitalistic landownership.

Let's look at these processes in detail.

In the upper reaches of the Volga and its middle course land was traditionally owned by private farms belonging to noblemen-landlords and serving Tatars (quarter landownership). Most of the land in the Trans-Volga and Orenburg Regions was owned by the state and managed by the Ministry of State Property. Nomadic peoples used the land based on common (patrimonial) law passed on by inheritance. The tsar had few lands (known as appanages, managed by the Office for Appanages). In the south-east relations between the supreme and real landowners were not so much confused as not legally formalised. Boundaries were often only nominal.

The migration policy and land provisions made for migrants significantly changed these relations. Private landownership remained unchanged, its formation even being encouraged⁴. The users of state lands changed⁵. Newly-arrived peasants were provided with 15 dessiatinas of land per man for collective use and were

² In the Lower Volga and Cis-Ural regions during this period alone, more than 1 million 220 thousand people resettled there [Kabuzan, 1971, p. 43].

³ The total population changed, including according to the categories of taxes to pay, in the first half of the 19th century, as reflected in Table 3–3a [see Appendix 1]. In 1857, landed peasants accounted for 25.2% (calculated on the basis of Table 6 (see Appendix 1)).

⁴ The granting of lands to nobles continued until the 1880s. The landed estates created there were small and medium-sized (often up to 60 desyatinas), and primogeniture (prohibition of sale) was applied to them.

⁵ Terms of land allotment for new settlers (mostly state peasants) were defined in the Senate's decree of 22 September 1802 'On the rules of granting lands to state peasants in Simbirsk, Saratov, and Orenburg guberniyas' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 27, No.20426].

offered tax breaks (exemption from duties and recruiting duty for three years) and economic privileges (sale of forest and timber for house-building) [Istoriya Bashkortostana, volume 1, pp. 335–336]. New villages in the steppes of the Trans-Volga Region were able to obtain 40–60 dessiatinas of useful land. Such plots were very large compared to those in the central guberniyas and even ones neighbouring the Volga Region (Kazan, Simbirsk, Penza). The organisation and financial costs of land management were covered by the Ministry of State Property from the revenues gained from the lease of state lands (quit-rent legislation).

Although there were plans to provide newcomers with land from the reserve fund, this was often far from the case in reality. This created a basis for land disputes, some of which carried ethnonational overtones. The relationship between newcomers and indigenous people was not easy. Court proceedings, mainly connected to land management and squatting disputes, lasted for decades, requiring further refinements of the legal code⁶. These topics have been described in detail in research studies [Usmanov, 1981, p. 41; Samarskaya letopis', 1993, p. 67; Ocherki, 2010, pp. 72–74; Shaykhislamov, 2007, p. 8]. These court proceedings were a result of one traditional land use (communal nomadic) being replaced by another, also traditional (communal agricultural). Traditional relationships with the land, regardless of the time when the territory was annexed and type of economy (nomadic or agricultural) or form of ownership (noble, state, appanage), were prevalent in the entire Volga-Ural Region.

Alongside these traditional relationships the government permitted uninhabited lands to be sold on the open market to noblemen, merchants, or peasants. However, local officials

did not always consider whether the purchased land was being used [Usmanov, 1981; Rodnov, 2002]. A small number of purchases of state land signaled a new market trend, paving the way for further land-related entrepreneurial activity. Use of leases (relating to the right to use land temporarily) became widespread (both with regard to state land and among landlords and Bashkiri landowners)⁷.

The formation of market conditions while simultaneously strengthening traditional communal practices created an inconsistency regarding the treatment of land while the south-eastern territories of the Volga-Ural Region were being developed. It formed the basis for future social conflicts.

The authorities' desire to simultaneously resolve social issues (strengthening imperial positions through immigration policy: landlords and peasants), financial issues (increasing state budget revenue sources through the lease and sale of part of the state fund), and economic issues (agricultural development of the region and long-term industrial grain production) by managing migration and land policy created a complex 'tangle,' which led to future conflicts.

There were changes in agricultural production as well as land management. The area of land used for agriculture increased. An increase in cultivated areas led to an increase in the gross grain yield. Even if they were 10–15% lower than scholars estimated at the time, they show the general trend (see: Appendix I, Table 4). According to official data from the Ministry of internal Affairs, the average grain yield in European Russia was 3.4, 3.5. In the new lands, in the Lower Volga Region and Cisurals, grain and crop yields per head were higher average: 3.6–4.0 (see: Appendix I, Tables 4, 5).

⁶ The 1832 decree 'On the rights of the Bashkirs to lands belonging to them in the Orenburg region' allowed peasant settlers to buy land or rent it from Bashkir land owners. As of 1858, there were almost five times fewer buyers of these lands from the Bashkirs than those who rented it (12,800 versus 51,500 people respectively).

⁷ Bashkir lands had long been rented by peasant settlers (military and civilian). Over time, the terms of lease were forgotten, and there were disputes and litigation, which required introducing special rules (February 1869) to regulate the prevailing conditions. The rules stipulated that the lands of military settlers went to the treasury, and the other types of lands were to be owned by those settlers. Civilian settlers began paying redemption payments, as well as specific and state peasants.

Prospects for cattle breeding, livestock raising, and the traditional industrial processing methods associated with them became less favourable in these conditions. The expansion of grain industry was accompanied by a reduction in cattle breeding. In general, it led to a gradual change in the structure of agriculture.

Industry in the outlying areas of the Volga-Ural Regions was dominated by exports. Production was linked to the export of natural resources from the region: salt,⁸ fish, underground mineral resources from the Urals, and raw minerals such as potash,⁹ metals, ores, and gold¹⁰. These resources were integral to the commodities market, with central government being the main customer. A number of mining industries were monopolised by the state. With growing demand, there was a need to increase production and modernise technology. As a result, private capital was allowed to enter these industries¹¹.

Part-processed goods, such as leather and textiles, as well as finished products made from these materials were exported from the region. Grain as an export crop is mentioned in sources dating back to the first half of the 19th century, but it was far from being a market leader. Siberia exported furs and peltry.

The structure of industry in the Urals mimicked the traditional relationship between the

centre and the provinces. The mining regions were home to a range of economic activities consisting of mining, smelting, and metal processing. Other industries in the region provided the factories with coal, ores, minerals, and materials. They were all part of the same technological supply chain. In the Zlatoustovsk mining region alone there were 29 mining related factories: 15 iron-smelting and iron-making plants and 14 copper-smelting plants. Plants tended to be privately-owned rather than state-owned. Mining combined very different types of technology: both manual and partially machine-based. Bonded labourers and free peasants were both employed in the mining industry, and the nobility and banks both invested in it.

The industrial revolution, which began in the Urals in the 1840s, was financed by private owners (patrimonial capital), who themselves took out loans from the State Credit Bank, pledging entire regions as collateral¹². The Urals industry owned by the noble banking elite of the Russian Empire was formed on this general financial basis.

Big business, forming an industrial culture was based on machine technologies and aimed at infrastructure industries (water transport), the mining industry (gold mining, metallurgy), and cities. The most enterprising nobles with free capital and ties in the capital city felt 'changes in the air' and joined the newly established joint-stock companies. However, the main capital was formed in big cities.

The first steamship travelled along the Volga as early as 1817, and the first joint-stock steamship companies Along the Volga (1843), Carrier, (1853¹³) and Mercury (1849, after consolidation in 1858, Caucasus and Mercury¹⁴) were formed

⁸ Salt was exported from salt lakes (the district of Lake Ilets, the solar salt lakes Elton and Baskunchak near Astrakhan). In the 1820–1840s, up to 950,000 poods of salt were produced there; it was about a twentieth of the total salt produced in the country (20 million poods per year) [Mударисов, 2003, pp. 33, 38].

⁹ Potash (potassium carbonate), derived from wood ash through leaching and calcination in special pots, was used to make glass, soap, leather, cloth, and in other industries. It was produced across the entire region, and there were financial incentives for this type of production. Potash was exported to the Holland, England, and Germany [Bogatyrev, 2006, pp. 105–115; Мударисов, 2003, p. 38; Арсентьев 2004, pp. 129–130].

¹⁰ The commercial production of gold at the Miass goldfields began in 1817. In the 1830s, the Russian Empire ranked first in the world in gold production; the volume reached 5–6 thousand poods per year. In 1858–1862, 731 poods of gold were produced per year at the Miass gold mine [Мударисов, 2003, p. 30].

¹¹ The state monopoly on salt production was canceled in 1806, on gold mining in 1842.

¹² In 1849, whole districts were pledged to the State Loan Bank, including the Kananikovsky, Beloretsk, Voskresensk, Troitsky, Blagoveschensky, and Yuryuzan-Ivanovsky districts. The total amount of collateral exceeded 1 million silver roubles [Мударисов, 2003, p. 21].

¹³ By the end of 1850, the company Samolet owned 20 steamers and shipyards in Nizhny Novgorod, Tver, and Rybinsk.

¹⁴ By the time of the merger, Mercury owned 14 cargo steamers, 46 barges and a large number of small

Grain Wharf
in Chistopol.
Photo from
the beginning
of the 20th
century.



thirty years later, almost at the same time. They brought a different way of life to the region: the funds of steamship companies were used to improve many wharves along the Volga, Kama, Belaya, and other rivers. They were equipped with outdoor winter boat yards for ships, warehouses were built, etc.

In the pre-reform era steamship companies had a monopoly over the entire Volga-Kama-Ural Region for transportation of public and private commercial cargoes, mail, and other correspondence.

Gold mining was a promising sector of the economy. There was no gold rush in the region similar to the one in California (1830–1840s in the USA), and yet there were noticeable technical advances: a wheel-operated ore transportation line and washing machines that appeared in 1840s doubled the savings on labour and horses.

At that there were 29 gold-mining joint-stock gold mining companies in the Southern Ural. Their stockholders were nobles (84 people), merchants (67 people). The first 'promoted' the business in the highest government circles,

vessels. Authorized capital amounted to 900,000 roubles. After the merger, it reached 4.5m roubles. The company's board was located in St. Petersburg. Among the shareholders there were known dignitaries, and later, the largest commercial banks.

often through personal and family ties; and the second, with funds.

The capital of steamship companies was metropolitan and foreign, while local (belonging to the nobility and merchants) capital prevailed in gold mining. In other industries consolidation and concentration of capital were much slower, often within a family or a group of partners: the Kazan Tannery Partnership (founded by P. Kotelov and A. and V. Krestovnikov), the Steam Butter-Making Plant Partnership (Gorodishche Uyezd of the Penza Guberniya), etc. Joint-venture companies were actively formed, especially in 1850–1860s, simultaneously with the technical revolution.

Enterprises of other industries that operated on the Russian and local markets developed on their own financial basis. This was a different level of the economy where simple commodity reproduction prevailed. Cattle breeding and the associated industry not only provided employees with food products but also supported a complex of interrelated industries. Raw material for soap makers and tanners in the Volga Region were supplied from the lower reaches of the Volga.

Animal oil, leather and Russian leather manufacturing facilities operated in the villages of Kazan, Ufa, and Simbirsk. The woolen industry developed on the basis of sheep wool

and buck fleece processing. Entire villages were engaged in the tanning business (processing of leather, production of Russian leather) in the Kazan Uyezd, and in the sheepskin and lambskin business, in the Mamadysh Uyezd. In the Kasimov Uyezd of the Ryazan Guberniya entire trading quarters made a living from the fur business. Wool washing and felt making developed in the northern districts of the Middle Volga Region. In the Trans-Volga Region peasants in Samara villages rendered large amounts of tallow.

Processing of livestock products (rendering tallow, shearing, washing, and cleaning wool, production of butter and meat, soap and candles, various types of leather and wool finishing, etc.) was the basis of a diversified local industry. This industry may be called rural, by the location, equipment, and by the relation to this segment of economy, although by sales volume and territory it went far beyond the borders of the Volga-Ural Region.

Another area of rural industry was timber processing: resin distillation, tar distillation, cooperage, cartwright, and bast-mating bag crafts were present almost in every village, especially in the northern part of the region. Peasants of trade settlements in the Tsarevokokshaysk and Kozmodemyansk Uyezds (except the south-western end), the northern industrial half of Cheboksary, the southern part of Kazan, the northern part of the Sviyazhsk, and the southern ends of Tsivilsk and Yadrinsk Uyezds were engaged in the timber processing. Entire villages in the Krasnoslobodsk and Cheboksary Uyezds of the Kazan Guberniya, in the city of Kozmodemyansk were engaged in boat building. These villages were inhabited by peasants who were considered the best pilots on the local rivers.

In villages, but more often in the noble patrimonies, there were wineries, beet sugar, and wool production facilities, often referred to as factories. These were large patrimonial manufactories, but by equipment capability they were not much different from peasant crafts. Skilled bonded peasants worked at the manufactories. Some of the wool and glass making enterprises (they were provided with state privileges and

public contracts¹⁵) sold their goods throughout the country (wool manufactories of Akchurin, the Maltsov' glass and cut glass plants) [Shaposhnikova, 2007].

Peasant industry determined the overall image of Volga-Ural industry. Apart from cottage industry, there was also family industry. In conjunction with cottage industry and scattered manufacturing (with elements of division of labour for various operations), they formed the 'basis' of ordinary peasant life in the north and north-east of the region. Together with a small agricultural plot on the landlord's land, a peasant family still could live independently, reaching the market through a merchant buyer.

In the south-east of the region and in the steppe regions there were fewer crafts, and peasant life was increasingly oriented to grain growing and monoculture. Therefore, it was difficult to exist there without external economic contacts and ties to the market.

Diversity and complexity of processes in the region's industrial sector were mainly shown in the Middle Volga Region, in its north-eastern border areas. It was there where one could see first-hand the industrial, technical, organisational, and financial differences in the development of the economic set-up.

Two new trends associated with drawing the region into the general financial flow of the empire (establishment of joint-stock companies) and deployment of technological changes appeared in the Volga-Ural Region around the 1840s. Big business and machine technologies 'went hand in hand,' creating totally different opportunities for development of industry in

¹⁵ The cloth manufacturing business enjoyed state benefits. When opening new factories, they set preferential prices for the purchase of cloth, and an order for the production of certain varieties and types of great-coat cloth was distributed. It was possible to receive a comfortable loan, sometimes even interest free, secured by serfs engaged in manufacturing, or production equipment, etc. [Arsentiev 2004, pp. 52–57]. Already in 1859, four guberniyas of the Middle Volga Region hosted 77 of 176 (43.8%) of the country's cloth companies which had government contracts. This kind of business was profitable as long as there was a nearby source of raw materials [Arsentiev 2004, p. 120; Mudarisov, 2003, p. 38].

the region. However, villages retained their traditional economic set-up, sticking to their specialisation. Various stages of growth, from the simplest (cottage and handicraft industries) to modern (steamship companies), different ways of management (from family crafts to joint-stock companies) formed a 'multi-stage' (multi-level) industry meeting the requirements of different customers and having specific rules and relations at every stage (set-up).

Peasants could provide for themselves by the cottage industry; large industry, focused on the Russian consumer and supplying products, developed along the available transport routes.

The main transport routes of that time were country roads. Cart, postal, and cattle paths and rivers were part of the national transport system, even though by no means all of them were equally convenient and used throughout the year.

At the beginning of century the authorities' special interest in the Volga River was expressed by the reconstruction of the Vyshny Volochyok and construction of the Tikhvinsk (1810) and Mariinsk (1811) water systems. This significantly sped up cargo transportation (three convoys of vessels per year) and increased the carrying capacity of vessels moving along the Volga, Neva, and Northern Dvina to Saint Petersburg from Astrakhan. The main ports on this route were Astrakhan (for shipping), Saint Petersburg, Rybinsk, and Nizhny Novgorod. The interior of the Russian Empire gained additional opportunities for entering the European market, thus increasing its status and economic value.

The importance of changes in the road sector cannot be overestimated. The image of a road had gradually transformed in the public mind. For centuries, for the majority of people a road was a symbol of suffering, deprivation, torture, and physically demanding labour (movement of exiled convicts, barge haulers). Steam navigation and the outlet of the Volga and its tributaries to the northern seas formed a different image of the river, making it a symbol of prospects (including economic), new impressions, and first journeys.

The means of exchange and trade between people, cities and villages, regions and the country as a whole remained unchanged. Seasonal fairs¹⁶ served as a usual place for buying and selling on different levels—from simple exchange to large batch purchases of agricultural products. Wholesale merchants dominated at the large fairs (dealers, according to F. Brodel). This small group of merchants, who were engaged in international wholesale transactions over large distances and who had personal connections in other countries, was almost out of state control.

National and international trade was carried out at the Kazan, Orenburg, and Irbit fairs. The Nizhny Novgorod fair was known as 'the exchange court of Europe and Asia.' The Leipzig—Nizhny Novgorod—Irbit—Tobolsk—Irkutsk—Tyumen—Kyakhta fair chain functioned concurrently throughout the year, allowing merchants to move successively and connecting Europe to Siberia [Vybornov, 2004, p. 14].

The south-eastern direction of international trade was supported by the Orenburg and Kazan fairs, where goods from Central and Western Asia and the Middle East were traded. 18–19th centuries were the golden age of Kazan as a major transit trade centre of the empire. Merchants from Kasimov, Nizhny Novgorod, Rostov, Kazan, and Astrakhan (up to 150 people) came to Orenburg. It took 1.5–2 months for camel caravans to get here from Bukhara or Khiva, and from here the route followed the Indian-Iranian border to Calcutta (India). This foreign trade direction was serviced by Tatar merchants. Knowledge of the language and customs and religious confession were conditions for provision of government privileges (3% instead of 5% of turnover according to the Trade Charter) to them in trade with merchants from Central Asia, India, and Iran [Shkunov, 2002, p. 23]. Strengthening of the south-eastern direction of foreign trade was important for the Russian

¹⁶ In 1863, there were 6,287 trade fairs in the Russian Empire, including 419 in the Volga guberniyas: Kazan, Simbirsk, Samara, Saratov, and Penza.

Empire in the context of Russian-British tensions because of the influence on Iran and India. Although the scale of exchange with countries of the East in the first half of the 19th century was small¹⁷, trade along the Nizhny Novgorod—Kazan—Astrakhan—Orenburg route made the south-eastern region an important element of international cooperation and competition.

Foreign relations of these cities had increased their status on the domestic market as well. Shopping arcades—the first permanent trading stores—were built here.

The diversity of processes of the socio-economic life in the Volga-Ural Region does not fit into narrow class boundaries. In this region, as in Central Russia, there were state, demesne, and manor peasants. However, apart from the traditional division, there were also other, taking into consideration the time of settlement (indigenous population, new settlers), ways of paying the state tax (*yasak*, quit-rent peasants, tree fellers, military service) and possibilities for using land (landowners, landless settlers¹⁸, *Teptyars*), or affiliation with a civil or military class (Bashkir-Meshcheriak army, Orenburg and Ural Cossack army, Stavropol Kalmyk army)¹⁹.

The mining region was inhabited by mining peasants equal to manor peasants and state peasants. Despite the fact that they spent most of their time at a factory, where they were

considered artisans and workers, they were registered as peasants. The literature contains many examples of how trading peasants, engaged in auxiliary works, and mine workers, who had side jobs,²⁰ hired other people to do their work.

The trading class was made of up merchants. Their dynasties originated from the wine trade (buy-out), state contracts, and various intermediary transactions. Using the opportunity to buy up furs, wool, and fabric with a significant difference in prices, they made a profit of up to 20–50% over the initial price, and sometimes they doubled the amount of investment just by exchanging the goods. As a rule, these merchants lacked expertise and acted according to the circumstances and on the basis of personal relations with high risk. This probably explains why the Kazan merchants known at the beginning of the 19th century, for example, created their wealth based on the business established by their fathers, rarely their grandfathers [Sverdlova, 1998, p. 8]²¹.

In the early 19th century peasants, who were allowed to engage in trade (1804) and register as traders, began to compete with merchant dynasties. By the middle of century 40% of all newly registered merchants in Orenburg Krai were people from the peasant class [Bannikova, 2011, pp. 157–158]. Accumulation and expansion of capital of these 'new merchants' were based on purchasing and processing livestock products. Leather production, soap making, tallow rendering, and wool production represented the typical merchant business of the 1830–1840s. However, with the expansion of agriculture in the south-eastern regions, the most far-sighted entrepreneurs expanded real estate transactions by buying lands, leasing commercial lands and retail shops.

¹⁷ These enterprises were carried out by 150–200 people, and the volume of work did not exceed 1 million roubles.

¹⁸ Peasant settlers could belong to the category of tributaries or state peasants, or be the property of a landowner, who settled with his permission on the land of another land owner as 'allowance', and paid the rent for the use of the land. In this case, in a legal sense such settlers were not the serfs of the owner of the land allotted to them, although they were the serfs of their original owner.

¹⁹ 1,024.6 thousand people, including the Bashkir host of 546.5 thousand people, *teptyars* 246.8 thousand (in 1855, they were included in the Bashkir host), the Orenburg Cossack Host of 166.7 thousand (Russians, Ukrainians, Tatars), Ural Cossack Host of 64.8 thousand (Russians, Bashkirs, Tatars, Kalmyks). In the 1830–1840s, the government made a number of inconsistent solutions, which, according to the plan, should have led to the complete food self-sufficiency of the Cossacks in terms of bread.

²⁰ The trade and entrepreneurial stratum among bonded peasants, who hired workers to fulfill their obligations, was about 15% at Zlatoust factories [Istoriya Bashkortostana, Vol. 1, p. 287].

²¹ As L. Sverdlova notes, no Kazan dynasty of the time of Peter I managed to survive to the early 19th century, while families established in the second half of the 18th century stayed in the market until 1917. [Sverdlov, 1998, p. 8].

Modern scholars are actively studying processes of entrepreneurial development²². In the Volga-Ural Region this social group consisted not only of merchants but also of nobles, peasants, canton managers, military officers and government officials, mining manufacturers, and gold diggers—all those who wanted to make a profit. However, their daily life was subject to ethnic and religious rules more than to amount of capital [Bannikova, 2011, p. 10].

Under Russian law, men and women had equal property rights, which made them independent in entrepreneurial activity. It was reflected in the law of 10 June 1857 'On Permission to Issue a Certificate for Wives of Merchants to Trade Separately from Their Husbands' [Ulyanova, 2009]. Female entrepreneurship in the Volga-Ural Region was already gaining momentum in the latter half of the century.

Thus, in the first half of the 19th century lands in the Volga-Ural Region underwent socio-economic changes. With active migration and expansion of farming, the transformation (especially on the south-east of the region) of traditional land ownership into a market factor of production, otherwise known as the agrarian revolution, started here. In the majority of cities of Western Europe it went on for hundreds of years, accompanied by social conflicts, in general preceded the industrial revolution, and ended by the 19th century. The agrarian revolution was embedded in legal, institutional, and organisational changes. In the Russian Empire almost all of them occurred in the 19th century, while in the Volga-Ural Region they coincided (or resonated) with 'waves' of colonisation.

In general, administrative, economic, and social structures in the region reproduced the system of relations that prevailed in central regions of the empire. They were what made the region the 'inner margin' and not a border territory. In the socio-economic sphere this was shown by:

- Demographic growth and an increase in population density due to immigrants;

- Economic colonisation (development) and a focus on agricultural development

- Expansion and support of landlord tenure and peasant communal land tenure.

At the same time, the region had retained significant features reflecting historical and cultural processes driven by previous development and ethno-confessional features:

- Preservation of traditional forms of land tenure and land use with inherent features of normal (patrimonial) right;

- Significant numerical predominance of state peasants over demesnil and manor peasants

- Use of different forms of state tax collection (yasak, quit-rent duty), including in the form of military service (military service class) (The attitude to the military service class in that period was ambiguous; however, the general trend indicated the desire of the authorities to stop using the military here and transfer them to full economic and food self-sufficiency.)

- Uneven distribution of landlord tenures across the region, which were owned not only by nobles but partially by merchants, a few individual peasants, and peasant societies (This phenomenon was particularly noticeable in the southern and south-eastern steppe regions, which had a low population density and unoccupied lands.)

- Preservation of historical forms of land tenure and land use of the national elite (the quarter land tenure of the Serving Tatars, lands of Bashkir patrimonial estate owners, and Kalmyk noyons (princes)).

The direction of industrial development trends does not give grounds for characterising this period exclusively within the concept of the crisis in the feudal serf system. For the Volga and Cisural Regions it was a period of growth, which was ahead of the Russian average: share of industry of the Middle Volga Region in Russian industry as a whole increased from 4% to 6.8%. Moreover, in that period it had developed without strong state intervention. Privileges and state contracts were retained by defense-related

²² The word 'entrepreneurship' was increasingly applied to economic activities aimed at making profit and based on self-reliance, initiative, and the responsibility of owners of capital [Clein, 1994, p. 6].

enterprises (metallurgy in the Urals, weapon factories in the Vyatka Governorate, wool manufactories of the Volga Region).

All stages of technical improvement (cottage industry, manufactories, and the first factories), organisational and administrative complexity (single proprietor, family, state enterprises, joint stock companies) were present in the region. Modern machine technologies and joint-stock forms of capital organisation started being implemented in the 1840–1850s, initially in the transport industries (steamship building) and gold mining.

A mixed economy adapted to the requirements of various consumers was a specific feature of industry in the Volga-Ural Region.

Fairly liberal conditions for development of trade, including foreign trade (the eastern and south-eastern directions), and the ability of peasants to be engaged in trade indicated a desire of the imperial authorities to strengthen trade relations (primarily with Muslim countries) for further advancement and involvement of new territories in the general market space. The south-eastern margins became the main bases for this strategically oriented trade. Key players here were the cities of Orenburg, Astrakhan, Kazan, and Nizhny Novgorod.

Economic, property, national, and civil-military differences in the daily life of people living in the Volga-Ural Region were quite noticeable. The original, motley, and diverse image of the region remained unchanged. Multiple versions of socio-economic life as potential ways of development still seemed to be possible.

In a monograph devoted to global empires American historians J. Burbank and F. Cooper highlighted three features of the special 'Russian way' of the Russian Empire: awareness of regional diversity (geographical, confessional, ethnic), creation of 'areas of aspirations' for separate classes (for example, the ability of peasants to be registered as merchants), but not for individuals, while preserving the customary law in matters of the local life of various ethnic groups [Burbank, 2010, p. 272]. The third principle was that the rules could always change and at any time. These rules were controlled by officials, who were the main persons of influence. They saw the empire not as a single entity but as a country consisting of separate parts. These principles maintained social peace in Russia, low costs and at the same time provided the ability to use local resources by collecting taxes.

§ 2. The Tatar peasant economy

Nail Khalikov

In the first half of the 19th century the overwhelming majority of the Volga Region Tatars belonged to the state peasant class. Land use, distribution of taxes and duties, and public works were regulated by communal law.

Communal rules and traditions had positive and negative sides. It was more rational and easier for a commune society to solve economic issues and challenges, more effective in resisting state administrative claims to the rights of commune members, abuses by public officials, village chiefs, etc. In addition, a certain inertia and conservatism of commune in the socio-economic sphere contributed to preservation of village and separate economies with

their sustainable economic and cultural traditions. On the other hand, progressive and successful development of villages and households restrained compulsory egalitarian regulation of land use, particularly of arable lands and hayfields that were vital for peasants. The existing system of distribution of taxes and duties often did not correspond to the economic viability of individual farms, especially since peasants were responsible for prompt payment of taxes and fulfillment of obligations to the community ('mutual responsibility'). Leaving the community, even for a short time limited by the passport regime, was hampered by the same mutual responsibility, etc. Long absences of peasants

for seasonal work were generally hampered by the rural rich, who had the upper hand in the village and community and needed a cheap local workforce of farm and day labourers.

Some Tatars, mainly Mishars, who were previously of the Serving Class, owned land according to demesne law (so-called smallholders). However, in most cases, the economic life of their villages was based on the same communal principles.

With regard to land use, the situation was as follows. Whereas by the beginning of the 19th century peasants were legally granted plots of 15 dessiatinas, by the middle of the century, due to increased population density in the region (by 80% in the Kazan Guberniya, for example) [Istoriya Tatarskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Soczjalisticheskoi Respubliki, 1951, volume 1, p. 297], the plots were officially reduced to 8 dessiatinas—that is, by half or even more [Obshhij svod, 1896, pp. 24–25, table V]. It should be noted that a plot of 8 dessiatinas was the minimum for normal operation of a peasant farm. Reduction of the plots to 2–3 dessiatinas in the mid-to-latter half of the 19th century actually had disastrous consequences. Former private owners, who previously had sizable plots of land, were in a very difficult situation. Due to population growth and family parceling, by the middle of the century they owned even less land than former yasak-paying Kazan Tatars. Thus, many former smallholders in the Simbirsk Guberniya owned plots of even less than 1 dessiatina [Lipinsky, part 1, p. 270]. It was only in the south-eastern areas that people were provided with much more land: the Tatar Cossacks of Orenburg Governorate had allotments of 25–30 dessyatins or more. For example, in the village of Kassel each man had 43 dessyatins, 35 of which were arable lands [Statistical Data, s. 165]. About the peas-

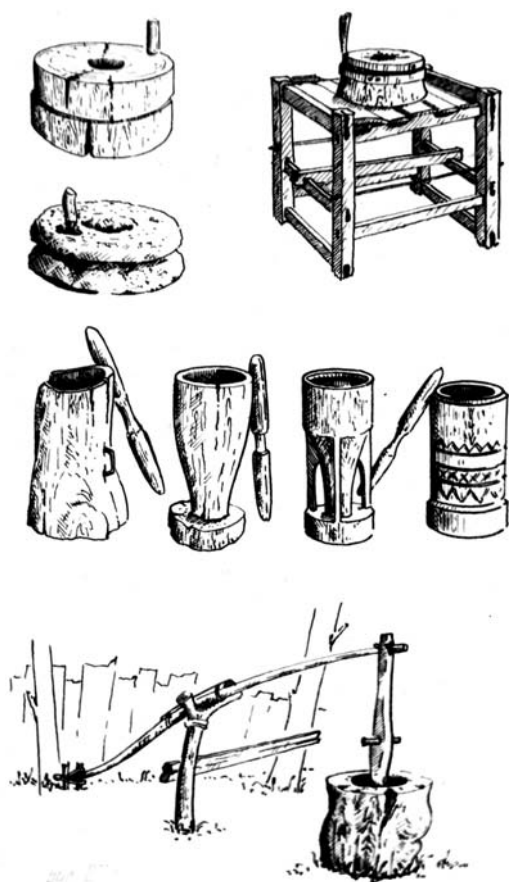


Drying house (şäs även). 19th—early 20th century. Reconstruction.

ants of the Samara Volga Region it was written: 'Everyone ploughs and mows where and how much they wish' [Solovyov, 1857, p. 217]. This was no coincidence: in the middle of the 19th century in Chelyabinsk Uyezd of Orenburg Governorate the ratio of arable lands to the total area of the district was 1 to 23; and in Orenburg Uyezd it was—1 to 45 [Voenno-statisticheskoe obozrenie, Vol. 12, part 1, p. 57].

The specified allotments (of 15, 8, 3 dessyatins or less) included a number of lands: arable land, hayfields, pastures, forests, and so on. On average, arable lands made up half of a man's allotment. Furthermore, during this period the area of arable lands increased at the expense of meadows and forests; for example, in Kazan Governorate the area increased from 1,886,000 to 2,477,000 dessyatins [Alishev, 1990, table 6]. Of course, half a dessyatina or one dessyatina of arable land per man was not enough to provide a family with food or to pay taxes. This forced peasants to rent out their allotments and seek other income on the side.

Meadows and hayfields for livestock were extremely scarce: a 1:1 ratio of arable lands to hayfields was considered reasonable, but in Kazan Governorate in mid-century there were 10 dessyatins of arable lands to 1 dessyatina of meadows [Laptev, 1861, p. 263]. Lack of food forced peasants sell off their livestock.



Hand-mills (kul tegermäne) and stupa (kilä (mortar)).
Reconstruction by N. Khalikov.

Among the Tatars 14% had no horses, which was more than among Russians, Chuvash, and others [Archive of Tolmachev, s. 18]. The shortage of livestock meant a shortage of dung as well; there was nothing to fertilise arable land with. It was noted with good reason that in the early 1840s the land in the Kazan Governorate was depleted, which resulted in crop failures [Xozyajstvenny'e zametki, pp. 390–391]²³.

The two core reasons were the progressive lack of land and increasing tax burden, combined with the development of trade and monetary relations during the formation of capital-

ism, and the development of Russian national and local markets, which led to the socio-economic differentiation of the country and the emergence of a sizable class of landless and indigent peasants. A. Lipinsky's remark describing Simbirsk Governorate is typical: '...there are a lot of poor families among the Tatars' [Lipinsky, 1868, p. 325]. One of the important consequences of this situation was the abandonment of farm work by a large number of peasants on the allotments. Their main sources of revenue became handicrafts, local and travelling businesses, and petty trade. All of these processes, which had emerged in the first half of the 19th century, were developing on a large scale in the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century. Since the negative processes in the territory's economy especially affected the Tatars (a high percentage of landless, and so on), businesses at their allotments were widespread among them. The following example is quite typical: among the Kasim Tatars, who had only 3 dessyatins of poor land per person, a third of the peasants provided for themselves by travelling businesses and trade [Baranovich, 1860].

Still, regarding traditional Tatars' activities, agriculture, despite the unfavourable economic situation, there was a progress in the sphere of arable farming, though that progress was slow. For example, it was written about the Tatars of Penza Governorate: 'Agriculture is very successful among the Tatars' [Prozin, 1886, p. 259]. Cropping systems were improved, new crops, ploughs, etc., were becoming widespread. A gradual increase in grain sowing and harvesting may be considered actual evidence of the positive trend in agricultural development. Thus, in the mid-century the Tatars of Buinsk Uyezd in Simbirsk Governorate often had sevenfold rye harvests, eightfold spring crop harvests [Materialy' dlya istorii, 1866, p. 53], which was considerably higher than average in the region.

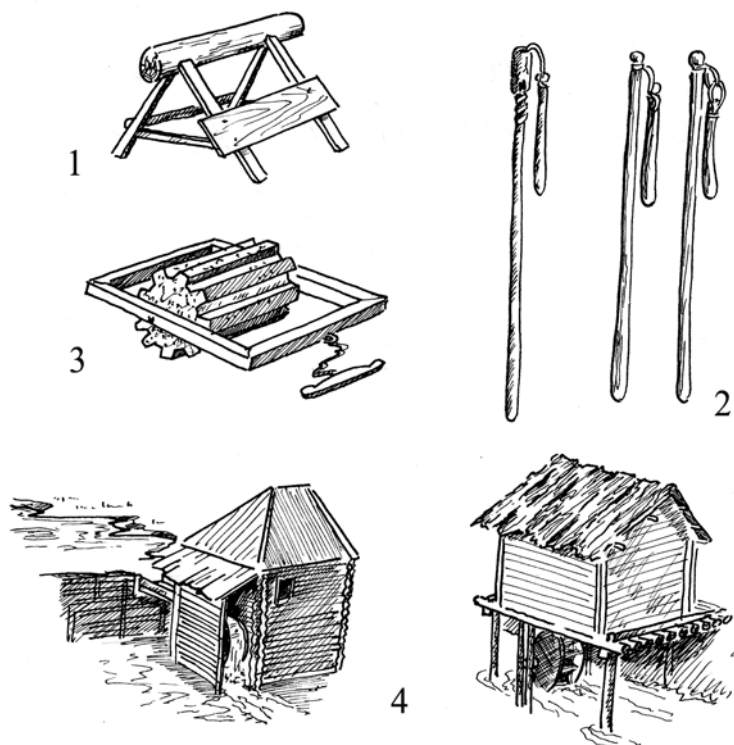
The ancient farming traditions of the Tatars should be also considered here. That was why a peasant stuck to his allotment and farming at all costs. The influence of communal customs and traditions, the stable family lifestyle, 'the love for hearth and home'—one's village and house—were also important.

²³ The exception was the Tatar population of the Southern Ural, especially the Cossacks, who owned large herds. Thus, in the village of Varna in the Verkhneuralsk uyezd of Orenburg guberniya, there were around 15 horses, cattle, and small cattle per every man in the middle of the 19th century [Statisticheskoe vedomosti, s. 123–124] (estimated by us.—N. Kh.).

The Tatar peasants' household activities as a means of providing food and money for themselves had many aspects. To some extent, depending on the socio-economic situation, climate conditions, and traditions, peasants were involved in agriculture, business, trade, etc. According to the peasants' social status, the direction and level of development of productive forces—given the prevalence of feudal methods—an important role in the Volga Tatars' household was played by agricultural production, first of all, by crop farming.

The Tatars farming culture was quite well developed for that time. At the very end of the 18th century I.G. Georgi noted: 'The Tatars of today can be called great crop growers that do not let their crop lands rest' [Georgi, 1779, part2, p. 11].

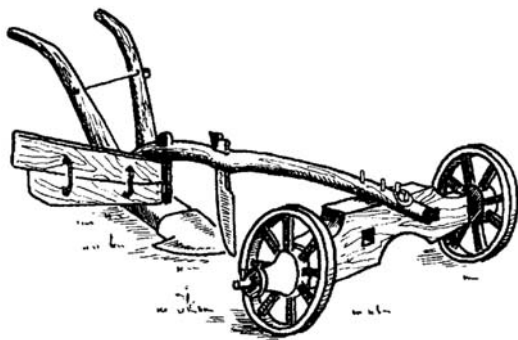
The type of farming activities and agriculture was determined by the method of maintaining land fertility. In the Middle Volga, Kama, Oka-Sura interfluvial Regions crop rotation system in a three-field form was predominant. In eastern and south-eastern regions (the Perm and Orenburg Governorates and southern Uyezds of Samara Governorate) sowing was often random, with short-term fallow added to three- or two-field crop lands. Thus, it was reported of agriculture in Saratov Governorate that there 'is no positive farming system' [Beznosikov, 1852, p. 92]. The Tatar Cossacks of Orenburg Governorate practiced the classical long fallow system as well. The Sarapul and Yelabuga Uyezds still preserved slash-and-burn farming system, not in its typical form but as fallow woodland, a way of cutting down forest for crop land.



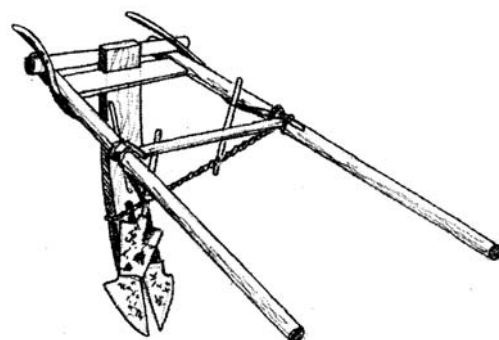
Tools for threshing: 1—trestles (stan, kaja) for threshing sheaves through lashing; 2—types of threshers (chabagach); 3—threshing stone (aslik bastira torgan tas); 4—water mills. 19—first half of the 20th century. Reconstruction by N. Khalikov.

According to the prevailing three-field farming system, the main crop in the Tatar peasants' fields was winter rye. Oats, barley, farro, buckwheat, and millet were also cultivated. In south-eastern areas of the territory, where the long fallow system often prevailed, wheat dominated, and its harvests reached 15-fold [Statisticheskije trudy', 1858, p. 10]. The Tatars also cultivated wheat in more northern regions, for example, in the Buinsk Uyezd of Simbirsk Governorate. However, by the middle of the 19th century, as arable lands became depleted, harvests in the central parts of the territory fell, and planted areas decreased [Materialy' dlya istorii, 1866, p. 39].

Old three-field crop lands corresponded to a wooden plough, and long fallow lands were tilled with a saban (single-blade) plough. But even where the saban was widespread (in the south-eastern parts of the territory), it was used only by well-off householders, since 4 to



Volga plough—saban. 18–19th centuries.
Reconstruction by N. Khalikov.



A plough used in the Volga Region and the Urals.
18–19th centuries. Reconstruction by N. Khalikov.

8 horses were needed for its team; poor peasants could afford only a wooden plough. The comment of the well-known plough researcher G. Firstov is typical: 'The saban is widespread mainly among the Tatar peasants of Orenburg, Simbirsk, Saratov, and Astrakhan guberniyas, and to some extent of Kazan Guberniya' [Firstov, 1840, p. 208]. Scythes were used in woodland areas, but Kungur and Vyatka ploughs appeared in the mid-19th century in Tatar villages of the Vyatka and Perm Governorates, in northern Uyezds of Kazan Governorate. These tools, which were in between a wooden plough and a modern plough, became widespread later.

A tine (spike) harrow, often with iron teeth, was widespread. A chain harrow was still used on light soils of the Vyatka, Kazan, and Nizhny Novgorod Governorates.

Rye and most spring crops were harvested with a sickle almost everywhere. A long straight scythe was used in south-eastern districts, especially for harvesting wheat. During the period of interest, use of the latter tool became more widespread since a scythe had a lot of advantages over a sickle.

Sheaves in the woodlands of the territory (Vyatka and Perm governorates, northern uyezds of Kazan guberniya) were formed in the fields as shocks and bundles and in the Oka-Sura interfluvium (Nizhny Novgorod, Penza, and other guberniyas) as crosswise sheaves. In forest steppe districts, dungiz, zurat, chumala typical *Tatar agriculture* were used. In farmsteads, sheaves were placed for long storage in barns as *kibens*. In forest and forest steppe areas sheaves were mainly dried in drying barns: log

and simpler, more archaic shisha drying barns. Contemporaries typically called the latter 'Tatar drying barns' [Candidate Pell, 1845, p. 134; Cheremshansky, 1859, p. 315]. In south-eastern districts of the territory sheaf thrashing without previous drying in drying barns was practiced. Winter rye and many spring crops were thrashed with a flail. However, Tatar peasants commonly thrashed sheaves with horses' hooves and carts. Grain was processed into flour at water and wind mills and was crushed into groats in horse-drawn shellers. In addition, each homestead had hand mills and mortars. Grain, groats, and flour were preserved in bins and hoppers storerooms and barns; poor householders kept their stores in inner porches (in vats and sacks). The very ancient method of grain storage in earth pits was preserved in some steppe districts.

During the first half of the 19th century agriculture (crop farming) developed rapidly. New more effective ploughs appeared; efficient methods of harvesting crops with a scythe, horse-drawn thrashing, thrashing of sheaves, especially of wheat sheaves, without drying were practiced more and more extensively [Beznosikov, 1852, pp. 101–102].

Rural Tatars rarely grew vegetables but bought them from Russian neighbours if necessary. Vegetables were grown only in suburban settlements, where there were opportunities to sell them, and among rich peasants in general. A. Lipinsky noted: 'And the Tatars, especially well-off ones, care about their gardens a lot, with a wide variety of vegetables' [Lipinsky, 1868, p. 423]. With difficulty, through 'potato

riots,' because the unknown crop also broke common sowing principles, by the middle of the century potatoes were planted in gardens, and sometimes fields, and later became a staple crop ('The potato is the main garden vegetable of the Cheremis, the Chuvash, and the Tatars' [Laptev, 1861, p. 270]). Orchards were rare in Tatar villages.

Livestock breeding was only supplementary to crop farming for the majority of Tatar peasants. Horses were used for ploughing and transportation. Cattle, sheep, and goats were sources of food (meat, milk) and raw materials (furs, skins, wool) for handicrafts.

Tatar livestock breeding was of a pasture-and-stable type. From spring to autumn livestock was pastured by herders. In forest steppe areas and adjacent districts of forest and steppe areas livestock was kept in cold wattle sheds in the winter; in Vyatka and Perm governorates warm log sheds were often used; in the south-eastern areas card pens with straw roofs were typical.

The Tatars put a lot of effort into maintaining and caring for livestock²⁴. Contemporaries noted: 'In general, livestock breeding is one of the best parts of a Tatar household' [Candidate Pell, 1845, p. 135]. In the Chistopol Uyezd of Kazan Governorate the Tatars had more chickens, geese, and ducks than any others; they were better cared for, so chicken, for example, was tastier [Lindegren, s. 11 (reverse)–12].

In the first half of the 19th century the socio-economic status of the rural Tatar population, the majority of whom were state communal peasants, was characterised by the main trends in agriculture: land became increasingly scarce, and taxes and duties became higher. As a consequence, by the middle of the century there was a material differentiation that became especially significant in the Tatar countryside. However, due to the rich economic and cultural experience as well as natural diligence, the Tatar household, crop farming, livestock breeding, and business developed slowly but steadily.

§ 3. Russian trade fairs

Lyudmila Sverdlova

Trade fairs flourished in Russia in the 18th century. It was facilitated by the large territory, underdeveloped transport system (which slowed down the integration of the regions into the Russian market), and also by the fact that stationary capitalistic trade and a credit system were only beginning to emerge.

By the early 19th century an extensive trade fair system had formed in Russia. It included rural market fairs, regional trade fairs, and Russian national trade centres such as Nizhny Novgorod, Irbit, Kyakhta, Orenburg, and other trade fairs. Kazan inhabitants invari-

ably had key positions at them. The Kazan, Bugulma, Menzelinsk, and Laishevo trade fairs were of great importance.

The Trade Charter read: 'In every town, settlement, trading quarter (posad), or hamlet and also outside of settlements a trade fair may be held once a year or more often, depending on the circumstances and convenience. When a trade fair is established, its start and duration (for important trade fairs) are determined, and likewise the ones that follow each other should be planned so that those who come to trade fairs can visit another one when the previous one is over' [Ustav Torgovyj, 1903, p. 184].

These were wholesale trade fairs—a kind of meeting place for merchants, wholesalers, intermediaries, and producers who established mutual connections to buy and sell large amounts of goods or to exchange large amounts of goods at the actual trade fair. Rus-

²⁴ However, despite all efforts, animal husbandry among the Tatars, similar to other peoples of the region, was in a 'complicated state' due to economic circumstances, starvation, and epizootic outbreaks. In particular, it was noted that cattle in the Ural guberniyas 'suffered from the plague' [Voenno-statisticheskoe obozrenie, 1848, p. 36].

sian national trade fairs were also international trade centres.

Trade deals at the fairs can be conventionally divided into three categories: 1) wholesale buying to sell it later in places where there was demand: in Russian capitals, at Russian national fairs, the shipment of goods abroad; 2) trade operations with fairly large amounts for resale (wholesale and retail), mainly in large trade and production centres of the country and in the reside of entrepreneurs; 3) small wholesale, where goods could be bought by wholesale traders looking for large lots as well as by retailers for later petty trade.

In the early 19th century Russia-East trade was centred in Odessa, Taganrog, Astrakhan, Kazan, Orenburg, and Siberia, including Kyakhta [Shkunov, 2007, p. 13]. The success of the centres largely depended on the development of transportation routes in their region of activity. In the late 18th century, due to the development of Russian trade relations with China and Central Asia, the main transit route between European Russia and Siberia was the so-called Kazan road: it started in Kazan and went through Tyumen, Yekaterinburg, Kungur, and Perm. Siberian merchants went to the Makaryev (Nizhny Novgorod) trade fair by two routes that linked Siberia with European Russia: the northern route through Verkhoturys and Solikamsk, and the southern route through Kungur and Kazan. Ural merchants transported goods to Moscow either through Vyatka (Kholynov) or through Kazan [Kafengauz, 1958, pp. 158, 197–198].

Kazan was located 'at the hub of major roads needed for travel to the most important towns and places, so that the roads to Vyatka, Tobolsk and all of Siberia, Orenburg, Ufa, Uralsk, and all the steppe areas and fortresses came from here' [Kazanskiye Izvestiya, 8 December 1814]. The oldest route passed through the town and linked the Russian capitals with the Urals and Siberia (Moscow—Kazan—Yekaterinburg—Tyumen). It began with the Moscow route that linked the Russian capital not only with the capital of Kazan guberniya but also with the uyezds of Sviyazhsk and Cheboksary; and all of them with Nizhny Novgorod. Via Kazan and

Irkutsk the Moscow route linked the capital of the country with Kyakhta, from which Chinese goods came to the European market. Probably the only land route from inner Russia to the Orenburg territory, and from there to Tashkent, Samarkand, and Bukhara, was the Orenburg route that, in addition to Kazan, passed through the governorate via Laishev and Chistopol. The Tsarevokokshaysk route led to the towns of the Vyatka Governorate, one of the main partners of Kazan; the Simbirsk and Spaso-Simbirsk routes were used by merchants to trade with towns of the Lower Volga. The Siberian highway passed through Kazan. Those roads marked with turnpikes at the town limits were managed by the Ministry of Transport and financed by the state.

Tatar entrepreneurs, who were bearers of religious, linguistic, ethnic, cultural, and economic traditions, played an important role in setting up trade and economic links with Eastern countries and contributed to the growth of Russian authority in the region and the strengthening of the Tatar merchants' trade capital in the markets of Central Asia.

Trade with Persia and the North Caucasus in the first half of the 19th century was carried out mainly through Astrakhan, which was a major port on the Caspian Sea. In addition to Russian merchants, Armenian ones, many of which took Russian citizenship, and the Tatars of Astrakhan participated in that trade actively.

Starting in the second half of the 18th century trade with Central Asia had been mainly carried out through the Orenburg and Troitsk fortress. Orenburg territory had become the centre of Russian—Central Asian trade.

Due to its favourable geographical location, governmental measures, and the activity of the Tatar trading class, Orenburg became the main stronghold of Russian interests in Central Asia. Before the Trans-Caspian Railway was built, trade fairs in the Orenburg exchange yard (from June to 1 November) and Troitsk Menovoj dvor [trading centre] (Orenburg guberniya, from 1 July to 1 October) were of great importance in trading local goods: wool, cattle, rawhide, camels, horses, cotton, and Asian fruits. From late August to early November three caravans prepared by Tatar merchants started out from Oren-

Table 33

**Segmentation of the Foreign Trade of the Eastern Russian Empire
in the latter half of the 18th to the first half of the 19th century.**

[Shkunov, 2007, p. 14]

Taganrog and Black Sea ports	Asktrakhan, Transcaucasia	Orenburg Region	Siberia, including the Trans-Baikal Region	Far East
Moscow, European ports, Kursk Korennaya and Nizhny Novgorod Fairs	Nizhny Novgorod, Kursk and Korennaya Fairs, Kazan, Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Baltic and northern ports	Trading Centres, Nizhny Novgorod and Irbit Fairs, Kazan, Simbirsk, Moscow, Arkhangelsk and Urals	Nizhny Novgorod and Irbit Fairs, Kazan, Arkhangelsk, Irkutsk, Kyakhta and Selenchinsk	The coastal region, the Urals, Irbit Fair, Kamchatka and Alaska
The Ottoman Empire, Asia (Lebanon, Syria, Palestine)	The Asian part of the Ottoman Empire, Iran, Turkmenistan steppes	Central Asian Khanates, India, Afghanistan, Xinjiang, Kashmir, Punjab, Balkh, Badakhshan, Kazakh Zhuzes	Kokand and Bukhara Khanates, Xinjiang, Khalkha	Japan, Korea, China, Manchuria

burg. The caravans headed to Khiva, Bukhara, and the goods that had not been sold there were sent further south to Kunduz, Kabul, and Badakhshan. Tatar merchants operating through Orenburg had also established permanent trade relations with Persia, India, Tibet, and Kashgar (Western China) [Kamsko-Volzhskeya gazeta, 16 September 1873].

Kazan Tatars bought Persian fabrics, shawls, and carpets at Central Asian trade fairs to send to Kazan, Russian fairs, and the capitals; they bought cotton robes, Tashkent viboyka (fabric), the best furs to process later at local enterprises, and spun cotton thread from Khiva and Bukhara merchants. This thread was partially mixed with English thread by Kazan manufacturers, thus producing Nankin. Tatar merchants bought large lots of beef and mutton fat, leather, sheepskins and livestock, mainly horses and sheep, from the Kazakhs [Nebolsin, part 1, 1835, pp. 170, 172, 173].

By all accounts, Kazan, Orenburg, and Ufa trade Tatars established the closest links with Bukhara, the centre for selling Russian goods

in Central Asia, where the authorities had a protectionist policy towards them. In the early 19th century merchants who traded with Central Asian countries were called 'bukhar yurtuchi' (a trader of Bukhara goods) [Istoriya Tatarii, 1937, p. 304]. Among them were the Malmyzh merchant Abdulla Utyamyshev, Arsk merchant of the 1st guild Ibragim Bayazitov, Kazan merchant's son Abdulkarim Yunusov, Chelyabinsk merchant of the 1st guild Ivan Akhmatov, Chelyabinsk merchant Murtaza Monasypov, and others. The following figures show the trade turnover of these merchants: in 1805 at Troitsk customs Chelyabinsk merchant of the first guild Ivan Akhmatov registered goods worth 61,410 rubles, and Chelyabinsk merchant Murtaza Monasypov registered goods worth 103,743 rubles. On returning from Bukhara, Akhmatov had goods worth 101,366 rubles, and the Malmyzh merchant Abdulla Utyamyshev had goods worth 123,592 silver rubles [Shkunov, 1997].

Not only guild merchants involved in wholesale and retail trade actively participated



Part of the Gostiny Dvor [shopping arcade] of the Seitov Posad [trading quarter]. Photo from the 1920s.

in economic relations and trade fairs. A sizable group of trade fair participants was formed by trade Tatars, both peasants and bourgeois, who lived near the fair centre and were involved in petty travelling trade, and also by craftspeople who sold their products at the fairs. Trade fairs were served by a sizable group of 'trade people,' who can be considered as complimentary to the trading class: merchants' agents, cart and shop vendors, clerks of merchant companies and trading houses, partners and other persons, in addition to peasants involved in carrying and odd-job labourers, who did hard work at harbours, fairs, and in shops.

Russian Tatars, as intermediaries and at the same time active participants in Russian-Eastern trade, enlarged the sphere of Russian economic interests in the East, contributed to the spread of domestic goods in adjacent countries.

However, the development of trade with Central Asia was hindered by the lack of a legal framework (treaties); the difference in currencies, weights, and measures; the excessive customs duties collected by caravan routes; additional taxes owed by non-Muslim merchants; quarrels, strife, wars, and the arbitrariness of emirs, khans, and beys; and also frequent bandit attacks on caravans, whose victims included Muslim merchants as well. Thus, in 1804 the Tsar's special decree freed the Kazan merchants Shakhmuratovs from paying taxes for 20 years to compensate their losses from a bandit at-

tack and robbery of their trade caravan on the road to Bukhara and Khiva.

In the second quarter of the 19th century goods worth 5.5 million were exported to Central Asia along the Kazakh border, and 4 million worth were imported from there. In 1849–1853 trade with Asian countries in the total turnover of Eastern trade (taken as 100%) was distributed as follows: Kazakh steppes: exports: 16.8%, imports: 23.6%; Asian Turkey: 7.2%

and 5.2%, respectively; Khiva, Bukhara, Khokand: 4.2% and 6.0% [Istoriya trgovli, Vol. 1, Ed. 5, 1913, pp. 71, 72].

Contributing to further development of trade with Central Asian states, the Tsarist government cancelled the duty on goods imported to Bukhara. The Emir appreciated this and gave orders to tax Russian merchants equally with Muslims [Kazansky birzhevoy listok, 27 June 1871]. Now Russian merchants could trade in the East themselves; they put those they hired to trade on their behalf at Central Asian markets under strict control. In 1864–1865 a large part of Central Asia became part of Russia, and khanates of Khokand and Bukhara were then vassals to it. After that the Tatars lost their monopoly on Central Asian trade, although they were still among the main trading partners of the region.

The main Russian trade fair, Makaryev (since 1817, Nizhny Novgorod), operated from 15 July to 25 August. It played the role of an international fair, where the exchange of not only Russian but also of Western European, Asian, and Eastern goods took place. The geographical location of Nizhny Novgorod was favourable for it. P. I. Melnikov noted: 'The Volga and the Caspian Sea represent (Nizhny Novgorod.—*L. S.*) an open route to the Caucasus, Persia, Central Asia, and even India; the Volga and Dubovka Railway to the Don links Nizhny Novgorod and Nizhny Novgorod trade



Traders (Tatar and Kazakh) crossing the Volga in the winter time. Pic. of the second half of the 19th century

fair with Turkey, the Levant, Egypt, and Southern Europe. The Volga and the Kama bring this place closer to the Urals range and Siberia, through which the open road to China leads. On the other hand, the Volga and its channels link Nizhny Novgorod with the port of Saint Petersburg, the window from Russia to Europe, and also with the northern guberniyas of European Russia. The Volga links Nizhny Novgorod with inner Russia and its heart, Moscow [quoted from Senyutkina, 2006, p. 34].

The Nizhny Novgorod trade fair attracted Western European merchants as a market to sell goods and at the same time as a market to buy raw materials needed to produce those goods. Asian merchants brought oriental goods to the fair and were valued as major suppliers of raw materials to the Russian national market and wholesale buyers of Russian goods. In the 1840–1850s Western European merchants made up 5% of the total fair traders, and those from Asia and Transcaucasia made up 11% [Bogorodickaya, 1989, p. 16].

Kazan merchants transported traditional goods to Nizhny Novgorod. But by the middle of the 19th century grain, rye and groats flour, oats, various groats, and linseed were in first place. Supplies of cotton fabrics (nankin and red calico), felted footwear, sacks, matting, mats, expensive carriages and cheap carts, wheels, potash, and wood ash grew considerably. Kazan inhabitants bought everything at the fair that was in demand for trade in the Urals, Siberia, and Central Asia [Melnikov, 1846, pp. 31, 67, 87, 90, 99–100, etc.]. The ma-

jority of deals were made on credit, and only 10–20% of goods were bought with cash.

In 1804 there were 58 Muslim traders who had become members of the Muslim trade community at Makaryev fair—that is, 5.2% of all traders. They came from Kazan and Kazan Governorate (32 people), Arsk (5 people), Kasimov and Kasimov district (6 persons), Orenburg and Kargala (4 people), and Bukhara (2 people)²⁵.

In the late 1850s there were 300 Tatars, or 2% of the 15,000 merchants, registered at the fair [counted according to Bogorodickaya, 1989, p. 16].

There was a Tatar row at the fair where goods were sold by Asian and Tatar merchants. In 1812 the supply of 'various Bukhoro furs, red calico, Nankin and yuft' was 3,146,000 roubles, and sales reached 1,415,000 rubles—that is, 45% of the supply. Merchants sent goods left after the fair closed to Moscow and other Russian trading centres [counted according to the Makaryev-Nizhny Novgorod trade fair, 1997, p. 185].

Tatars also traded in the Soap Row. 'Soap in beautiful large and small boxes, white and yellow, is placed on the shelves in chess order; there is a lot of it on the counters. Kazan Tatars

²⁵ For 7 more merchants there is no indication of the places where they arrived from. In terms of social classes, half of them were guild merchants (28 people and a merchant's son), 9 'trading Tatars', 4 Serving Tatars, 4 peasants, and 2 commoners. The remaining 10 people were of unknown social origin [calculations based on Senyutkina, 2006, pp. 123–124].



Menovoj dvor [trading centre] near Orenburg. Drawing by P. Rychkov.
Last quarter of the 18th century.

are the main participants here' [Pogodin, 2000, p. 91]. In 1812 the value of the soap brought to the fair was 352,000 rubles; and the amount sold was 233,000 rubles, or 62.2% of the supply [counted according to The Makaryev-Nizhny Novgorod trade fair, 1997, p. 186].

The Kazan merchants Abdulkarim Yunusov, Akhmet Zamanov, Yusup and Khusain Ap-anayev, and Muhammad and Yusup Shatunov supplied soap manufactured at their own enterprises in 1822 [Senyutkina, 2006, pp. 46–47].

'Kazan and Astrakhan Tatars,' wrote a contemporary in 1827, 'mainly bring soap here, of good quality and selling very well, along with fine morocco and various goods made of it, and finally, sheepskin and lambskin coats. The amount of soap reached 1,000 poods, and was sold for 7.75–8.25 rubles a pood' [Bogorodickaya, 2000, pp. 61–62].

The Tatars of Kazan, Nizhny Novgorod, and Simbirsk guberniyas made up a significant part of the service personnel at the Nizhny Novgorod fair. 'The Tatars do all the hard work at the fair,' a contemporary wrote in 1827. 'They carry heavy goods and serve in the display booths. They are industrious and do what they are told with no objections' [Senyutkina, 2006, p. 48]. In the early 20th century A.P. Melnikov noted: 'There are still a lot of Tatars among unskilled labourers and minor servants at the fair.

In ancient times there were almost exclusively Tatars here, crowds of them came here during the fair from the adjacent Kazan guberniya and Sergach uyezd of Nizhny Novgorod guberniya... They were very cheap and the sturdiest workers, pleased with a small income, living almost in the open air...' [Melnikov, 1993, p. 44].

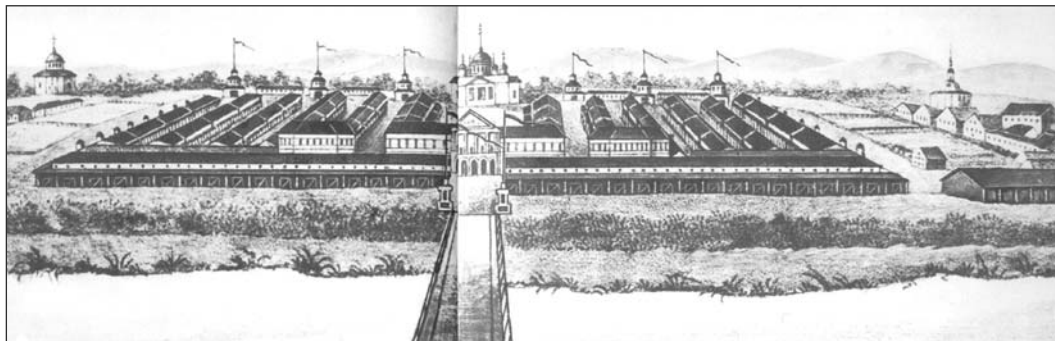
By the 18th century, permanent economic relations were established with China; trade with

it mainly came through Kyakhta. The Kyakhta fair was dominated by exchange trade under state monopoly.

Merchants produced goods for 'exchange' at their enterprises, although they mainly bought them at various fairs. 'For the Kyakhta exchange... negotiators store up soft goods, which is why they buy at the fair (Nizhny Novgorod.—L. S.)squirrel, lambskin, cat, otter, and other furs. The amount of squirrel skins for sale reached 1,300,000, at 200–400 rubles for a thousand skins. The amount of silver fox skins reached 200,000, at 700–800 rubles; of lambskins, 100,000, at 0.75–0.90 rubles; of cats, 500,000, at 0.75–0.90 rubles; of otters, 10,000, at 20–30 rubles for a skin' [Bogorodickaya, 2000, pp. 61–62].

According to P. I. Melnikov, the Nizhny Novgorod fair started trading only after wholesale merchants agreed on prices for Kyakhta teas (which determined prices for leathers bought for sale at Chinese and Siberian markets), manufactured products, furs, and other goods [Melnikov, 1993, p. 249].

Trade at Kyakhta was carried out in autumn so that the goods could be transported to their destinations by winter roads. They were brought to the European part of the country by the Kyakhta—Irkutsk (a customs office operated here)—Tomsk—Tyumen—Kazan—Mos-



Plan of the Nizhny Novgorod market from the Oka River. Lithograph by V. Loginov. 1823.

cow route. Part of the goods were stored in Kazan until the opening of the Nizhny Novgorod trade fair.

The following goods were exported from China: sugar candy, fresh fruit, rice, 'ball' tobacco, cotton, raw silk, cotton and silk fabrics, faience and porcelain dishes, embroidered clothes, fans, and pictures. But tea was in first place. In exchange Russian merchants offered furs, leather (goat and sheepskins were especially valued), saiga horns, plate iron, metal dishes, paper, Nankin, mirrors, and tinsel [Zyablovsky, 1808, p. 138; *Istoriya trgovli*, Vol. 1, Ed. 5, 1913, p. 71]. The Kazan Tatars not only supplied their manufactured leather products and fabrics to the Chinese market but also exported the products of Russian, German, Asian enterprises to China.

Since 1782 trade with China had been under the control of the so-called companions. They were mainly aimed at annual price-setting equal for all Russian merchants, and the control over sticking to the prices. Merchants who came to Kyakhta were simultaneously dominated by 'companies of merchants... from Arkhangelsk, Vologda, Tula, Tobolsk, Irkutsk, Kazan, and Moscow' [Firsov, 1902, p. 31; Korsak, 1857, pp. 94, 95], which effectively monopolised the tea trade in Russia. Their representatives were members of the fair committee, they held negotiations with Chinese partners achieving advantageous exchange conditions, set prices on the Kyakhta tea market and thus on the Russian market. One of the companions' tacit goals was to restrict the amount of persons al-

lowed into the tea trade. The companions did not have common stocks, the 'companies' were established on the principle of an association of fellow countrymen and united merchants specialising in trade of similar goods. Both Russian and Tatar merchants belonged to the 'Kazan Company'. Among the latter, in the early 19th century, were the Apakov brothers, Yusup Kitaev, Musa Yakupov, Yusup Arsaev, Gubaydulla Yunusov, the major entrepreneurs of Kazan. In 1811, the Tatar merchant Yusup Kitaev brought goat leather worth more than 80,000 rubles to Kyakhta to exchange for Chinese goods [Agafonov, 1906, pp. 107–108].

The interaction of Tatar and Russian entrepreneurs and their mutual help was expressed in different ways. For example, if merchants transported goods to and from Kyakhta, they had to pay taxes at Irkutsk customs, but they were allowed to pay after selling the goods. The authorities asked other merchants to provide surety with their property as insurance in case of a trader's bankruptcy. Thus, in 1826 Gubaydulla Yunusov had to pay a huge duty of 100,000 rubles, and the richest Kazan merchants (who also participated in Kyakhta trade) L.F. Krupenikov, P. I. Kotelov, Musa Yakupov, and Yusup Arsaev vouched on his behalf. Yunusov was also a guarantor of Musa Yakupov [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 114, inv. 1, file 593, s. 13–14, 18–19].

In the 1840s Kazan was represented at Kyakhta, among others, by trading houses of the Kazan Tatar Apanayev brothers and Gubaydulla Yunusov [Korsak, 1857, p. 412].



Market-place mosque at the Nizhny Novgorod market.
Built in 1822. Photo from the early 20th century.

At a certain stage exchange trade, which developed at Kyakhta under the protectionism of the Russian government, became a kind of motivation to organise and enlarge factories that produced goods especially popular with Chinese entrepreneurs. Altogether, 53% of Russian exports of leather, goats and sheep, morocco and yuft went to the Chinese market [Pokrovsky, 1947, pp. 104, 105]. The main articles that Kazan entrepreneurs exchanged were morocco leather of the highest coloured types and goat leather, which was a traditional manufactured product of Kazan. Kazan inhabitants exported large amounts of their own Nankin to Kyakhta that appeared at the country fairs in 1823 and soon became popular due to its quality and durable colour.

Kyakhta 'companies' operated up to 1800—that is, until the government defined the rules of exchange and opened a customs office in Kyakhta. New rules of the tea trade confirmed its exchange character, retained the ban on credit, and as before did not allow foreign merchants into Kyakhta. From 1807 the right to trade on the border and in ports had been granted only to merchants of the 1st guild [Agafonov, 1906, pp. 107–108], which increased their turnover. Kazan inhabitants were in sixth place in turnover among the 19 towns that traded at Kyakhta

(532,856 rubles) but were in 13th place in turnover per enterprise (133,214 rubles). This shows that Kazan was represented by more tea traders than other cities, although they were not as large as Moscow traders, for example. Right up to the 1860s Kazan, along with the Moscow, Nizhny Novgorod, Irbit, and Menzelinsk trade fairs, was one of the country's largest tea markets.

In 1855 the government allowed the sale of tea for cash in Kyakhta, and six years later abolished the decision of 1822, that

banned tea imports by sea and opened all Russian ports. Sea logistics was twice as cheap, and goods were transported faster. The less expensive Canton tea (as it was called to distinguish it from Kyakhta tea) began rapidly conquering the Russian market.

In the 19th century Kazan was considered the capital of Siberian transit trade, and Kazan merchants played key roles at the main trade fair of Siberia—the Irbit trade fair—which was the centre of trade between the Urals and Siberia and a major transit point between Europe and Asia. In the early 19th century, the prosperity of the Irbit fair was connected with Central Asian trade, where 'caravans from Khiva and Bukhara brought in huge sacks of yarn, printed fabrics, wool, astrakhan, robes, spices, dried fruit...' and returned from Kyakhta with china, faience, silk, and various sorts of tea [Dmitriev, 2004, No.5 (542), p. 180]. Among Russian merchants, the majority were from the Volga and Moscow merchant class, entrepreneurs from Veliky Ustyug and Arkhangelsk²⁶.

²⁶ They brought fabrics, both produced at Russian factories and exported from Western Europe and the countries of Asia Minor, jewellery, colours, wine, sugar, and tobacco. Ural-Siberian merchants traded goods produced at Ural factories, but most goods were 'soft junk'.

Trade fairs flourished in the pre-reform period, at the turn of the 1830s and the 1840s. It was then that the Irbit trade fair came to be considered a Russia-wide event. This was connected to the scale of gold mining in Siberia. In 1812, goods worth 6 million rubles were brought to the fair, and in 1845, worth 20.2 million rubles [Dmitriev, *Ural*, No.5 (542), p. 180; *Kazanskiye Izvestiya*, 1815, 20 January]. The ascent of the Irbit trade fair was a consequence of the Russian market's expansion due to the intense development of the state economy as a whole and, first of all, in the Asian peripheries of the state.

A representative of Kazan merchants, as a rule, a major wholesale merchant, was always a member of the fair committee [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 98, inv. 1, file 68, s. 91 reverse–92 reverse, 116–117; *Kazanskiye Izvestiya*, 1812, 25 May; *Kazan-sky birzhevoy listok*, 1870, 27 July; *Kazansky birzhevoy listok*, 1891, 23 March; *Kazansky Telegraf*, 1894, 23 February]. Locally produced goods, handicraft, goods bought at the Kyakhta, Samara, Nizhny Novgorod, Menzelinsk, Laishev, Orenburg, and other fairs were brought from Kazan for trade. The inhabitants of Kazan were also valued as major wholesale buyers of fat (Iskhak Arslanov, Muhammadsafa Galikeev, Izmail Galansky), rawhide (Yunusovs), furs (G. Subayev, 'B. Subayev, I. Burnashev, and M. Sajdashev in Kazan'), and tea (Ahmetzyan Rakhmatullin, Ahmetzyan Saydashev), as those were traditional goods for Kazan Tatars.

Tatar national shoes and headwear were on high demand in Irbit.

The uyezd towns Yelabuga, Laishev, Chistopol, Kotelnich, Kozmodemyansk, Mamadysh, and Menzelinsk were 'trade and harbour centres' and 'trade and administrative fair centres' of the Middle Volga and Kama region²⁷.

²⁷ There were such fairs as those in Laishevo (Kazan guberniya, 27 May–11 June]: the Karavannaya fair, merchants traded in iron and cast iron, brought to the Laishev berth via the River Kama from mountain plants in Orenburg, Ufa, Vyatka and Perm governorates. In Chistopol there was the so-called 'millionth' bread fair, and in Mamadysh, the 'seasonal' fair. The turnover of

The oldest wholesale market in the eastern regions of the country was the Kazan trade fair which was called 'Tash ayak', 'Bulachnaya', but more often 'Spring Exchange'. The fair took place from 1 May to 1 June. Its turnover reached 1.5 million rubles, and the amount of traders was approximately three hundred²⁸.

The transit wholesale trade, which was conducted through Kazan during the period in question, propelled the city to be one of the major trade centres in Eastern Russia. Goods from the Lower and Middle Volga regions, the Kama River region, the Transcaucasia, Siberia, and the Urals were carried to Kazan. There they were stored and distributed among the cities and fairs of Russia to be exported then abroad. Kazan merchants led vigorous trading

the Alexeyevskaya Fair (Kotelnich, Vyatka governorates, 1–19 March) reached 1 million roubles. The Menzelinsk Fair (Ufa guberniya, 26 December–11 January) traded in fabrics (40%), tea, sugar, dyes, and leather. For the Kozmodemyansk Fair (Kazan guberniya, 15 May–1 July), rafts with timber were delivered from the Kostroma, Nizhny Novgorod, and other guberniyas; the turnover reached 1 million rubles [see Denisov, 1911; Kandelaki, 1914; Russia, 1900, etc.]. After the Nizhny Novgorod Fair, a lot of Kazan, Moscow, Orenburg, and Troitsk merchants hurried to the Vozdvizhenskaya fair in Bugulma (14–22 September), where they traded in 'low-grade paper goods', iron, and cast iron products [Kazansky birzhevoy listok, 1869, 30 October, 7 November].

²⁸ Sarpinka (Striped cotton, fabric with rare weaving) was delivered from Saratov guberniya; handicrafts were brought from Nizhny Novgorod and Vyatka consisting of mainly bowls made of wood; crafts were brought from Yekaterinburg which were made from Ural stones; ware, fancy goods and Moscow toys were brought from Moscow; and from Vladimir, icons and church utensils. Lemons and oranges were delivered from St. Petersburg, among other goods. They were quickly purchased by Tatar merchants, who traditionally controlled the sale of fruits imported to Kazan. Merchants from Persia, Central Asia, and Transcaucasia sold their goods at the fair. Tatar merchants brought their traditional products to 'Tash ayak': soap, tallow candles, tanned skin, red calico, cotton materials, such as blue or black cotton fabrics, national shoes, hats, clothes, and jewellery. Some local merchants transferred their trade to the fair in the spring, offering the products of Kazan industrial enterprises and crafts. After unloading at the fair berth, ships were loaded with bread, mat, fiber, rims, tallow candles, glassware, Russian leather, potash, oil, and canvas.



Market-place mosque of Tatar merchants in Irbit in the Perm Guberniya. Photo from the early 20th century.

and entrepreneurial activity in the eastern international market. States of Middle Asia, Western China, and Persia fell within the scope of their interests.

It was in the specificity of the transit trade that Kazan was used as a major transshipment terminal for warehousing goods until favourable conjunctual, weather, and road conditions occurred and the due time arrived, then they would be moved to their point of sale, which in our case meant to the capitals and northern ports, to fairs of the Volga and Urals, Siberia, and Central Asia.

In the early 19th century, Kazan merchants transported bread, Russian leather, beef and mutton tallow, wax and honey to Saint Petersburg's port. To Arkhangelsk they sent Russian leather, wax, tallow, wheat, peas, millet, and bristle hair. The following products were delivered to the Astrakhan market: bread, Russian leather, honey, wax, firewood, basts, resin, tar. Butter, rod tin, tinplate, incense, grape wine, dried plum and figs, fish, caviar, fabrics, and nuts. In Moscow, Kazan citizens sold fish, caviar, wax, honey, soap, 'Pan and Russian'

stockings, and in the towns of the Volga region they traded in 'bread of all kinds', tar, and resin. Among the products they purchased were golden and silver braids, brocade, silk and cotton fabrics, tinsel, tin utensils, sugar, and 'all sorts of manufactured goods'. In the first half of the 19th century, the trade turnover increased considerably in Kazan: from 10–12m at the beginning of the century up to 26m in 1823 and 58m roubles in 1852 [Zagoskin, 1895, p. 525; Kazansky birzhevoy listok, 1878, 22 February]. M. Rybushkin noted: 'Soap and tallow candles produced in Kazan are delivered for sale to, apart from the capitals, distant locations in Siberia and are highly valued for their quality there' [Chulkov, Vol. 6, Book 4, 1786, pp. 212, 213; Rybushkin, 1834, p. 93].

The Tatar merchant class did not exist separately: it was closely connected by business relations with Russian merchants, especially merchants of the major trade and industrial centres of Eastern Russia, the Urals, and Siberia, as well as with partners from Western Europe, but especially from Central Asia, Iran, and the western regions of China and Transcaucasia. Fairs in which Tatar businessmen were active participants played a mediating role in establishing these relations. In the first half of the 19th century, they actually controlled trade with the states of Central Asia, facilitated the development of trade with China, Siberia, and the Urals, played an important role in arranging the work of the Nizhny Novgorod fair, thus occupying their own niche in commercial transactions at Russian fairs. No wonder that contemporaries always emphasize the leading role of the Tatar businessmen in the development of trade with countries of the East.

§ 4. Regional and Local Trade

Lyudmila Sverdlova

The major activities of Tatar merchants throughout the 19th century were commerce, production, and to a lesser extent, providing services and the participation of merchants in banking and commercial transactions. Com-

merce, while being the oldest entrepreneur activity, prevailed among Tatar merchants both by the amount of current assets and by the number of businessmen employed.

Commerce is direct trade and trading and intermediary activity designed to ensure commodity circulation, the exchange of goods, the purchase and sale of goods, as well as customer service in the course of selling and supplying goods, during the storage of goods, and their preparation for sale. The goal is to ensure the maximum economic effect from the difference in the purchase and sale prices of goods.

The economic situation of the city in which the entrepreneur conducted business also greatly influenced the development of market relations and connections in the region, and as a result, also influenced the economic behaviour of the merchant. These factors included the level of development of land highways and roads, the availability of waterways, and their connection with the major thoroughfares of Russia, presence in the region of fertile soils, forests and mineral resources. All these determined the quantity of raw materials and goods supplied by traders to the international and domestic markets.

Kazan in the first half of the 19th century, while being an important economic centre of the empire, played an important role in the establishment and functioning of the Russian market, held great influence over the development of commercial activity in the eastern part of the country, neighbouring regions, and in uyezd towns of the guberniya itself. The geographic location of Kazan at significant land and waterway crossroads was very important in turning the city into a trading and intermediary centre.

The heart of the urban trade of Kazan was Gostiny Dvor, which accommodated about 1,000 shops. In 1818, 69 shops of Gostiny Dvor 'belonged to different landowners', and the major owner of shops was the merchant Abdul-Karim Yunusov (21 shops) [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 114, inv. 1, file 216, s. 138, 200–201 reverse].

Trade was also conducted by residents of the Old and New Tatar slobodas who were not enrolled in the guilds and were referred to as 'Serving Tatar traders' by the census of 1785. They were engaged in petty trading, transportation, inn and eatery keeping, renting out dwell-

ings, trading and warehousing premises and initiating handicraft industry.

In Semipalatinsk, Tatar merchants sold bread, furs, leather, carpets, fabrics, small wares, ready-made clothing, confectionery products, eastern herbs and spices, thus pushing out local traders from this marketplace. One of the major merchants of Russia in the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century were the Musins, who had established the basis of their well-being already in the 18th century. By the middle of the 19th century, they owned shops in Semipalatinsk, Ayagoz, Zaysan, and a flour milling plant [Semipalatinsk, 1984, p. 18].

A specific economic 'microcosm' was being created around the cities, and it had its own peculiarities. For example, the frontier town Petropavlovsk became one of the centres for conducting trade with 'the Kirghiz Steppe', with its 'endless stock of meat, fat, and leather goods'. A 'livestock alleyway' passed through the city, which led to the central governances of Russia [Petropavlovsk, 1985, pp. 22–23]. That was what defined the main trading specialisation of the Petropavlovsk businessmen who obtained total control over the regional market. There was Menovoj dvor [trading centre] there with a turnover of 3m silver rubles.

Active trade and business activities of the Tatar population contributed greatly to the growth of the national merchant class. It should be noted that usually the most wealthy representatives of the trading capital enrolled in the merchant class. In 1801, 32 Tatar families joined the guild merchant class; in 1809, 35 joined; and in 1837, 53 families joined. The 1st guild merchants appeared among the Tatars: the Yunusovs, the Apakovs, the Apanayevs, the Usmanovs, the Arsaevs, the Kitaevs, the Bayazitovs, the Akchurins, the Yakupovs, and others who, according to the law of 1832, were raised to the class of hereditary honorary freemen.

According to K. Fuchs, the Kazan merchants Iskhak Apakov, Husain Apanayev, Iskhak Yakupov, and some others owned capital which amounted to over 500,000 roubles, and Ibragim Yunusov possessed capital totalling 3m roubles [Fuchs, 1844, p. 140].



Former Apanayevskoe Podvorye [courtyard] in Kazan. Present day 60, Moskovskaya Street. Photo, 2010

The Tatar merchant class experienced not only quantitative but also qualitative development. Both the total amount of the capital reported by Tatar merchants and the individual capital of individual businessmen notably increased. For example, the 1st guild Simbirsk merchant Suleiman Akchurin possessed capital totalling 130,000 roubles, and K. Akchurin possessed 400,000 roubles of monetary capital alone [Romashin, 1956, pp. 340–341].

The fact that the national bourgeoisie had its own specific market, foremost in Central Asia, where Tatar merchants held strong positions and conducted trading activity while successfully avoiding competition on the part of more wealthy businessmen from the centre of Russia, was a very important factor in pushing trade to

the top in the process of original accumulation of capital by Tatars.

The entrepreneurial activity of Kazan Tatars had one specific feature, namely, the development of the publishing business, which allowed Kazan publishers almost exclusively throughout the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century to sell spiritual and secular literature in the Tatar language throughout Russia, which contributed to the education of the Tatars. Ch. Valikhanov noted that 'our Tatar

traders should be considered the main drivers of this [Islamic.—*L. S.*] education... [Valikhanov, 1985, p. 384]. Through them, the local Islamic population of the empire received access to spiritual and secular literature, particularly that which was published in Kazan.

Of course, only a small number of Tatar businessmen could afford to be involved in international trade. The majority of small, medium, and even large merchants were satisfied with doing business inside Russia. The major capital of Tatar businessmen was mostly concentrated in the trade involved in capitalist relations, which was inextricably associated with the changes in the forms of domestic trade. But fairs in cities gradually gave way to stationary trade, which was conducted in stores and shops.

Table 34

Number of shops in Kazan and their annual turnover according to domestic consumption in 1857
(compiled in accordance with: [Respublika Tatarstan, 2001, p. 191])

Commodity	Number of shops	Annual turnover, thousand roubles in silver
Tea	27	360
Silks, woollens, cottons, linen	69	750
Fur products	13	90
Leathers and leather goods	17	250

Urban layers of society also took an active part in trading activity, especially as tradespeople who later formed the lower middle class. Despite the fact that this was mainly small trading, there were cases when the annual turnover of a petty bourgeois was no less than that of a merchant.

In 1814, in Kazan 43 lower middle class Tatar traders were registered with an average sales turnover per one person amounting to 1281 roubles [counted according to

National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 114, inv. 1, file 171, s. 123–123reverse].

The growth of commodity and money relations helped to remove obstacles in the way of the development of peasant trade. Beginning in 1801, peasants were allowed to conduct trade with 'overseas countries', and in 1814 representatives of all social stratas received the right to conduct trade in fairs. In 1818, state-owned, appanage, and manor peasants were permitted, subject to their supervisors' approval, to establish mills and factories, provided they paid duties. The 1824 Decree permitted 'state-owned,



Shops at the Hay Market in Kazan. Present-day view of the crossroads of Moskovskaya Street and Parizhskaya Kommuna Street. Photo, 2010

appanage, and manor peasants... to perform trading and industrial activities, as performed by merchants, and also to be engaged in sales, trades, and crafts, which are performed by petty bourgeois traders and tradesmen, provided they submit a license and pay a duty, and by no other way' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, Vol. 39, No.30115].

In the first half of the 19th century, peasants received the opportunity to conduct wholesale trade and even sell imported goods [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, Vol. 39, No.22030]. Some other restrictions,

Table 35

Number of Tatar guild capitals in Kazan between 1785–1835

(calculated according to: [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 22, inv. 1, file 176, s. 88–100; fund 114, inv. 1, file 1142, sheet 14; fund 299, inv. 1, file 145, sheet 13; Rybushkin, 1834, p. 98])

Year	First guild			Second guild			Third guild			All guild funds		
	Muslims		total	Muslims		total	Muslims		total	Muslims		total
	male	female		male	female		male	female		male	female	
1785				10		10	3		3	13		13
1788	5		5							5		5
1793				9		9	14		14	23		23
1825	3		3	2		2	50	6	56	55	6	61
1837	3		3	2		2	49	4	53	54	4	58

which concerned the migration of state-owned peasants to cities, were also removed in the way of development of trade and industries. They were granted the right to open factories in settlements, etc. State-owned peasants and Tatar peasants, who, as is well-known, belonged to this category, were most of all connected with the market.

Among Tatar peasant buyers there were large merchants, although the majority of Tatar peasant traders allocated small capital and conducted business in the retail delivery trade by delivering industrial and agricultural products to farms and houses, by buying, but more often exchanging, raw materials (untreated skin, soda ash, canvases, etc.) and items of national handicrafts and trades from the population. This group of merchants connected their activity with local fairs and bazaars and served

the needs of the local market. In the mid-1850s, trading peasants made up nearly half of all salesmen in the cities. Trading peasants, who competed with merchants mostly in the local market, beat down prices, thus decreasing the merchants' profit. In order to save their capitals, merchants had to search for new ways of investment, including investments in industrial production.

During the period when the market economy was only beginning to develop and getting established as the main way of organization of the economic life of Russia, the active involvement of merchant-entrepreneurs in industrial activity became a specific feature of the development of trade capital. Through this activity, they developed their connection with manufacturing, which opened new sources of capital for them, which had not been available earlier.

§ 5. The Handicraft Industry and Manufacturing System

Lyudmila Sverdlova

In the first half of the 19th century, the process of separating industries from agriculture continued in Russia, and the social division of labour occurred on a wider scale. A greater number of the rural population was becoming involved in industrial production. At the same time, the economic specializations of individual regions of the country became more specific. All this resulted in the expansion of commodity production and the development of handicrafts. Accordingly, the domestic market was expanding as well. The growth of industrial production caused an increase in demand for agricultural products. The improvement of the marketability of arable farming in turn shaped the growing demand for industrial products. Meanwhile small handicraft commodity production continued to hold a high position in the economy.

As is well-known, the development of industries includes the following stages:

- 1) household peasant industry;
- 2) custom-made handicrafts;
- 3) market-oriented handicrafts, that is, small commodity production;

4) simple capitalist cooperation (workshop 'factory' using wage labour);

5) mill;

6) large-scale industry.

If during the first four stages Tatar businessmen were active participants of the capitalization process, then during the last stages, especially that concerning large-scale engineering, Russian businessmen dominated.

Article 1 of the 'Handicrafts Charter' stated: 'A craft is defined as the manufacture of items by hand'. A craftsman was prohibited by law to use machinery in production. Therefore, in order to survive in the competition, even with small manufacturers, a craftsman had to work 16–18 hours per day, though, according to the Charter, his working day was limited to 10 hours (from 6 a.m. until 6 p. m. with a 30 minute breakfast break and a 1.5 hour lunch break).

Tatar craftsmen were not in the handicrafts workshop structure of major cities. They were registered as petty bourgeoisie and were mostly engaged in traditional industries, such as leather treatment, the production of various

felt articles from wool, the production of high quality soap and candles. Usually the production of soap was combined with the production of tallow candles; therefore, it was considered to be most efficient to set up a tallow factory along with a soap enterprise, or, which was done more frequently, a small handicraft shop for tallow boiling.

Small manufacturers, who were getting more and more involved in the developing market relations, began to use hired labour. As a result, small and then large workshops appeared. They represented a higher form of organization of industrial production. That is where the gradual differentiation and cooperation of labour occurred, and labour efficiency rose significantly. The use of larger capitals, the growth of production outputs, close connection with the market, deepening of labour differentiation and cooperation processes in workshops turned them into capitalist places of production, often called 'factories'.

Labour organization could differ in each factory. There were places which carried out production in the owner's workshop. Such places were described as centralized. As a rule, Tatar craftsmen worked on request of the entrepreneur, who distributed raw materials among numerous day labourers. The owner paid them per item, and the wage was very low. Thus, women who stitched skull-caps and padded them or stuffed flax tow between stitches were paid 30 kopecks for 100 pieces, which was hardly enough for a family to make ends meet [Kazansky birzhevoy listok, 1888, 29 August]. The employer himself sold the goods in numerous shops or carried them to other cities and to fairs. This kind of production was called 'distributed manufacturing'.

In the regions with traditional household industries—primarily the treatment of grain, leather, wood, and national Tatar trades—the manufacturing system was established. The establishment of factories significantly ousted household industries, preventing them from competing with cheaper products of manufacturing. But handicraftsmen did not disappear completely. They transitioned to the produc-

tion of new products or lost their independence adjusting to larger production factories and becoming its constitutive element, which occurred when distributed manufacturing was created.

Tatars were engaged in buying up transactions and controlled many areas of this business by selling the products of local industry, agricultural raw materials and products, which they purchased directly from the producers. Thus, in 1826, 37 3rd guild merchants were engaged in the sale of untreated leather ('raw material products') in Kazan. All of them were Muslims [counted according to National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 114, inv. 1, file 557, s. 30–30 reverse].

Kazan historically was considered to be the major trading centre for all of Russia in the production of national clothing, footwear, head wear, jewellery, etc.

During the pre-reform period, commerce remained the major activity of Tatar merchants and dominated other areas of investment. Besides, as early as in the 18th century, trade overran small commodity production. In Kazan and Orenburg this process had its own peculiarities. Both the local and regional markets the Tatar merchants were connected with were filled with high quality European and Asian industrial products as a result of the business activity of the merchants themselves. And this certainly did not stimulate the transfer of merchant capital from trading to industry, especially to its new sectors.

The businesses which supplied conventional products for Tatar entrepreneurship to the Russian and external (Eastern) markets began developing. These were namely the following: leather, soap, candle industries, manufacturing (production of woolen cloth, nankeen and red calico), flour-milling industry, and the processing of raw material. Products of these businesses were distinguished for 'both their finishing and the fineness of their artwork, and significant trade turnover' [Rybushkin, 1848–1849, p. 93].

In the late 18th century, the process of initial capital accrument was so successful for Tatar merchants that they became owners of 'factories', or industrial enterprises of the manu-



Former shops of Muhammadgarif Utyamyshev in Kazan.
Present-day 10/14, Profsoyuznaya Street. Photo, 2011

facturing type which used hired labour. These were production workshops which employed simple capitalist cooperation. '... mills, factories and plants differed from crafts: they had machinery in large buildings which craftsmen did not have, as they only had hand-held machines and tools' [Ustav Remeslenny'j, 1879, art. 2]. 'Factories' had larger business sizes, higher quality products, and a larger number of hired workers than craft workshops; also the production costs per production unit were notably lower in factories.

M. Laptev, who processed the information collected in the mid 1850s by officers of the General Staff, noted the peculiarities of the development of factory production in Kazan. 'Factories in agricultural life hold a double purpose: they help to sell local products and serve as a way for the population to earn money. As regards the first point, Kazan factories are not very important; they are founded not in the centre of extraction of the raw materials needed for them: except for distilleries and potash factories, raw materials for all the other factories are supplied mainly from other neighbouring guberniyas. Local products, for example, in leather production, which is most important as regards quantity and value, are not very numerous' [Laptev, 1861, p. 356].

The reasons which caused the fast growth in factory production were as follows: 'a) Kazan has very convenient transport routes to quite remote destinations and, as a result, large sales transactions; b) the population of Kazan guberniya consists primarily of Tatars, who have a passion for trade transactions; while traveling across the neighbouring guberniyas, they glean raw materials; consequently, the materials are delivered to Kazan factories after they had changed hands several times, their prices soaring

as a result; c) in addition to the trading spirit of the population, factory activity is supported by considerable local capital involved in Chinese trading activity; and d) finally, by the low cost of the workforce resulting from small parcels of land, the third of which is covered by forests, and the low efficiency of plough-land. All this causes a peasant to look for earnings' [Laptev, 1861, pp. 356–357].

According to the 1762 Manifesto issued by Peter III 'On the Freedoms of Nobles' and the Charter to the Gentry of 1785, this class, which dominated in Russia, apart from other property rights, was granted the right to establish industrial enterprises on their estates and later to establish factories and plants in cities and towns, and the right to carry out trading activity, but only wholesale. The role of workers in patrimonial factories was played by serfs, who did not receive money for their work. Such factories mainly specialized in the production of woollen cloth, the production of potash, and alcohol-distillation.

As far as Kazan Murzas are concerned, many of them not only carried on successful trading activity but also owned industrial enterprises using hired labour. Among the major businessmen of Kazan at the beginning of the 19th century, the descendants of Murza Ait Za-

manov can be found. His two elder sons were known under the surname Zamanov, which was followed by the definition of their class: 'Prince' or 'Murza', while the other six brothers used the surname Aitov. In the early half of the 19th century, the brothers Zamanovs-Aitovs owned a candle, soap, and five leather 'factories', which represented a type of capitalist production which used hired labour. The largest enterprise owned by the brothers had 26 employees who processed up to 18K pieces of leather per year.

According to data of the early 1790s, century, 87 'factories', including enterprises of the manufacturing type, were registered in Kazan, excluding suburbs (such as the villages of Yagodnoe, Igumnovo, Bishbalt, Podmonastyrskaya slobodka). Their owners were made up of 44 merchants, to whom a half of all 'factories' belonged to, while Serving Tatars owned nine plants; Russian petty bourgeoisie owned twelve; Serving Tatar traders owned seven. The social and national origins of the owners of the remaining 5 factories are not specified [counted according to National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 114, inv. 1, file 2, s. 1–105].

There were 30 soap enterprises (19 belonged to Tatars, 11 to Russians), 30 leather and gantry enterprises (20 belonged to Tatars, 19 to Russians), 7 breweries and malt-houses (all of them belonged to Russians) functioning in the city. I. Osokin's woolen cloth factory, the state-owned leather factory, and 9 various production factories worked there as well, and 7 of them were owned by Tatars [counted according to National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 114, inv. 1, file 2, s. 1–105]. Red calico production enterprises which belonged to Tatar businessmen were mostly established in villages; therefore, they are not listed in the city property inventory. A red calico production enterprise could contain up to three looms, as, for example, in the factory of the Kazan merchant Ibragim Yunusov.

Three enterprises were owned by each of the 2nd guild merchants Yusup Abdulov (gantry), Abdrashit Bikbov Galansky (2 leather and a potash factories); two enterprises were owned by each of the 3rd guild merchants Mazit Bashi-



Silver medal awarded to merchant-manufacturer
A. Zamanov. 1831.

rov (soap production), Serving Tatars Abdrashit Rakhmatullin (leather), Musa Shafееv (leather and soap), Murtaza Rakhmankulov (production specialization is not stated) and the Serving Tatar trader Murtaza Davydov (soap production and tallow boilery). Out of 45 'plants' belonging to Tatars, 25 were owned by 21 merchants, 12 by 9 Serving Tatars, and 8 by 7 Serving Tatar traders.

Based on the data of the area occupied by any given enterprise, it will appear that only 10 out of 45 Tatar plants had a territory from 1000 up to 2000 sq. fathoms (6000 to 12000 sq.ft.), all of which produced soap. Large enterprises were owned by the merchants Yusup Kitaev, Mazit Bashirov, Abdrashit Galansky, Yusup Izmaylov, Yusup Davydov, the Serving Tatar murza Isay Zamanov, the Serving Tatars trader Murtaza Davydov (2 enterprises), Sagit Belyaev and Mukhan Asanov [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 114, inv. 1, file 2, s. 61–63, 64 reverse–65 reverse]. The rest of the 'factories' occupied a smaller square area.

The soap and tallow melting 'factories' owned by the Serving Tatar trader Murtaza Davydov and soap 'factory' owned by the merchant Leonty Krupenikov were considered to be best equipped and were ranked among first class plants [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 114, inv. 1, file 2, s. 62].

In 1800 in Kazan, Tatars owned 8 soap 'factories', 4 footwear production enterprises, 9 leather 'factories', the largest of which belonged to Musa Apanayev, Yakub Gabbasov, Salikh Aitov, Khabibulla Yakhin, Mustafa Aitov, and Gabbas Belyaev [Gaziz, 1994, p. 181].

According to 'Vedomost' o manufakturax v Rossii za 1814 god' [1814 Journal on Manufacturers in Russia] the Kazan soap plants produced 133,260 poods (2,132,160 kilos) of soap, which made up 46% of overall Russian output [Tatrespublika, 1923, No.12, p. 30]. 13 soap factories out of 24 total belonged to Tatars. The largest plants were owned by Gadiba Kitaeva, merchant wife (annual production 10,000 poods (160,000 kilos)), murza Isay Zamanov (10,000 poods (160,000 kilos)), and the merchants Abdulkarim Yunusov (9,000 poods (144,000 kilos)), Musa Adamov (8,000 poods (128,000 kilos)), and Yakup Shatunov (8,000 poods (128,000 kilos)). The Tatar businessmen of Kazan kept playing an important role in the leather industry. In 1815, 111,000 various leather goods were treated in their enterprises. In the leather factory of Yakub Gabbasov, 20,000 leather goods were manufactured; in Musa Apanayev's factory, they produced 13,000 goods; in the plants of Bashir and Mustafa Aitovs, they produced 10,000 in each factory. Enterprises owned by Abdulkarim Yunusov, Mustafa Surerov, Khisamutdin Aitov, Makhmut Valitov, Musa Mukhametov, Bayazit Biktimirov, and Safiulla Khamitov operated in the city [Khasanov, 1977, p. 86].

In the last third of the 18th century, the production of red calico and tent cloth was basically concentrated in the hands of Tatar manufacturers. Tatar factories distinguished themselves by few complete units, the use of unemployed Muslims, and the location of a significant part of enterprises in rural areas. Only one factory was located in Kazan (which belonged to Yunusov), while the rest of the enterprises were situated in rural areas. These were red calico production factories which belonged to Usmanov (in the village of Kyshkar), to Burnaev (in the village of Verezki), to Mamashev (in the village of Urnash-Bash), to Bayazitov, and to others. Similar enter-

prises functioned in the villages of Ura, Sosna, Karelino, Nurma, etc.

In 1814, 9 weaving factories owned by Muslim businessmen functioned in Kazan guberniya, where about 592 Tatar workers worked on 319 looms set up there. During this period, Tatar manufacturers produced 75.2% of all red calico in the empire; 55.3% of looms were concentrated in their ownership in the domestic consumer industry.

Astrakhan at the beginning of the 19th century was singled out as one of the centres of development of the textile [red calico] industry. In 1816, Tatar businessmen owned 27 textile and 2 silk production factories, which produced about 100,000 arshins of various fabrics, including coarse calico, striped linen, nankeen, etc. The largest enterprise, which produced 20,000 arshins (280,000 inches) of coarse calico, belonged to Khajimurat Ayvazov.

The demand, consumer market, and availability of capital determined the focus area and dynamic pattern of industrial production. By the 1840s, the industry reached the peak of its development, and then it began to decline. Red calico factories in the Volga region, having had no chance of competing with enterprises in and around Moscow, switched to a great extent to the production of nankeen, thanks to the investments of merchants.

The 'factories' of the Astrakhan citizens Abubakir Sultanov, Ibrahim Kuramsheev, and Izmail Niyazov were considered large. The rest of the factories in Astrakhan, in comparison with the enterprises in the Kazan and Vyatka governorates, were small and supplied to the market 5,000–6,000 arshins (140,000–168,000 inches) of their product annually. These production facilities belonged to Abdrashit Mustaev, Murtaza Badamshin, Kanifa Abdullaev, and others [Khasanov, 1977, p. 85].

The nankeen which was manufactured in the enterprises of the Kazan merchants Gabelmazit Urazov and Iskhak Apakov was famous for its quality of embossing. There were cotton cloth factories functioning in Kazan, which belonged to Nazar Bayazitov (48,000 arshins (1,344,000 inches)), Murtaza Burnaev (48,000 arshins (1,344,000 inches)), Muham-

madrakhim Beritov (53,000 arshins (1,484,000 inches)), and Zyuleykha Abdullova (48,000 arshins (1,344,000 inches)) [Tatrespublika, 1923, No.12, p. 32].

In the first half of the 19th century, Arsk and its suburbs became a major centre of nankeen and red calico production. The factories of Nazir Usmanov, Khamza Gubayev, and Kurbangaley Burnaev functioned there. In Sviyazhsk uyezd, the production business of the Arsk merchant Prince Akhmet Usmanov was in operation.

The Arsk merchants Musa, Mustafa, Suleyman, Makhmut, and Mukhmikha Khozyaseitovs launched cotton cloth production on the River Ura in Tsarevokokshaysk uyezd of the Kazan guberniya. The annual production of fabrics at the Khozyaseitovs' four factories amounted to 375,000 arshins. The entrepreneurs also opened at this location a bast-fiber tackle factory [Tatrespublika 1923, No.12, p. 32, Istoriya Kazani, 2005, pp. 536, 544].

In 1818, Timerbulat Akchurin (1826–1906) opened a cloth manufacture in Syzran uyezd of Simbirsk guberniya. In 1825, he also built a factory in the village of Guryevka in Korsun uyezd. These two factories employed 1,300 free workers [Istoriya Kazani, 2005, p. 86].

In 1849, the successful merchant Suleyman Akchurin (1802–1864) built his first factory in the village of St. Timoshkino of Simbirsk guberniya. At first, it was a small factory. In 1853, the company employed 215 people; there were 60 handlooms, and the amount of production did not exceed 60,000 roubles per year [Romashin, 1956, p. 233]. The Crimean War and the increased demand for cloth, as well as government military orders, allowed businesses to expand their production significantly. Profits from the implementation of guaranteed government orders were used to develop enterprises. By the end of the 1860s, there were already 117 manual and 19 mechanical looms. Two steam engines with a total capacity of 60 hp appeared at the factory; their installation made it possible to organize uninterrupted year-round production, independent of the water regime of the River Sviyaga. Technical innovations made it possible to significantly

increase the volume of production. The factory manufactured 450,000 arshins of cloth totalling 400,000 roubles per year [Simbirskij sbornik, 1870, Vol. 2, p. 92].

In 1848, the Serving Tatar Akhmet Aleev opened a cloth factory in the village of Bobylevka of Simbirsk uyezd, employing more than 700 workers. The factory was equipped with steam boilers. In 2 years, together with his brother, he built another cloth factory in the village of Lyakhovka, Korsun uyezd, in the same guberniya, providing 300 jobs [Khasanov, 1977, p. 91].

The cloth factory of Hamid Aleev operated in the village of Mullovka of the Stavropol uyezd, Samara guberniya. In 1856, the industrialist Ishmuhammad Deberdeev opened a cloth factory in the village of Verkhozima of the Kuznetsk uyezd of the Saratov guberniya, which employed the most modern equipment, including that of foreign make. In 1858, Mustafa Deberdeev built a cloth factory in the village of Pendel in the Kuznetsk uyezd; the annual production of army cloth reached 350,000 roubles per year. Yakhya Deberdeev earned 300,000 roubles per year. 900 workers were employed at these two factories [Khasanov, 1977, p. 93].

Tatar entrepreneurs successfully mastered new types of manufacturing. In 1815, the Arsk merchant Mukmin Khozyaseitov opened a writing paper factory in the village of Unzha in the Tsarevokokshaisk uyezd of Kazan guberniya, making paper in the Bukhara style. The factory produced 4,000 stacks of writing paper and 2,000 stacks of wrapping paper [Istoriya Kazani, 2005, p. 544; Khasanov, 1977, p. 86]. In 1816, in the Urzhum uyezd of Vyatka Governorate there were two writing paper factories, owned by the female merchant Gagdibanu Mamatova and merchant Damin Mamatov [Khasanov, 1977, p. 86].

In the first half of the 19th century, the Tatar entrepreneurship in Kasimov was developing very rapidly. Crafts, such as leather and lamb-skin processing (coarse-wooled breeds), were well-developed there, as was jewelry making and brick production. Such merchant families

as the Shakulovs, Musaevs, Bostanovs, Ishimbaevs, Taneevs, Davletkildeevs, and Kastrovs came to the forefront. It should be noted that the hat makers of the village of Shemordan in the Mamadysh uyezd of Kazan guberniya carried out orders for a Kasimov-based merchant Davletkildeev.

In the 1840s, S. Kastrov owned a factory, employing 16 workers who processed 65,000 lambskins a year with 10 boilers. These raw materials went to make coats, hats, and collars at the entrepreneur's other companies [Khasanov, 1977, p. 86].

Kh. Shakulov and the Ishimbayvs, merchants from Kasimov, owned a major tannery. At the beginning of the 1830s, Shakulov's factory had 175 boilers for tanning, and 135 people were employed there. In 1833, the company made 38,000 different leathers totalling 346,500 roubles. 'Skins made at this factory, especially the soles, are comparable in quality to the best foreign analogues'. Products were sold at fairs in Moscow [Islam, 2009b, p. 285].

In the mid-1830s, tanneries were owned by Musa Usmanov (Kazan uyezd), Hasan Apanayev, Muhammad Apanayev with their brothers (Kazan), while national footwear and headgear were made by Mazit Abdullin (Kazan). The merchant family Alyshev in the middle of the 19th century owned a brick factory in the Kasimov uyezd [Islam, 2009, pp. 20, 286].

According to data for 1814, there was a plant for the production of potash (potassium carbonate) in Mamadysh, owned by Punafev Batyev [Tatrespublika 1923, No.12, p. 34]. In the Ufa guberniya, in Belebey Uyezd, there was a potash factory owned by Gubaydull Maksudov and the Kazan merchant Serov [Gaziz, 1994, p. 181]. In 1817, the number of potash factories owned by the Tatars grew to 40, while the main area of potash production was the Orenburg guberniya: 9 factories in Belebey Uyezd; 8 in Birsks Uyezd, 7 in Menzelinsk Uyezd, 2 in Ufa Uyezd, 1 in Sterlitamak Uyezd. The remaining 14 factories were located on the territory of Vyatka (7) and Kazan (6) governorates [Khasanov, 1977, p. 85].

During the war of 1812, the copper smelting factory of Asafulla Inozemtsev resumed

operations. It employed 445 workers and annually smelted 1,400 poods of copper, and in 1828, the company increased production up to 2,500 poods [Zablonsky, part 2, 1832, p. 72].

In the middle of the 19th century, the situation evolved into extremely unfavourable circumstances for Tatar entrepreneurs. In 1855, the government allowed the sale of tea in Kyakhta for money, as opposed to an exchange for goods as before, such as processed leather and fur, and cotton fabrics. That meant reducing production at tanneries and factories. A sharp decline in the demand for goat leather and cotton fabrics in Kyakhta coincided with a decrease in their use nationwide. Goat leather in the manufacture of footwear was replaced with upholstery, patented shagreen and dog leather, while nankeen was replaced with cheap cotton fabric. The production of cheaper textile products and the industrial revolution in the country's central commercial district led to a crisis in the manufacturing industry of the Middle Volga region. This was a significant blow to the production of Russian national crafts and industry. Few entrepreneurs managed to adapt to the new economic conditions of capitalist Russia.

The process of winding down Tatar handicraft and industrial production was accelerated by the fact that Kazan, Kasimov, and other cities were located outside the railway network. Trade continued to be the main occupation and investment area for local merchants. Tatar entrepreneurs actively participated in the development of handicrafts, creating small industrial enterprises, such as workshops in villages on the basis of national fisheries; they entrenched in those sectors where they had long dominated, but mechanization proceeded very slowly there, as steam engines were rare.

Industrial production was gaining and became a serious competitor to the old pre-capitalist forms of manufacture, quickly thrusting them out of economic life or promoting transformation into capitalist enterprises. The fast pace was characteristic of companies established in the 19th century.

CHAPTER 2

New Phenomena in the Socio-Economic Life of the Tatars in 1861–1905

§ 1. The Great Reforms and the Socio-Economic Development of the Region

Nailya Tagirova

The great reforms in the Volga-Ural Region were introduced simultaneously with the country's central regions—Novorossiia and Belarus. Along with the 29 Great Russian guberniyas, the Manifestation and Regulations of the 19 February 1861 were extended to the Volga-Ural lands (see: Appendix I, table 7) [Krest'yansaya reforma, 1954].

There then followed reforms in respect of the appanage (1863) and state (1866) peasants. The implementation and results of the reforms have been examined in detail in historical works, a significant reduction in the actual land-use by landowners' (see Appendix I, table 8) and appanage peasants is observed [Smykov, 1984; Savelyev, 1994; Usmanov, 1981],¹ and the process of the redemption operation has been analysed (see Appendix I, table 9) [Druzhinin, 1978; Kravtsova, 2011]. The picture was more diverse and complicated in the former state village: the Russian peasantry (in the southern steppe territories) appeared to be better supplied with lands in comparison with

the multinational peasantry of the northern forest and forest-steppe regions [Petrov, 2005]. The former state peasants were even able to increase their personal land ownership by purchasing neighbouring lands (in Kazan and Saratov guberniyas and the steppe uyezds of Samara guberniya). On average throughout the Volga Region they owned 51.8 dessiatins each (in the Samara Guberniya up to 139 dessiatins; according to the data of 1878, there were 2,619 of these self-employed peasants) [Savelyev, 1994, p. 253]. In Samara and Saratov guberniyas the latter owned on average 25–26 desyatins per farm. Such sizes of arable lands made farming a perfectly viable prospect.

Peasants working in mining and metallurgy were made equal to those of the landowners. In conditions of a significant decrease in allotments of arable lands (to 84%), it did not make any sense to them to continue working in agriculture. After their emancipation, their land allotment per capita amounted to 0.7 desyatins [Usmanov, 1981, p. 159].

'Beneficiary' peasants [those who were granted arable lands] constituted a special group of peasants after the reform of 1861.—These were peasants who refused to buy out their landowners' land [Burdina, 1996]. A 'donated' (quarter) land allotment was chosen by nearly 600 thousand peasants in the European part of the country (according to data from 1870), a third of whom were peasants from Saratov (107 thousand males, or 33% of all landowner peasants in the guberniya), Samara (39 thousand, or 35%), Simbirsk (40 thousand, or 18.4%), and Penza (36 thousand, or 14.1%) [Lyashchenko, Vol. 1, p. 581]. In some uyez-

¹ The size of plots of landlords and peasants had significantly decreased. According to the calculations of Yu. Smykov, the size of a peasant's plot in Kazan and Simbirsk guberniyas was reduced (by 11–16%), even though during the redemption operation they had paid 150–200% of the initial price of the land [Smykov, 1984, pp. 52–59]. Landlords' peasants, most of whom lived in the forest, forest-steppe zone of the Middle Volga Region and the north-western part of the Ufa Guberniya, ended up in the black-earth strip with minimum-sized plots. According to contemporaries and historians, they had lost rather than gained from the reform. In the south-east of the region, in the Ufa Guberniya, and a part of the Orenburg Guberniya plots of landlords' peasants were reduced by 14.4% [Usmanov, 1981, p. 331].

ds entire villages moved to the 'donated' land² allotments. The 'beneficiary' peasants were expecting to be able to lease the lands of the state land reserves cheaply. The destinies that awaited them were varied: 'miserable and not quite as miserable.' The black-earth [fertile] lands offered them the opportunity to lead a natural, agrarian way of life by producing simple handicrafts³. In territories where the land prices rose quickly owing to their proximity to railways, the peasants did not manage to expand their allotments and buy more lands, and their impoverishment began;⁴ in the uyezds of the southern steppes, the beneficiary peasants strengthened their farming operations, inter alia, by means of uniting into partnerships⁵.

The evolution of the landowners' economy has been studied in detail [Kabytov, 1981; Clein, 1982; Smykov, 1984; Savelyev, 1994; Rodnov, 2002, 2008; Usmanov, 1981], as have their connections with large state and commercial banks in the form of mortgages [Proskuryakova, 2003]. It is clear that in two decades over a third of all private possessions were mortgaged to them (see Appendix I, table 10).

The implementation of the agrarian reforms, 'the most complicated and dangerous in social terms' [Vlast' i reformy', 1996, p. 314], during

the course of 20 years was an attempt to equalise the class and intra-class differences in the peasant environment, create conditions for the economic management of both landowners and peasants on new contractual conditions. The implementation of the reforms aroused the dissatisfaction of parts of the population, including the overwhelming majority of the appanage peasants,⁶ who disagreed with the conditions of the land allotment. The difference in the land use of the former landowner, appanage, and state peasants, the unequal provision of agricultural equipment, the different conditions of resettlement, the presence or absence of handicrafts as additional sources of income—all of this shaped the agrarian Volga-Ural Region as an area of different paces and opportunities presented by the move towards a market evolution (with a gradual farmisation and agricultural entrepreneurship, or the conservation of traditional⁷ relations, the impoverishment of the peasantry and its further 'proletarianisation').

If the agrarian reforms tentatively constituted the first reform package, the land reform (1864) and urban reform (1870) may be regarded as 'the second package.' New institutions of self-government (zemstvos) were created in the countryside, and the City Dumas were given financial freedom. The new institutions utilised the potential of the most active part of the population. Research carried out in recent decades have identified the process of the development of the land reform and its implementation [Morozova, 2000], the important role of the guberniya and village institutions of self-government, and the social and cultural life of the region (L. Goncharenko, V. Tyurin, A. Konovalov, N. Arnoldov). This research has defined the economic mechanisms of the new public structures (zemstvo banks, volost saving banks, etc.), which require further study.

² In the Volsk Uyezd of Saratov guberniya, by 97%; in Saratov uyezd, by 58%; in Chistopol and Spassk uyezds of Kazan guberniya, by 50% (on average across the guberniya, by 30.3%); in Syzran uyezd of the Simbirsk Guberniya, by 40%.

³ Senator M. Kovalevsky, who in 1880 travelled around the Kazan Guberniya, noted that one-third of peasants 'are forced to rent land from their former landlords, and in most cases they pay for the land not by money but by farming and harvesting a certain amount of the landlord's land' [quote according to Druzhinin, 1987, p. 314].

⁴ In his report the senator I. Shamshin noted that in some uyezds of the Saratov Guberniya the amount of landless householders was up to 17%: here 'most of the peasants, who moved to gratuitous plots, became so poor that the zemstvos had to provide them with annual support, and the peasants themselves apply for resettlement onto state lands with government support' [Druzhinin, 1987, p. 304].

⁵ M. Kovalevsky, who had inspected also Ufa and Orenburg guberniyas, noted in his report that peasants 'for now have the opportunity to rent the required amount of adjacent land at a relatively reasonable price' [quote according to Druzhinin, 1987, p. 316].

⁶ 83–84% of the appanage peasants in Samara and Ufa Guberniyas refused to sign charters, so did a significant part of the peasants of Simbirsk, Saratov, Orenburg, Perm, and Vyatka governorates.

⁷ According to P. Savelyev, there were still opportunities for a non-capitalist evolution and the preservation of the labour-type peasant economy [Savelyev, 1994, p. 358].

The zemstvos were not set up everywhere or simultaneously. In 1864 they appeared in the Samara, Kazan, Simbirsk, and then the Ufa Guberniyas (1878). There were no zemstvos in Orenburg and Astrakhan guberniyas until the beginning of World War I (1913). US historian Charles Steinwede considers this to be a peculiar marker of the status of this territory as the European Russia [Steinwede, 2007, pp. 110–111]. This was reflected in the change in the perception of area: from 1900 the visual borders between Europe and Asia shifted from the Volga to the Urals in state cartography: the territory of the Ufa Guberniya was marked out on maps as a European, not Asian, part of the Russian Empire, in contrast with those territories without zemstvos [Steinwede, 2007, p. 95].

In different uyezds and guberniyas the zemstvos developed economic activities adapted to local conditions, trying to find a balance of interests between the territories and social groups [Samarskoe zemstvo, 2009, p. 6].

The 'Urban Provision' of 1870 formed a basis for the economic independence of the cities. The City Dumas were given the opportunity to establish municipal budgets and invited the local business elite to resolve the issues of city boundaries. This was also assisted by legislation on the liberalisation of trade: the 'Provision on the payment of duties for the right carry out trade and business' of 1863⁸ and peasant handicrafts⁹.

⁸ Depending on the degree of development of trade relations, the territory of the empire was divided into five regions with different annual levy for trading rights. Common rules for accounting, reporting, and auditing were established; local organisations of state supervision were created (supervision chambers). According to the 'Regulation,' all classes were allowed to be engaged in trade. For the Volga-Ural Region, whose territory fell into the 3rd and 4th groups, these circumstances eliminated the basis of conflicts and grievances between merchants and peasants trading in the region. The 'Regulation' established different levies for wholesale, retail, and peddling. Private trading and construction enterprises, the ownership and rent of trading vessels, offices, and storerooms, banking enterprises, expedition and commission brokerage operations were objects of taxation. Three merchant guilds were combined into two.

⁹ The laws of 21 March 1888 and 13 May 1891 created a legal framework for the handicraft industry.

The third block of reforms, which greatly affected the economic life of the Volga-Ural Region, concerned the cancellation of various features of the national economy and the unification of monetary (tax) revenues, which had been preserved since pre-reform times. The series of legislative regulations abolished the Bashkirs' canton system (1865) [Tagirova, 2011], the Tatars' quaternary landownership (1866), the tax privileges of the German Menonites (1871), the Bashkir owners of patrimonial estates, the Meshcheriaks and Teptyars were demoted to the rank of village residents (the civil class),¹⁰ and the military service of the Bashkir and Kalmyk troops and the Ural and Orenburg Cossacks was revoked. In the south-western areas, where it had not been possible to liquidate the nomadic economy,

This 'sphere of national labour gained support and development,' which corresponded to the state motto of creating a national industry [Kartashova, 2006, pp. 229–238].)

¹⁰ Upon the initiative of the governor of Ufa, the 'Regulation on the Demarcation of Lands of Bashkirs—landowners' was passed. This decision affected 203.7 thousand males [by 1858], including: 104.4 thousand in the Ufa Governorate, 86.7 thousand in the Orenburg Guberniya, 5.1 thousand in the Samara Guberniya, 5.7 thousand in the Perm Guberniya, and 1.6 thousand in the Vyatka Guberniya [Usmanov, 1981, pp. 35–36]. The number of pripushchennik (peasants of different nationalities who settled in Bashkir lands at various periods of time) in 1858 numbered a little more at 268.8 thousand people, most of them lived in the Ufa Guberniya [226.5 thousand, while the rest inhabited the Orenburg, Samara, Perm, and Vyatka governorates]. The history of the interaction between these population groups is complex and goes back to the early 18th century (the suppression of the Bashkir uprisings). On 10 February 1869 the State Council of the Russian Empire adopted the Regulations 'On Demarcation of the Bashkir Summer Houses for Allocation of the Land to Bashkir Landowners and Their Pripushchenniks and on the Procedure of Sale and Disposal of Bashkir Public Land for Quit-Rent Use' [Usmanov, 1981, pp. 35–38]. In 1865 military pripushchenniks were transformed into the civil class. The national land fund was made from half of their land, while the other half was used to make the civil fund, which was given to them as property. Similar to civil pripushchenniks, they used the land and were answerable to the Board of Agriculture and State Property. Civil and appanage pripushchenniks were forced to purchase land on the same conditions as other categories of appanage and state peasants.



Riverside quay in Syzran.
Postcard from early 20th century.

the traditional structure was legally preserved until 1892, when all Kalmyks were given the rank of state peasants [Ledzhinova, 2005].

The reforms changed a lot in the region, as features of marginality gradually disappeared, and administrative borders were shifted. In 1851 Samara Guberniya was formed, and 1865 saw the formation of Ufa Guberniya. The Volga-Ural guberniyas were made equal to Great Russian guberniyas (excluding Orenburg and Astrakhan). The structure and management of guberniyas granted a minimum level of independence to the different peoples inhabiting these areas. Decisions on key issues were made by the capital city, and 'in addition, the centre is to resolve issues of periphery development' [Bakhlov, 2009, p. 212].

Although contemporaries reacted to the reforms in different ways, the socio-economic environment of the Volga-Ural Region throughout the first two decades of the Great Reforms was undeniably altered. It quickly transformed from a marginal territory colonised from the inside into one of the economic centres of the European Part of the Russian Empire with a focus on agriculture, an orientation towards the market, and its own economic growth poles with the newest market infrastructure additions (roads, banks, and stock exchanges) [Povolzh'e, 2007, p. 327].

The main areas of growth and change of that time were cities. Their number did not change in the designated period, but the number of citizens and national heterogeneity significantly increased [Andreeva, 2006; Kononov, 2006; Petrov, 2005]. In the middle of the century, urban citizens constituted 3–8% of

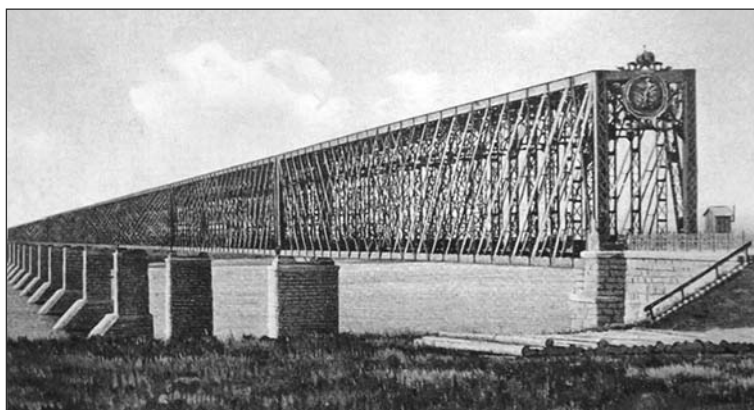
the population (see Appendix I, Table 3a). But by the end of the century (1897) the number of Astrakhan inhabitants rose from 42.8 thousand to 113 thousand, in Kazan their quantity increased from 63 to 131.5 thousand, and in Saratov, from 84.4 to 137.1 thousand. They entered the category of one of the 19 largest cities of the Russian Empire (with populations of over 100 thousand). Populations was also increased in other Volga cities, but they did not clear the threshold of 100 thousand: in Tsaritsino the number of inhabitants rose from 8.5 thousand to 55.9 thousand, and in Samara, from 31.9 thousand to 91.7 thousand [Rossiya v konce XIX veka, 1900, pp. 61–62]. Cities mostly grew at the expense of migrant labour from villages.

The appeal of cities was related to more than just the proximity of administrative and educational institutions, which was important for the nobility. Cities also gained economic functions and became transport centres (water and rail) and creditors. At the same time, they also 'centred' [Remnev, 2000] adjacent territories, creating a type of economic gravitational field pulling business inwards.

The economic hierarchy of cities was anticipated by the construction of railroads. By the end of the 19th all the guberniya centres (besides Simbirsk and Astrakhan) had received year-round transport communication with the capitals and the Western parts of the Empire. The highest density of railways at the end of the 19th century could be found in Penza (10.2 versts of railways per square territorial verst) and Saratov (9.3) guberniyas (see Appendix I, Table 11). The lowest density of modern roads per 100 inhabitants could be observed in Simbirsk, Kazan, and Astrakhan guberniyas [Goncharenko, 1994, p. 21].

The migration deep into the country eastwards, into Siberia and Central Asia, was helped immensely by Samara, Ufa, and Orenburg. Each station formed its own zone of gravitation pull: Tsaritsin covered the whole Russian South and Don River Region, and Kazan handled the Volga-Kama Region as well as Vyatka and Arkhangelsk governorates. The route stretching from Syzran—Samara—

Ufa—Chelyabinsk—Zlatoust formed a 'corridor' in the Siberian direction. Before 1908 there were only railways connecting Europe with Far Asia and Siberia. Communications with Central Asia were carried out through Orenburg, which in 1893 was linked up with the Samara road. Water steamship routes were also developed actively [Tarkova, 2007].



The Alexandre (Syzran) Bridge over the Volga. Photo of 1880.

The 'weaving' together of the Volga and Ural territories into the general transport system of the empire at the same time altered the very foundations of economic life. Complex and multiple-sector economic operations were formed around hub-stations for the repair of rolling stock and maintenance of access roads, warehousing and storage of goods¹¹. New employment positions also

emerged, including jobs requiring professional knowledge.

Rail transportation required the centralisation of control, coordination and cooperation between a range of different services. The management of cargo traffic, documentation/marketing of goods, storage and insurance—all this formed a new culture around farming and trade. Special commercial services subsequently opened their doors road-side. Present-day researchers have noted a multiplier effect and the positive social impacts of railway construction in the Volga-Ural Region [Andreev, 2007; Mukhina, 2007; Tagirova, 1999; Khalin, 2006; Tselikov, 2006].

The immense public and private capital that had previously been of interest to the Volga-Ural Region continued to consolidate their positions here. The region appeared to be intertwined with the transport network of the country and the entire world economy in general. The former marginality of their existence was now a thing of the past.

At the same time, the system of new economic relations was forming on the basis of capitalistic credit and credit organisations establishing a general imperial capital flow. State savings banks operating since the 1840s as self-help organisations were passed in 1864 under the supervision of the State Bank and widened its circle of clients, including new

¹¹ Workshops (at the Moscow, Petrov, Alatyř stations), 44 powered elevators, and a freezer warehouse were built along the privately-owned Moscow-Kazan railway. The first road and rail bridge was built near Sviyazhsk. Consumer cooperative societies for workers and employees and cooperative stores (at Syzran, Kazan, Penza, Arzamas, Nizhny Novgorod stations) operated along the railway. Two ferries were acquired, a harbour was built (at Saratov), warehouses and access roads were constructed, and oil storage tanks and pumping equipment were installed in accordance with an agreement with The Nobel Brothers Partnership along the privately-owned Ryazan-Ural railway. 18 grain elevators were constructed to clean and store grain, and cargo insurance was set up (from 1902). At the stations it was possible raise a loan to buy grain from money earned on the railway. Grain was sold on commission in ports and major cities (Warsaw, Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Revel, Libava). A specially-constructed harbour for loading and processing grain (with a capacity of up to 15 million poods) was built in the Pokrovsky sloboda (now the city of Engels in the Saratov Region); a timber lifting device (up to 10 thousand pieces) was built in Kamyshin, and salt warehouses and mills were built at Kamyshin, Baskunchak, and Elton stations. The Ryazan-Ural railway possessed its own treating plant and sawmill. Schools (44) and vocational training colleges (in Kozlov, Inza, Saratov) were built along the railway. There were training courses for weighmen and locomotive engineers (at Saratov station). There were also eight working hospi-

tals, 28 feldsher's surgeries, 34 feldsher waiting rooms, and a summer camp for the children of the employees.

participants to the economy such as rail station and factory workers and employees of post, telegraph, and telephone points (see Appendix I, Table 12). The accumulated funds of savings banks were used to purchase government bonds and shares of private railroad companies [Morozan, 2007, pp. 122–123], and

the general movements of funds were determined by the State Bank via local branches. In 1864 these institutions were simultaneously opened in Astrakhan, Kazan, Penza, Samara, and Saratov (the volume and types of operations are presented in Appendix I, Tables 13–14). Through them the State Bank also accumulated available funds and redistributed them for the Empire's needs, as evidenced by the significant excess of deposits over issued loans (see Appendix I, Table 13). Starting in the 1880s there can be observed an increase of operations contributing to export trade, the development of solo-promissory note loans (in simplified form), and loans secured for grain and livestock products with a short term (up to 12 months). Among commercial banks, the only active ones were the Volga-Kama Commercial Bank, which in 1875 had 19 offices throughout the region (in the 1900–1960s), and the Russian Trade-Industrial Bank.

'Long-term money' eventually started to arrive in the region together with joint-stock land banks and mortgage state banks, but even then it was mostly to the agrarian sector of the Middle Volga and Trans-Volga territories, where over half of all private lands were in the pledge of mortgage banks (see Appendix I, Tables 15, 15a, 15b). The offices of state Noble and Peasant land banks started functioning in guberniya centres [Proskuryakova, 2003, Usatina, 2003].

Apart from the city bank capital flowing into the region through mortgages, merchant and city public banks started to appear in different places with their own market niche: urban households, small-scale agriculture, and processing [Kismina, 2006, p. 36; Orlov, 2000, p. 13; Saetgaraev, 2008, p. 95]. The operations of these bodies depended upon a variety of factors, including the presence of the State or other capital banks in the guberniya, the level

of demand, and the proactivity of local business circles¹². These loan companies set up accounts in the State Bank and established Mutal Credit Societies [Saetgaraev, 2008, p. 108]. Thus, local capital flowed into the general stream of Russia's general progressive movement. By the end of the century credit relations became widely spread not only in trade, which was in constant need of the quick turnover of funds, but also in industry and agriculture. It was almost impossible to develop a private business outside of any and all credit relations.

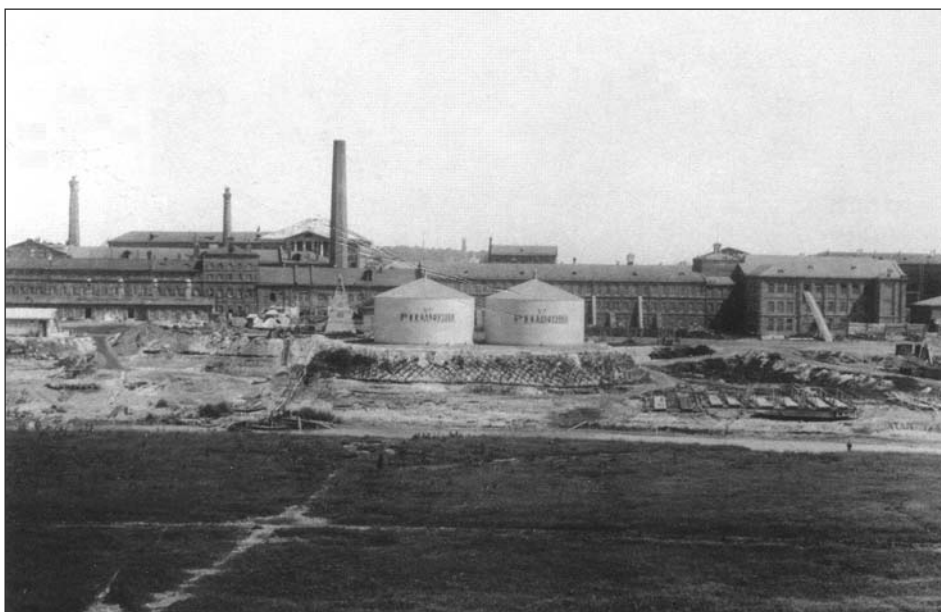
The acceleration of capital turnover contributed to the development of industry, yet the commercial appeal of various sectors differed, as the latest trends covered only businesses oriented towards large Russian and foreign consumers. Other structures of the Volga-Ural industry evolved on their own financial and technical bases, adapting—if it was at all possible—to the new realities. The conditions that formed in the sectors of Russian and local scale cast 'the speed of movement' in even higher contrast in the various territories of the Volga-Urals, such as in former state, landlord, or demesne villages, or in cities or industrial trade villages.

Meanwhile, the old sector searched for opportunities to work in these new conditions. Such opportunities were provided by government privileges and public orders companies had to compete to win¹³, changes of owners

¹² For instance, a merchant bank in the Samara Guberniya was opened only in 1908, while state and commercial banks appeared back in 1860–1870s. In the Vyatka Governorate there were systems for organising local capital well before state banks were founded [Ligenko, 2001].

¹³ In the early 20th century less than half the Ural region's 29 mining businesses were functioning: the Verkhutorsky copper factory owned by V. Pashkov's heirs; manganese and chrome iron mining in the Verkhneural'sk Uyezd of the Orenburg Guberniya, manganese and chrome iron mining enterprises; private plants owned by N. and P. Balashov in the Simsky mining region; the Yuryuzan-Ivanovsky and Katav-Ivanovsky plants owned by K. Beloselsky-Belozersky. The success of the latter two plants was based on significant government subsidies [Istoriya Bashkortostana, volume 2, pp. 112–115]. Factories in Izhevsk and Votkinsk fulfilled state orders for open-hearth furnace tool steel, rifles, pistols, hunting rifles, field shotguns,

General view of the Alafuzov Plant in Kazan. Photo late 19–beginning of the 20th century.



and/or corporatisation¹⁴, further reorientation¹⁵, and raising foreign capital.

Throughout the period under consideration, many Ural factories were closed [Samodelkin, 2003]. The industrial crisis brought about by the institution of serfdom lasted for decades, demonstrating the lack of mobility and variability of old plants. By the beginning of the 20th century the share of the Urals in the industrial development of the Russian Empire inevitably decreased (Appendix I, Table 16).

The foreign capital rushed to new fields like the production of construction materials¹⁶ and

rolled and sheet iron, and steel and iron mould casting. They built railway bridges and braces, locomotives, and vessels for the river fleet.

¹⁴ In 1879 the Omutninsk plant (in the Vyatka Governorate) and plants in the former Penza mining region were purchased by the Yaroslavl-based company belonging to the Pastukhovs. Later the plants were reincorporated as joint-stock companies.

¹⁵ The state-owned metallurgical plants were reshaped: the iron and steel businesses in Izhevsk and Votkinsk began to produce small arms.

¹⁶ New industries (producing construction materials, cement, and asphalt) responded to a growth in demand, especially in large cities, where business premises (banks, stock exchanges, railway company offices, etc.) were being built, and companies established with direct investment of capital from Moscow and abroad (this occurred in Volsk, Tsaritsyn, and Syzran) [Clein, 1981, p. 159; Cholakhyan, 2008, pp. 153–154]. Issues

the oil industry. Thus, the Paris-Netherlands, Petersburg International and Peterburgskij Uchyotnyj i Ssudnyj Bank [discount and lending bank] participated in the creation of JSC Ural-Volga (1898). The Volga steel company was funded by the French Anonymous Company [Cholyakhin, 2008, p. 154]. The main influx of foreign investment into the Volga Region's industries came about in the mid-1890s [Nazarov, 2010, p. 15].

The provision of transportation, creation of oil storage facilities, delivery of petrochemicals to rail stations and ferries, and financial support of oil businesses combined is what formed the basis of life in the Volga Region in the 1880–1890s. 'The partnership of the Nobel brothers' entering into partnership agreements with executive committees of railroad communities, steamship companies, and trade-transport companies indirectly contributed to the production of oil engines (developing since 1908 in Balakov, in which 180 people worked at three plants) [Clein, 1981, p. 159]. The capital stock accumulated by steamship firms cre-

relating to the establishment of foreign companies were the prerogative of city councils, who negotiated with representatives from business circles in the capital and abroad.

ated wide prospects for finalising the industrial revolution in water transport, and the region thus gradually turned into a powerful complex transport hub for the empire. We can acknowledge that the transport and manufacture enterprises established as dependent on the needs of the government and foreign partners appeared to be above the regional market and outside of the processes formed randomly within it. This meant that the manufacturing industry became integrated into global production and world financial flows, which

is also evidenced by such new phenomena of economic life as the placement of large company shares (the operations of which were connected to the region) on the stock exchanges of the capital cities of Saint Petersburg and Moscow. At the turn of the 19th–20th century, there were five such companies headquartered in capital cities [calculated according to Collection of data, 1911]¹⁷.

The second level of production, including traditional branches (textile, food), was preserved and developed, but it was directly dependent on the market conditions in the country and region (see Appendix I, Table 17). There were also other groups of factors, such as the search for new raw material bases, price fluctuations, changes in tariffs for the transportation of goods, etc. The technological transformation came about thanks to internal financial sources. All these conditions determined the operation of the cloth and food (flour, beef and dairy) industries.

The most vivid changes could be seen in the flour-milling industry with its increased

production, capitals, corporatisation, and transition to steam engines [Clein, 1981, p. 145]. The image of the Volga-Region flour-miller was formed by the famous companies of the Stakheyevs (the Vyatka Governorate), Borel, Schmidt (the Saratov Guberniya), the Shikhobalovs (the Samara Guberniya), the Deevs and Vidineevs (the Ufa Guberniya), etc. The widely spread expression 'flour-millers of nomadic camps' (K. Petrov-Vodkin) at the same time reflected the current situation and the recent past. Guberniya and uyezd centres (Saratov, Tsaritsyn, Balashov, and Syzran, with a total annual production volume amounting to 36–42 million poods) were not just large flour-milling centres but also railroad stations that gathered large parties from neighbouring villages. The flour-milling business depended exclusively upon the agricultural season [Clein, 1981, p. 145]. The number of water and wind mills in villages significantly exceeded the number of factories.

Changes in the cloth industry were similar, though public contracts indeed made it a less risky enterprise. Throughout the 19th the cloth enterprises of the region endured through all stages of the organisation of production, from manual production to manufacturing and factories [Clein, 1981; Laverychev, 1964]. At the same time, the majority of factory employees were peasants who left for the villages when it was harvest season. The main difficulties of that time were forced changes in the raw materials base (because of the reduction of production volumes) and the search for new partners in Central Asia. Simbirsk, Kazan, and Penza clothiers purchased raw materials at the Nizhny Novgorod Fair and formed new marketing strategies like the refusal of services from small buyers and the monopolisation of suppliers and sales¹⁸. In the 1890s a unique hub of the rough wool-cloth industry with a significance for all of Russia was being run in the Volga Region.

¹⁷ 'The Vyatka-Volga steamship line partnership' (1901), fixed assets totalling 3 million roubles, and 3,000 shares on the Saint Petersburg stock exchange; Inzer mining association, major shareholder S. P. von Derviz (1898), fixed assets totalling 400,000 roubles, and 9,600 shares on the Saint Petersburg stock exchange; joint-stock steamship company 'Oka' (1888), fixed assets totalling 1.5 million roubles, listed on the Moscow stock exchange; 'Russian on Bibi-Eybyat' oil industry and commercial company' (registered in Tsaritsyno) (1904), listed on the Saint Petersburg stock exchange, 3,200 shares; JSC Saratov textile factory 'Cotton factory in the village of Shakhmatov' (1899), listed on the Saint Petersburg stock exchange, 8,000 shares.

¹⁸ In 1907 wool trade businessmen in the Volga Region came together to form the 'Union of Simbirsk Wool Manufacturers' in order to distribute government orders. This monopolistic association was headed by I. Akchurin.

It had nearly 20 enterprises in Simbirsk Guberniya, 3 factories in the Kuznetsk Uyezd of Saratov Guberniya, and 1 in the Samara Guberniya, which the Penza Guberniya's factories gravitated towards.

The owners of stearic candle, soap, glycerine, and venison industries were suffering difficulties with raw materials and looking for a solution by widening the geography of their business and diversifying it¹⁹. The mechanisation and technical improvement of these branches was delayed partly due to their specifics. They remained at the production manufacture organisation level.

The third level of manufacture undergone by craft and semi-craft type enterprises suffered huge difficulties in the 1870–1880s, such as an increase in competition, including with enterprises of the central regions [Ocherki istorii, 2010, p. 225]. The new economic conditions, lack of financial means, and pressure from contemporary technology led to a cease of production²⁰. Nevertheless, a significant portion of locally oriented businesses remained in operation. The small-scale nature of their production (pre-capitalistic, peasant crafts, and small capitalistic production operations in workshops and enterprises with hired workers) guaranteed their vitality [Clein, 1972, p. 363]. At the turn of the 1880–1890 the term 'craft industry' was legalised, while the craft industry itself gained a legal structure and organisational management in the form of the Craft Committee in the department of agricultural economy of the Ministry of farming and state property [Kartashova, 2006, p. 228].

There were also other unique activities in the region, for example the preparation, and later the mass production, of kumys. At the

end of the century the Samara²¹ and Ufa guberniyas developed koumiss production and koumiss treatments at specialised hospitals (or health resorts). At the beginning of the 20th century Koumiss production remained only in the Ufa Guberniya (located along the Samara-Zlatoust railway). Thousands of people 'ill with tuberculosis in a blatant or latent form' arrived at the stations of Aksakovo, Shafranovo, and Glukhovskaya for treatment [Istoriya Bashkortostana, 2007, Vol. 2, p. 126].

Thus, the region's industries included enterprises with varying technological modes, each of which under new conditions used its own strategies oriented towards foreign, Russian, or local consumers. The differences could be spotted not only in the level of technology but also in the forms of labour use (including seasonal labour in agriculture) as well as in the organisation and geography of product distribution and methods of capital formation.

The technological and organisational reconstruction, occurring at the end of the industrial revolution, and the corporatisation of production, including with the help of foreign capital, encompassed the two first levels of the manufacturing industry (metallurgical and metal processing enterprises, railway and water transport, and textile and large food companies).

Opportunities were thus created for more active business development and entrepreneurship. The formation of new enterprises and the transformation of active companies into auction companies were accompanied by the vertical (the companies of P. Ushkov²² and

¹⁹ Merchants from Kasimov who traded pelts and fur coats began to keep flocks of karakul sheep in Middle Asia, while their plants for processing sheepskin and lambskin were located in the Kazan Guberniya. They also owned stores in almost every major city in the Volga Region (Maksyutov, Davletkildev, Kastrov) [Amirkhanov, 2005, p. 94].

²⁰ In the 1870s in the Kazan Guberniya more than 40 mills producing red calico and nankeen ceased production, as did over 20 wool mills in the Kuznetsk Uyezd in the Saratov Guberniya.

²¹ In Samara at the end of the 19th century businesses such as these were owned by Khamidov, Muhamedyarov, Ishukov, and Sagidov, more than 10 in total [Klassika, 2007, p. 312].

²² In the Yelabuga Uyezd in the Vyatka Governorate a local merchant K. Ushkov founded the Kokshansk chemical plant as long ago as 1850. In 1868 his son P. Ushkov opened the Bondyuzhsk plant (now the city of Mendeleyevsk, Republic of Tatarstan), the Syuginsk glass plant, and a sulphuric acid plant in Kazan [Ocherki istorii, 2010, pp. 226–288]. In 1883 on the Bondyuzhsk factory site a JSC called The Partnership of Chemical Plants of Petr Kapitonovich Ushkov and Co. was created. In the early 20th century the Partnership owned four chemical plants with 2,000

the Stakheyevs²³) and horizontal (The partnership of steam mills in Samara, JSC Soap-boiling plant in Saratov, JSC for currying and grain trade' in the Birsks Uyezd of the Ufa Guberniya) integration of production and capital. Capital growth was often carried out on the basis of family businesses that matured in the heart of trade: first the formation of the initial capital (the end of the 18th century.—trading wine, the manufacture of goods and food products, from the 19th, the cattle trade), then busi-

ness expansion (the grain trade, transportation of grain, flour production, and purchase and processing of wool). In the 3–4th generations the business ceased to be a family business and was split and transformed into stock capital that retained family shareholders.

The diversification of production and capitals (manufacture, trade, possession of movable (steamers, barges) and immovable (land) property, leases, and agriculture) was characteristic of large enterprises belonging to the local business elite, though on a daily basis it reproduced elements and norms from the lives of peasants. The search for comfort and improved life conditions in the city estates and manors of the guberniya and uyezd cities revealed itself as a phenomenon in the 19th century.

Entrepreneurs became a noticeable social group that influenced the social life of urban areas. They were active in local government bodies [Grankina, 2006; Isaeva, 2010; Tyurin, 2007], united into stock-exchange enterprises,²⁴ and gradually declared themselves 'masters of life.' There were also women among the entrepreneurs. According to G. Ulyanova's calculations, the share of female-owned businesses in the empire according to production volume (in monetary terms) constituted 4–4.8% at the end of the 1870–beginning of the 1880s. Women also played a consistently significant role in the textile and food industries [Ulyanova, 2009].

The role and significance of industries developing in the Ural and Volga Region guberniyas of the Russian Empire increased by the end of the century (see Appendix I, Table 16). At the same time, according to L. Kafengauz's estimates, the relative share of the old Ural manufacturing region unavoidably decreased (reduction in the share of employed workers, reduced cost of production), while the significance of the Volga Region industries increased.

employees in Vyatka, Kazan, and Samara governorates (annual productivity in 1908 was worth 3 million roubles), a chalk plant in Simbirsk guberniya, a brick and ceramics factory in Vyatka Governorate, a construction lime factory and limestone mine in the Samara Guberniya, and its own fleet consisting of 100 h.p. towing steamers, several dozen barges, and other small vessels. The partnership also owned 5,500 dessiatinas of land, in the form of forest summer houses, gold mines, factories, and wharves [Esieva, 2004; Ligenko, 2001].

²³ With origins in the wine and grain trade, by the end of the century it had its own integrated production operation, consisting of production, processing, and transportation of grain on its own vessels and barges. Grocery and drapery sales were an additional source of income. The Stakheyevs' joint-stock trade-industrial association was registered in 1904. When the association was formed, its turnover totalled roughly 80 million roubles, and its fixed assets were estimated at 4 million roubles [Maslova, 2000]. All organisations belonging to the Stakheyev family were independent legal entities but maintained financial and production ties. In the early 20th century grain trading, loading, and transport companies belonging to two Stakheyev brothers were known to operate in the Kama and Volga Regions as well as in the Southern Ural. In the Ufa Guberniya alone (according to M. Rodnov) the trading house of V. Stakheyev's heirs operated 35 barges on the Belaya River; I. Stakheyev's trading house operated 44 barges with load capacities ranging from 60–70 tons to 154,000 poods. Grain was loaded at 40 river wharves, including on the Kama (8 wharves), the Belaya (5), the Ufimka (1), the Vyatka (28). All but four of the wharves were equipped with driers for drying grain. Apart from wheat and rye, the Stakheyevs traded buckwheat, oats, and other cereals. The Stakheyevs aimed to incorporate all aspects of production and to control the entire production cycle (from source to the consumer). This was characteristic of their approach to their core grain business. They acquired and built flour mills, equipped wharves with warehouses, bought barges and towing steamers, and provided docks and repair shops for vessels in river backwaters. Their moves to penetrate distant markets from their native Yelabuga, regions such as Western Siberia, were accompanied by the opening of textile and grocery stores.

²⁴ In 1866 the Kazan exchange's charter was approved; in 1869, the Samara exchange; in 1870, the Saratov exchange, in 1900, the Tsaritsyn exchange; in 1901, the Simbirsk exchange; in 1904, the Balakovo exchange; in 1905, the Syzran exchange [Tagirova, 1999, pp. 160–162].

Although the number of workers in the Ural twice exceeded figures in the Volga Region, it was here where contemporary manufacture was successfully developed. In the Urals, the consequences of the abolition of serfhood had not been overcome even by the beginning of the 20th century. In general, the Volga-Ural



The building of the production facility of sulphuric acid at the Ushkov Chemical Plant at Bondyuzh. Photo from the late 19th century

territories were moderately developed against an All-Russian backdrop. Here the processing industries prevailed, and by the beginning of the 20th century 99% of the cost of all industrial production fell on the processing industries of the Volga Region. In the Urals the number was 84%.

Indeed, the changes of the 1860s influenced the development of agriculture all throughout the region. The ability to export goods by railway [Slepnev, 2000]²⁵ and take out a loan from state and commercial banks [Proskuryakova, 2003], the new directions of trading routes, and the advantages of processing agricultural products locally—all created a new economic environment for agricultural producers. The local market of agricultural production (at the price level) depended on the world price situation [Mironov, 1985], but the impact of these factors on different guberniyas of the region was uneven. The strongest influence was made by railroads [Slepnev, 2000, p. 62].

At the same time, the development of Volga-Ural agriculture was still influenced by peasant migration, which was especially intense in the South-Ural guberniyas [Petrov, 2005]. At the end of the 19th century 16.5% of European Russia's population lived in 10

guberniyas of the region²⁶. The density of the population (see Appendix I, Table 18) also increased. The government committee created in the Ministry of Internal Affairs to examine migration movements attempted to regulate this process, thus approving in 1882 'Temporary rules on peasant migrations.' Migration was allowed only along sections of the Siberian railroad, and unlimited use of the land was only an option after a temporary lease for 6–12 years [Usmanov, 1981, p. 83].

The external factors mentioned above gradually reformed the inner life of villages, the citizens of which never completely adapted to the conditions of the reforms carried out in the 1860s. The expansion of crop lands in Volga and Ural guberniyas was especially noticeable, and slight growth can be observed in the 1860–1880s in Orenburg (3.96 times), Samara (3.27), Astrakhan (2.19) and Saratov (2.13) guberniyas. Against the backdrop of decreasing tillage lands in the central and black-earth regions, the South-Eastern lands (the Southern steppe, Trans-Volga, and Lower Volga Regions) in the 1880s appeared to be undoubted leaders in the production of cash crops in European Russia [Slepnev, 2000, p. 63]. The trend that emerged was only con-

²⁵ Rail transportation was 6–10 times faster than cart, 4.5 times faster than steamer, and 15 times faster than hauled barge [Slepnev, 2000, p. 55].

²⁶ In the period from 1857 to 1897 the Russian Empire's population increased by 74% (from 74 to 129 million people). In the Volga-Ural Region the population increased by 332% (from 6.4 to 21.3 million people).

solidated in the following decades: between 1901–1910 cropland increased by 22.8% in the Samara Guberniya, added 14.6% in the Saratov Guberniya, 11.9% in the Simbirsk Guberniya, and 5.6% in the Kazan Guberniya. In the steppe uyezds of Ufa Krai, between 1890–1900 the size of cropland doubled. The region's significance in supplying the empire with crops continued to increase and advance into Siberia, which also had quite promising prospects.

But a more detailed examination of the consequences of changes shows a certain ambiguousness of the situation.

The growth of sowings, increased fees, and the possibility of transporting grain formed maximum demand for its export outside of the region. But in unfavourable circumstances, particularly during drought and crop failures, this resulted in a shortage of grain for people's own consumption, hunger (1871–1872, 1891, 1911), and further declines in output. (The situation in 1872–1873 in the Samara Guberniya is described in: [Druzhinin, 1978, p. 272; Slepnev, 2000, pp. 64–65]).

These consolidated relations with the world market were reflected in the impact world events had upon the region, in particular the world agrarian crisis of the mid-1870–1890s. A decline in global prices turned into lower purchasing prices in the region (the minimum was in 1887 and 1894–1895), and in grain regions they did not compensate the cost of growing grains²⁷. Following crop prices, in 1885 lease prices started to decline, after which prices for selling land began to as well.

The general decline of prices caused a decrease in the tax-paying capacity of the peasantry, which in the Middle Volga Region was catastrophic in those years [Mariskin, 2007, p. 442]. Against the backdrop of the crisis, later lean years (especially in 1891) were perceived by contemporaries perceived as a crisis [see Yegiazarova, 1959; Kitanina, 1978; Izmestyeva, 1911; Khamitbaeva, 2008]. By

the beginning of the 20th century the situation in villages gradually improved.

The extensive path of agricultural development (only through increased sowing) was not accompanied by any improvements in work-force productivity. The yield of grain crops throughout the century rose slightly, and the general level of crops since 1 December in the middle and south-eastern lands was the same as in the central black-earth regions of the country and amounted to a 3.5-fold–4-fold harvest (see Appendix I, Table 19). The dependence on climate fluctuations and unstable conditions of the agricultural year increased, and bad harvests and hunger (1871–1872, 1880, 1891, 1901, 1906) were the constant companions of agricultural life.

Moreover, the expansion of crop land did not cover the pace of population growth and was not accompanied by an increase in grain consumption by its main producers. This issue remains a matter of dispute among contemporary scientists, yet Volga Region and Ural historians share the view that the commodity weight of crops exported outside of the region at the beginning of the 20th century significantly exceeded possible surpluses, and a part of consumer grain was sent to the market [Kabytov, 1981, p. 81; Tagirova, 1999, p. 198; Rodnov, 2008, pp. 233–234].

The further expansion of areas under crops and the development of agriculture strengthened the region's crop specialty on the All-Russian market. The main arable crops remained winter rye, oats and spring wheat, and the share of other cultures was small. In the north and north-west of the region (Vyatka, Kazan, and Simbirsk governorates) the planting of rye and oats prevailed, which was aided by an optimal climate for growing these cultures as well as the increasing demand of the military office for brown bread in order to provide the army with food [Kitanina, 1978, p. 26].

The main sowed crop in the southern steppe and south-eastern steppe lands (the Samara, Orenburg, and south-western uyezds of the Ufa Guberniya) was spring wheat, in particular the hard varieties that were in high demand on the Russian and foreign markets.

²⁷ A fall in grain prices led to losses in cereal crop growing regions ranging from 3 to 11 roubles per desiatina [Yegiazarova, 1959, p. 79].

It occupied 50–65% of all arable lands, which produced high profits during the period of increasing market demand, but also led to soil exhaustion. The acreage of other grains (millet, buckwheat, rape, barley) and industrial crops that could improve soil fertility grew slowly.

One noticeable phenomenon alongside the development of farming became the development of the land market. It was mentioned earlier that its formation began in the 19th century, when the purchase of uninhabited lands was still allowed. Then, apart from the market factor, the administrative factor (state grants, the cheap sale of state lands to officials) was also quite influential. With the development of trade agriculture and the improvement of transport communications, land prices started to rise. Noblemen started selling lands more often, and mortgage loans developed. Lease and sublease relations became widely spread. In the Trans-Volga and Lower Volga Region professional intermediaries, called *baryshniks*, or secondhand dealers, were operating in many places. Mediation was also another usual matter when lending state-owned and demesial lands.

The development of the land market widened the circle of land owners through the addition of the members of other social groups and classes evidenced in 'The Statistics of Land Ownership in 1905' (see Appendix I, Table 21). By 1905 the state had lost its leading positions among land owners (19.8% of lands) in the region but maintained the priority of state and demesial lands in Simbirsk (31.2%) and Kazan (28.3) guberniyas, while its share in steppe regions did not exceed one-fifth. The demesial office [Maksimov, 2008; Yutkin, 2007] and the Ministry of state properties managing lands and organisations in the region [Markova, 2007] operated in market conditions, and as a consequence they had to look for methods that kept up to date with the times, similar to private possessors. In the early 19th century private owners (not nobles) owned more lands than in European Russia, where the percentage of landlords owning over 1,000 dessiatins of land was 80.8% (61.5% in European Russia).

According to researchers, agricultural growth was provided mainly by peasant households that accounted for 63.8% (the Simbirsk Guberniya) to 97% (the Ufa Guberniya) of all crops in the late 19th century (see Appendix I, Table 22). Over the course of time the percentage of crops sown by landlords (peasants, merchants) and separate communities started to increase, whereas those sown by nobles reduced [Kabytov, 1981, p. 1979].

One can clearly see two opposite trends here. The first is related to the farmisation and reinforcement of peasant farms on the land (the steppe and forest-steppe districts of the Volga-Ural Region where households with fields over 15 dessiatins were developed). The other (opposite) tendency showed itself in the north and north-west of Ufa Krai as well as in the Simbirsk, Kazan, Penza, and the forest regions of the Samara Guberniyas. There traditionalism prevailed, and this 'regressive metamorphose' (according to M. Rodnov) was due to small field sizes (2–4, 4–6 dessiatins), natural management based on consumer production, and primitive work. The capitalist economy of the region served as an outer shell for them, so peasants still stuck to their traditional way of life and world view [Rodnov, 2002, pp. 308–310]. The increasing poverty among peasants was caused by the dwindling size of community lands due to the doubling of the rural population.

The life of landlords in the North and South was different as well. In the northern and forest-steppes districts landlords took advantage of peasant land scarcities and hired them with their tools to sow or plough while underpaying them, which was equal to serfdom. The southern steppes districts used to hire people—and it was next to impossible to harvest crops without day-labourers. Along with farming, resourceful landlords also developed the animal breeding industry by rearing pedigree horses, fine-wool sheep, and other animals. Some landlords opened oil and kumis health facilities. Landlord economies supplied the market with not just crops but also meat, milk, wool, and locally processed products such as butter, cheese, sour cream, etc. Some landlords of



The building of the Samara Stock Exchange.
Photo, 1904. Present-day 3A, Razina Street.

the northern districts were engaged in cutting down, processing, and selling trees. Nobles, who were in fact small in number, could no longer support the imperial power in the Volga and Ural Regions. The change in the strategic features of villages was related to peasants.

Trade also suffered significant changes both on a grassroots level and in large businesses. These changes refer to the democratisation of trade that showed itself in the growth of its elementary forms, for example fairs,²⁸ as well as in the rather large class of smaller intermediaries, or buyers and dealers (mostly on the corn market)²⁹. The system of grain public procurement was changing as well. In the 1890s public procurement was carried out by municipalities (*zemstvos*), and starting from 1905, by the commissariat [Kitanina, 1978, pp. 201–220; Clein, 1982, pp. 184–185]; the system of food stores was reorganised, and new participants such as State and later Commercial Banks appeared on the grain market [Korelin, 1981, p. 113]. Foreign capital also entered the grain market,³⁰ though Russian businessmen held all the key positions

²⁸ In the Volga Region (Kazan, Simbirsk, Samara, Saratov guberniyas) the number of markets increased from 419 to 673, and then, to 807 (according to the data for 1863, 1897, and 1903, respectively) [Tagirova, 1999, p. 289]. There were 40 markets in the Vyatka Governorate in 1868; 108, in 1883; and 161, in 1900 [Ligenko, 2001].

²⁹ Sometimes there were 5–6 steps in the supply chain before products reached the exporter.

³⁰ Large Russian and foreign companies had offices in the region: The Russian Association of Export Trade, representatives of the ports of Libava, Riga,

[Thompson, 2008, p. 400]. They were all participants on the stock market.

The Nizhny Novgorod fair gradually receded into the background, but it still maintained global recognition. In the 1860–1880s Russian merchants played the most important part. In the late 19th –beginning of the 20th centuries salesmen from Europe came over, including the Poles, Germans, Jews, and Swiss; the Persians, Armenians, Bokharans, Moscow merchant trading with Kyakhta also had its own significant role [Vybornov, 2004, p. 14].

Cities also saw the emergence of a type of constant retail establishment (i.e., stores). These 'beacons of capitalistic trade' practiced advertising, earned loyal customers, and won over the central streets of the Guberniya and district centres [Galanin, 2008, p. 177]. The 'malls' of the 19th century were not so many in number, most of them were housed in primitive buildings (shops, trade houses, inns, and taverns), but even so banks, shops, and stock exchanges together all formed the architectural image of cities. By the end of the 19th century stationary trade houses were making a major contribution to overall revenues. L. Goncharenko pointed out that guberniya cities of the late 19th century had three spheres of trade: 1) various agricultural products; 2) random trade ('without any certain definition') in all guberniya cities, except Samara where fabrics were sold; 3) fabrics and clothing (in Samara, selling crops 'without any certain definition') [counted according to the number of people engaged in trade: Goncharenko, 1994, p. 99].

The crop and animal specialisations of the region determined the structure of the local market where primary procurement and resale centres emerged, and the hierarchy of trade flows, and the local grain market was also formed [Rodnov, 2002; Tagirova, 1999]. As grain batches travelled and increased in size, the product became littered and mixed, which is why it was not always properly appraised during export shipments. There were a lot of participants on the corn market. Even

Tallinn, Novorossiysk, and Rostov, the Louis Dreyfus Company.

commission agents and companies from other cities 'always added to the main buyers' when putting together batches. The full chain of grain exports consisted without fail of 5 or 6 separate links: from producer to small-scale purchasers, city tradesmen, export companies or shipping agents, foreign agents, and finally foreign trade companies or factories (selling raw or semi-finished materials).

The process of the integration of the Volga and Ural territories in the economic body of the Russian Empire became more rapid over the course of the implementation of the Great Reforms and railway construction. The gradual abolition of serfdom of manor and later appanage and state peasants, the simultaneous elimination of the national and economic privileges, and the abolition of the various tax revenues—all made the Volga and the Ural people legally equal to peasants of Central Russia.

The capital, foreign capital, and monetary resources of local nobles accumulated in joint-stock companies made the region part of the empire's common financial interactions. Even the small funds of savings banks and city public banks took a part in this process. The geographical configuration of these institutions as well as transport, logistics, and trade relations were all defined by railway lines and branches. Of course, it took some time for these relations to be established and secure their own foothold. However, this was not always the case. New railway lines kept pushing further East. First Saratov and Tsaritsyn (1860-s), then Syzran, Samara, Orenburg (1870s), and Ufa (1880–1890s) scored the advantages of becoming part of the common railway network.

Different growth rates were typical of both industrial practices and the development of regions as well, where the industrial revolution in their main industries was complete. Local spaces that remained beyond the leading economic tendencies remained as they used to be.

However, they were not the areas that most influenced the overall development of the Volga-Ural Region.

Guberniya cities remained the poles of economic growth, but new trade and economic centres also emerged near railway stations and large quays. Business activities were more notable, and they showed themselves in self-organisation and stock exchange associations, and starting from the 1890s they contributed a lot to the development of these economic centres.

Agriculture gradually became dependent on world trends and the overall financial situation of the country. The expansion of cultivated fields, accelerated crop exports and growth of global and Russian demand, especially from the latter half of the 1890s, contributed to the atmosphere of market domination affecting both peasant settlements and private lands. The change in civilisation that had started in the early decades of the 19th century was already over by the beginning of the 20th century.

In general, the Volga-Ural Region in the 19th century shifted from being the internal outskirts of the Russian Empire to an economic region subject to the general cycles of capitalistic development. This region was specialised in farming and had its own uniting centers of economic development, a stable transport system, and credit institutions. In terms of economic prospects and due to the government strategy of a movement eastwards, several highly-advantageous routes were formed: Kazan—Vyatka, Samara—Ufa, Samara—Orenburg, and Saratov—Don.

The combination of economic, institutional, organisational, and spatial changes transformed social relations and formed new social groups that go on to take an active part in the mass movements and revolutions of the 20th century.

§ 2. Agricultural production

Nail Khalikov

Farming. During the post-reform period the Tatars of the Volga Region and Urals practiced different types of farming as a result of specific aspects of the environment, economic conditions, and traditions. As different as they were at their core and in all the variety of their details, farming was confined to three types that provided ways to restore and maintain the fertility of soil: fallow, fallow-shifting, and forest field (slash-and-burn) cultivation systems.

The fallow three-field system (winter crops—spring crops—fallow) was the most popular among Tatar peasants at that time. This agricultural tradition was altogether typical of the Volga Region: in Kazan and Simbirsk guberniyas the fallow system was used in 100% of fields; in Saratov, 92%; and in Samara, 87% [Statistika pozemel'noj, Ed. IV, p. VI]. The three-field system was the most rational (and in some cases the only possible) system of farming, though it also had some significant disadvantages. The short rests given to fields (a year long) to maintain fertility was always used to fertilise the soil with manure. But the latter was all but non-existent as in the middle Volga and Trans-Kama Region amid an acute land scarcity crisis all arable land was used for farming. And if the normal correlation between fields and hayfields was 1:1, it was just about 10:1 in the Kazan Guberniya [Materialy' dlya sravnitel'noj, No. 3, p. 52]. This is why there was a small number of cattle. The other reason, equal in importance, was the economic weakness of most peasant households. It is no coincidence that few baptised Tatars of the Mamadysh Uyezd were reported to have fertilised their fields, as horseless peasants had nothing to transport, nor any cattle for this purpose [Istoriko-statisticheskoe opisanie czerkvej, 1904, p. 377]. Frequent land partitions also prevented fields from being supplemented with manure [Materialy', 1936, p. 13].

In the 19th century and later farming in the eastern lands of the region was diverse and actively shifting from the cultivation system

to the fallow system (four-field, two-field, and random sowing); in the South Ural and Trans-Ural Regions there was a standard cultivation system practiced mostly by Tatars cossacks from Orenburg.

Slash-and-burn, or forest fallow systems, were practiced in Vyatka and Perm governorates where peasants still owned large plots of land in the mid-19th century. Moreover, any vegetation cut down was often burned in the 19th century. Forest fallows were used to farm for 3 to 4 years, and then they were kept fallow for a few years. After this system, either a three-field system was used, or the land was left to be overgrown by woods [Spisok naseleenny'x mest, XIV, p. XXIII].

Thus, the fallow system was the most widely used in the post-reform period. When a three-field system was properly fertilised, it was possible to harvest adequate crop volumes while keeping costs low. However, demographic, social, economic, and political conditions such as an increase in population density,³¹ distribution of lands in favour of the Treasury during the reforms of 1866, mass poverty among peasants, and other factors threw the fallow system into a less than enviable position in the latter half of the 19th century. During this time there was a crisis of the three-field system typified by a depletion of lands and a lack of fertilisation accompanied by a decrease in soil fertility, which in turn led to a reduction of yields. By the end of the 1860s there were reports that the fallow system in the Kazan Guberniya had already become outdated [Vecheslav, 1870, p. 2]. While earlier fertility had been maintained thanks to a rotation of crops, the last remaining fallows and rotations disappeared in the latter half of the 19th century. The only way out of this crisis was to increase the amount of cultivated acreage using other lands, including pastures

³¹ From the early 18th to the early 20th century the population density in the Kazan Guberniya increased fivefold.

and hay fields, which reduced the feed base of cattle with results that were easy to expect. The radical solution of introducing improved land and crop rotations, a many-field system, etc., was prevented by the forced division of plots into traditional three sections, as well as by the poor financial situation among most Tatar peasants house-

holds. Land scarcity and the three-field crisis had quite far-reaching effects. Peasant could not earn enough money to pay their taxes and have enough left over to live on, which is why they had to turn to other forms of economic activity, including handicrafts, seasonal work, etc.

Grains, beans, and technical crops were the main farming products. The structure and dynamics of planting winter and spring crops were different in different regions and depended on the soil, climate, biological characteristics of plants, farming systems, peasant economic situations, the state of the grain market, and other reasons.

In the mid-19–beginning of the 20th centuries Tatar peasants sowed the following feed and coarse grains: winter rye and wheat, spring rye, wheat, oats, barley, buckwheat, millet, emmer, peas, lentils, vetch; fiber-producing flax and hemp, as well as technical plants such as sunflowers, poppies, and feed plants, phleum, clover, sainfoins, etc.

In the winter fields of the forest and forest-steppe zone of the Volga Region and Urals peasants sowed only winter rye (*kozge arysh*), which corresponded to the prevailing three-field system. The winter rye harvested in the Vyatka Governorate was 53.9% of the total grain yield; in the Nizhny Novgorod Guberniya it was 58.7%, and in Kazan, 61%, which was the highest amount for European Russia [Kulyabko-Koretsky, 1903, p. 11]. Tatar peasants had the largest rye fields.



Tatar peasant huts. The Kazan Guberniya
Photo by V. Karrik. 2nd half of the 19th century

The main spring crop was oats (*soly*) on a significant scale: in 1900 oats occupied 35% of the acreage in the Vyatka Governorate, 35.1% of the Perm Guberniya, and 28.8 in the Kazan Guberniya [Mordvinkina, 1960, pp. 343–344]. Tatar peasants also preferred oats as a spring crop, and their spring fields were called '*soly basui*' ('oat fields'). The expansion of oats as a crop in the region in the middle of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries was enabled by its special ability to adapt to any soil regardless of its fertility, which was quite a favourable characteristic when compared with many other cereal crops. The considerable volume of planted oats in the Volga and Ural Regions was also caused by its high demand as fodder for the Siberian Route with its many carts [Spisok naselenny'x mest, XXXI, p. CCXCIX], and Tatars were actively engaged in the cart service.

In the south-east uyezds of the region they cultivated wheat (*bodaj*) on a significant scale: in the late 19th century in the Orenburg Guberniya wheat amounted to 52.6% of the entire cereal crop [Kulyabko-Koretsky, 1903, p. 14], while the cultivated areas of this major Russian export crop grew steadily. But cultivation of the wheat actually in demand in agriculture was only within the bounds of mostly rich owners, who had quality sowing equipment and a sufficient number of cattle and workers. The peasants of the Middle Volga and Cisural Regions explained the absence of wheat in their own fields as resulting from primitive

ploughing with sokhas, the absence of available ploughland, and so on. That is why in Orenburg guberniya it was mostly the wealthy Tatar Cossacks who had their lands planted with wheat.

Barley (*arpa*) was more often cultivated in the northern forest areas: in 1913 in the Perm Guberniya it occupied 10.2% of spring crop acreage, and in Vyatka, 13.9% [Statistika Rossijskoj imperii, 1914. Our percentage recalculation.—*N. Kh.*]. And in the villages of the Krasnoufimsk Uyezd of the Perm Guberniya at the end of the 1880s barley fields occupied up to 20% of the entire area [Statistika Rossijskoj imperii, 1914].

Tatar ploughmen sowed buckwheat almost everywhere (*kara bodaj*).

Spelt wheat (*boraj*) was a crop the Tatars grew on a large scale in the Volga, South Kama, Trans-Kama, and Ural Regions. It is entirely justifiable to definitively state the commitment Tatars had to this cereal crop. In 1888 in the Yelabuga Uyezd the Tatars with this crop accounted for 11.3% of fields sown with spring crops, Russian peasants had 6.4%, and Udmurts, 4.6% [Materialy' po statistike, Vol. 4, p. 54]. It is also no coincidence that Mordovians called spelt wheat 'Tatar bread' [Yakubtsiner, 1965, p. 83]. Spelt wheat was an indispensable product for the ceremonial porridge of the Christianised Tatars, who retained certain archaic features in their culture.

Millet crops (*tara*) in the south-western and western regions were especially widespread: at the end of the 19th century in the Simbirsk Guberniya millet made up 6.5% of all collections; in Saratov, 6.8%; and in Penza, 8% [Kulyabko-Koretsky, 1903, p. 23]. Tatar peasants of the Yelatma Uyezd of the Tambov Guberniya or of the Petrovsk Uyezd of the Saratov Guberniya often had millet field sizes that exceeded the area of any other spring crop. Millet was distinguished by its high productivity, reaching 60–70-fold. But this crop required clean fields without weeds, a particular soil structure and was cultivated mainly on rotations and fallow land, which meant that by the end of the 19th century millet fields in many Tatar villages had been reduced in size.

Tatar peasants from certain villages of the Lower Volga Region on a very small scale also cultivated spring rye (*yazgy' ary'sh*). But it was significantly inferior to winter rye in terms of crop productivity, which led to its rather insignificant place in the crop distribution system. At the same time, spring rye was eagerly cultivated in the Ural and Transural Region, where the climatic conditions and terrain did not allow the cultivation of winter crops.

Peas (*borchak*) and lentils (*vasmy'k*) were sowed all throughout the region. Peas had a greater yield, but lentils are drought-resistant. By the beginning of the 20th century the area of pea, and especially lentil, cultivation reduced in size due to a total reduction of peasant plots and land degradation [Sel'skoxozyajstvennaya statistika, 1859, p. 163].

For a semi-substinance economy it was typical to also cultivate textile plants—flax (*zhiten*) and hemp (*kinder ash*). Flax crops were gravitating towards the northern forests and forest steppe uyezds, and cannabis, towards the southern and south-west regions. Fields of these plants often reached considerable sizes, but in the latter half of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries flax and hemp crops were somewhat reduced because of the spread of manufactured fabrics among villages. Only for the Tatar-Kryashens, who mostly preserved their traditional everyday life and features of their natural economy, have these cropfields not lost their former relevance in the early 20th century.

Flax and hemp were also used by peasants as oil crops. However, they were significantly less in volume than sunflowers (*konbagysh*), which were cultivated in small amounts in many villages of the region (sunflower seeds for the purpose of consumption). And only the Tatars from the Chistopol Uyezd of the Kazan Guberniya, from the Sterlitamak Uyezd of the Ufa Guberniya, and from the Orsk Uyezd of the Orenburg Guberniya cultivated sunflowers for industrial purposes as a technical (oil) crop to ship to the neighbouring oil production plants. Tatar ploughmen had the most significantly-sized sunflower crops in the Saratov and the southern uyezds of the Samara Guberniyas.

Some attempts were also made to raise another industrial crop: poppy (*mek*). The baptised Tatars, in comparison to the Tatar-Muslims, cultivated tobacco, especially in the West Trans-Kama Region. At the beginning of the 20th century in rare cases the Tatars began to cultivate feed grasses as well, including phleum, sainfoins, medicago, and clover. This was handled almost exclusively by peasants, usually proprietors.

The Tatar peasants prepared the soil for cultivation with ploughs, sokhas, and their own variations on these tools, as well as harrows.

In the latter half of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries the most commonly used plough among Tatar farmers in Volga Region guberniyas and in many uyezds of the Urals was the sokha (*suka*), as it corresponded in the most recognisable way to the previously cultivated soft crop land of the three-field system. It was universal (was used for plowing as is, plowing manure into soil, setting seeds, spudding, and so on), was manageable by low-power peasant horses, and was relatively cheap; but it also plowed only to a shallow depth, which led to weeds growing in the fields.

Heavy wooden ploughs—Sabans—had been used in the region since ancient times, and contemporaries rightly referred to them as 'Tatar' [Khalikov, 1995, pp. 50, 56]. The author of famous works on the ploughing equipment of his time G. Firstov noted: 'the saban was widely used mainly by the Tatar farmers of Orenburg, Simbirsk, Saratov, and Astrakhan guberniyas and a part of Kazan' [Firstov, 1854, p. 208]. This involved heavy equipment that demanded numerous (4–6) horses or oxen. As a result, in the middle of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries *agach saban* was widespread mainly among Tatars in the Southern uyezds of the Ural and the Transural Regions, where the crop-rotation cultivation system still existed.

In the Cis- and Transurals during the 1860–1880s so-called half-sabans, or 'kole-sukha,' had also become widespread in use. Such equipment was known among the Transuralian Tatars under the name of '*agaç suka*'. They differed by their smaller size and more

sophisticated case construction and operational details.

At the turn of the 19–20th centuries, first in the Cisurals and then in the Volga Region, on the farms of Tatar-Cossacks and wealthy peasants makeshift and manufactured steel ploughs started to emerge [Alov, 1900, p. 53; Trudy', 1884, p. 110].

An additional type of ploughing tool widespread in the latter half of the 19th century in mainly the southern uyezds of the region were the roe and one-sided plough, which emerged as a result of the development of ploughs and sokhas and were designed to work with all soil types.

To smooth over the cropland and cover planted seeds after using ploughs and sokhas, they used harrows (*tirma*, *seberke*). Tatar ploughmen of the Kama Uyezds were still using a braided harrow. But in the middle of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries wooden frame harrows started to appear all over the region.

It is important to note that not only soil conditions influenced territorial spread and the use of a greater number of more sophisticated tools but also the level of economic solvency among ploughmen: metal plough, harrows, and so on were mainly found in wealthy households [State Archive of Kirov Oblast, f.957, inv. 1, item 38b, Table].

Both Tatar men and women participated in harvesting wheat and mowing hay. They all harvested with sickles, but mainly the men mowed the wheat and hay. Tying sheaves was considered the work of women and teenagers.

In the middle of the 19th century during harvest time, and in some regions of Tatar settlements in the Volga Region, harvesting winter and spring crops with sickles was the main or only viable method. In addition, peas, lentils, and buckwheat were harvested often. A different picture could be seen in the southern and south-eastern guberniyas where crops were harvested with a sickle, but when there was a particularly large harvest or hardly any at all, they used a scythe, while the latter method was becoming more and more widespread. That is why in the late 19–beginning of



Repairing a scythe. A Tatar farm.
Late 19–beginning of the 20th century.

the 20th centuries a scythe was already being used for winter rye harvests in some uyezds of the Volga Region, and winter crop mowing became a common event in the Trans-Kama, Lower Trans-Volga, and Bashkirian Urals Regions. They had started to use scythes, but they were still much more widely used for the harvesting of spring crops, oats, barley, and wheat [Khalikov, 1995, maps 14–16].

At the beginning of the 20th century, along with more traditional manual harvesting methods, among wealthy farms of the south-eastern area of crop production development machine harvesting came into play. But in most Tatar villages up to 1917 different harvesters, reapers, workers, who tied sheaves and so on, were sporadic because of their high cost.

In view of the climatic features of the Volga and Ural Regions—frequent rains during harvest season, long wet autumns, and so on—sheaves had to be preliminarily dried out on the field. Crops were often harvested still slightly premature to avoid the release of seeds or because of a reduced harvesting schedule, thus they had to be left for post-ripening in the field. Finally, many peasants did not have the opportunity or need to thresh the harvest straightaway after harvest time was over. These and other reasons explain the tying of sheaves in various forms for storage in the field and in the barnyard on the estate.

One of the methods for drying crops in the field characteristic of the forest area (Tatars of the Vyatka and Perm governorates) was drying using a structure made out of poles or dried trees with a lot of knots. But much more often a special pole structure in the form of fencing or a tent was built and widely used, called a conical chum (*shesh*, *sheshe*). The same methods were used with the sheaves of any crops in wet weather, but they were most often used to dry millet, oats, beans, and also hay.

The climatic conditions of the Volga and Ural Regions in most cases required additional drying

with fire before the mill. Tatar ploughmen had ovin-shishs, log drying-barns, and occasionally a threshing barn for those purposes. Poor peasants also often dried sheaves in heated bath houses.

They dried grain first in the bath house, then in a hut under the sun, and finally in a special grain-drying enclosure. In particular, in a description of the Yelabuga Uyezd of the Vyatka Governorate at the end of the 19th century it was noted that the Tatars from Tersinskaya Volost dried grain on the furnaces in huts and bathhouses. These same methods were practiced throughout the region, with the exception of the population of the south-eastern areas of the region, where grain was usually dried under the sun on a spread rug, curtain, or mat. Starting at the end of the 19th century special grain-dryers started to emerge that resembled a log-drying barn. Inside of the grain-dryer a stove was constructed, over which a metal net was strung to dry the grain.

The Tatars had different types and techniques at their disposal for threshing sheaves, including manual threshing (with beaters, by whipping, hitting); threshing using horses (hooves stomping, threshing with cart wheels or beating plank); and machine threshing with either manual, horse, or steam threshers.

Among all the varieties of sheaf threshing in the latter half of the 19–beginning of the 20th

centuries, the Volga Tatars most of all preferred threshing with beaters (*chabagach belen sugu*). This method dominated in the settled forest and forest-steppe areas [Khalikov, 1995, maps 21, 22]. Only in the south-east steppe areas of the region did threshing with beaters give up its leading position to other sheaf-threshing methods. Thus, in the Khvalynsk Uyezd of the Saratov Guberniya in the latter half of the 19th century threshing with beaters was rarely used, as they usually accomplished this task using horses. The distribution of threshing methods in the Samara Guberniya, which stretched far and wide from the north to the south, started to become altered as they moved from the forest-steppe to the steppe zone. In the northern uyezds of the guberniya (Stavropol, Samara, and first of all Buguruslan) not only rye but also other crops were threshed with a manual beater, in many villages and households of Bugulma and Buzuluk uyezds they threshed rye and certain other spring crops with manual beaters, and in the southern, Nikolaev, and Novouzensk uyezds they almost did not use beaters at all.

Following a further movement to the east in the Orenburg and Orsk Uyezds of the Orenburg Guberniya, in many Tatar villages since the middle of the 19th century beaters began to fall out of use. At the turn of the 19–20th centuries threshing with beaters relinquished its leading position to other effective methods, including threshing with a roller and, in particular, mechanical threshing.

Tatar ploughmen widely used threshing with horses, otherwise known as *at basyp sugu*, *taptau* [Khalikov, 1995, maps 21, 22]. Thus, in the Kama Region and Oka-Sur interfluvial legumes and buckwheat were threshed with horse hooves. In the Trans-Kama, Lower Trans-Volga, and Cisural Regions they threshed with horse hooves not just pea and buckwheat but also oats, spelt, wheat, and further south-east in the region this took place on an even greater scale.



A mill in a Tatar village in the Ufa Guberniya.
Photo from the early 20th century.

In the early 20th century on the farms of wealthy Tatar ploughmen, especially in the Lower Volga, Perm Ural, and Transural Regions, mechanical threshers started to become available. Depending on the configuration of their gears, threshers were divided into manual, horse, and steam. But these threshers were also expensive (on average 65–100 roubles at the end of the 19th century), which interfered with their widespread circulation.

As a rule, in favourable circumstances (a sufficient amount of grain, economic solvency among the peasantry, and so on) they threshed in winter from February–March. That time was relatively free from any other household duties so the threshing was more successful, since on frosty days grain was separated from the ear more easily.

The main threshing methods observed in Tatar agriculture emerged at different times. We can say with certainty that Tatar ploughmen started to thresh with a roller mainly in the latter half of the 19th–beginning of the 20th centuries. Mechanical threshers then appeared on the scene at the beginning of the 20th century, mainly in 1910–1914. The formation time of other threshing methods can only be concluded tentatively. Threshing by hitting and whipping (ancient types of sheaf threshing characteristic of the early stages of agriculture of many peoples) existed among the predecessors of



Hand Mill. Ufa guberniya Photo, M. Krukovsky Early 20th century.

the Tatars, apparently in more ancient times. For example, N. Vorobyev believed that the beater adopted by the Tatars was from the Russians when speaking about beaters of the 'Russian type' [Vorobyev, 1930]. We have ample grounds to assert that sheaf-threshing methods using horse-hoof stomping were traditional for the Volga Tatars [Rychkov, 1767; Lipinsky, 1868, p. 377]. In general, the tradition of threshing methods using horse-hoof stomping can be traced back to the agriculture of many peoples from Central Asia, Kazakhstan, and the Caucasus.

Another important agro-technical operation following threshing was grain winnowing (*suy'ru*). They winnowed grain with a spade, bucket, sieve, and fanner for cleaning out weed seeds, chaffs, small dirt, and dust.

To process harvested crops into flour they used mills and scourers powered by hydro-power, wind power, steam, and other sources and put into motion by animals or people.

The main types of Tatar mills in the region were rotary watermills (*su tegermene*) and wind (*cil tegermäne*) mills; it was very uncommon to operate mills using steam power, fuel oil, or electricity. The majority of large mills had special adjustments for the processing of grain into groats. In addition to this, special

horse scourers were constructed and

wind mills were built where a lack of suitable rivers did not allow for the use of water mills. For example, in the Kazan Guberniya low-productivity windmills with 1–2 arrangements were only ever used in unforested and dry areas. The same type of mills dominated in the Urals because of the almost complete lack of rivers near Tatar villages

(lake-dwelling settlement type). In the Chelyabinsk, Troitsk, and Verkhneursalsk Uyezds of the Orenburg Guberniya in Tatar villages there were approximately three times more windmills than watermills. At the same time in the Shadrinsk Uyezd of the Perm Guberniya there were none because there was never any dominating hard winds [Khalikov, 1995, map 25]. Watermills were more characteristic of forest areas; Tatar peasants constructed them in Perm and Vyatka governorates, which are rich in rivers and lakes [Shestakov, 1859, p. 118; Kor, 1861, p. 525]. The expansion of watermills in the region behind the Volga and in Cisurals, apart from the rather rich river system, encouraged the evolution of crop production development and the need for more potent and productive mills [Obshhie svedeniya ob Orenburgskoj, 1891].

For threshing grain into flour or grinding into groats, almost in every household Tatars used manual mills (*kul tegermene*) and scourer-mortars (*kile*). Millstones were made of wood, but in the Cisurals they instead were made from stone.

The Tatars of the Volga and Urals kept grain, flour, and groats mainly in the logged storeroom (*kelet*) and regular storeroom (*ambar*), which is the same type but relatively

larger in sizes and with a wide, two-shuttered door.

Thus, in the middle of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries Volga Tatar agriculture utilised a variety of farming methods. This phenomenon reflected the complicated socio-economic structure of the Tatar rural community in the period of the development and spread of capitalism in Russian villages, while numerous feudal remnants still remained. It was determined by the simultaneous existence of farming systems that were progressive for the time, valuable crops, targeted field crops, new agricultural tools and routine elements of the agricultural sector. The farming techniques and agricultural technology of the various social groups of the Tatar population differed significantly, such as those of former state peasants, smallholders, cossacks, and so on.

The Volga Tatar agriculture across the vast area of the Volga-Ural Region was characterised by the diversity of its components. One of the key reasons for this variety was the uneven development of capitalism in separate areas of the region as well as the capitalistic orientation of a variety of sectors of the economy (agriculture, cattle breeding, trade, and so on). This explains the intensive spread of trade and commercial agriculture in the south-east and east uyezds of the region and the standstill in the agricultural techniques of the west and north-west regions of Tatar settlements.

The other important reason for the variety of elements and the phenomena of a people's agriculture was the local features of the environment of the Urals and Volga Region. As a result of the intensive migrations of the last few centuries, peasants found themselves in new physical and geographical conditions that were noticeably different from their previous experience. Their agricultural skills and traditions adapted to the environment or underwent significant changes. The system of agriculture and entire range of cultivated crops were changing, traditional ploughs and methods of crop processing were being replaced by others that were more appropriate for the new soil and climate conditions. In this way the regional features of Tatar agriculture formed

over time. The differences between the agricultural and farming techniques in the forest and steppe areas of the Volga and Urals were especially noticeable; the forest area featured a great deal of contact between forest and steppe agricultural traditions.

The role innovations played in Tatar agriculture was great, especially the influence of the agricultural economy of Russian peasants. Centuries-old cohabitation in the region and active economic and cultural contacts contributed to Tatar agriculture's adoption of new ploughs (one-sided sokha, kosulya) and also tools and facilities for crop processing (scythe-litovka, beater, drying-barns, threshing barns, and others). In their turn, the farmers of other nationalities adopted many rational elements of Tatar agriculture.

Regardless of all the similarities between the farming culture of the peoples of the Middle Volga Region and Urals, the practices of the Tatars preserved a number of unique features, including a preference for eincorn and lentils, wooden ploughs, threshing using horses, and the establishment of such sheave tying methods as *chumele* or *kibens*. The widespread implementation of these and other agriculture developments from the various territorial or ethnic subdivisions of people along with the historical facts testifies to the ancient farming traditions of the Volga Tatars.

Gardening and Vegetable Cultivation.

Horticulture and vegetable cultivation in the Tatar villages in the middle of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries was of secondary importance and intended, first and foremost, to meet the needs of individual peasant families. In some cases products were also grown to sell at markets. In general, gardening and vegetable cultivation among Tatar peasants, just like among other peoples of the Volga and Urals, did not fare very well [Istoriko-statisticheskij obzor, 1883, vol. 1, p. 7; Pashkevich, Ed. X, p. 206].

Thus, in the mid–19th century M. Laptev noted that the Tatars of the Kazan Guberniya did not like to cultivate vegetables [Laptev, 1861, p. 286]. Almost the same thing has also been said about the Tatars from Ufa and

Orenburg guberniyas [Voenno-statisticheskoe obozrenie, Vol.4, part 2, p. 53]. Another description of the late 19–beginning of the 20th centuries largely echoes this fact as well: '...It (potatos in the Kazan Guberniya—*N. Kh.*) is almost the only cultivated garden plant for the Tatars, except for onions, for which the most paltry sections were allotted' [Materialy' dlya sravnitel'noj, Ed. 6, p. 132]. The development of these industries were also greatly dependent on the economic solvency of land owners. Thus, A. Lipinsky stated that the Tatars '...especially wealthy individuals, were engaged in domestic cultivation with full vigour, and their vegetables are quite diverse' [Lipinsky, 1868, p. 423].

They grew vegetables in their household plots (*ındır, bakça*) and more rarely on their spring field. There were usually 2–3 different crops, but they were in far from all family farms of a specific settlement. Only in certain Tatar villages did vegetable cultivation grow to a significant size and occupy more than half of all farms, sometimes even servicing neighbouring markets. There was almost no vegetable cultivation in the Ural Uyezds. Here we can point out that only the Tatar-Nagaibaks of the Trans-Urals received all vegetables—carrots, beets, cabbage, radishes, onions—from their own gardens [Orenburgskij listok, 1878, No.45].

The most widespread cultivated vegetables were onions (*sugan*), cucumbers (*ky'yar*), and cabbage (*käbestä*). The latter was often canned (pickled, soured) for winter. Among other vegetables, mostly in the forest and forest-steppe areas, they cultivated carrots (*kişer*), red beets (*ky'zy'l chegender*), and less frequently white sugar beets (*ak chegender*), radish (*torma*), turnip (*gäränkä*), garlic (*sary'msak*). In the Cis and Transurals they also cultivated horseradish (*keren*). But in other districts this plant was considered a weed. The Molkeyev Kryashens in the Tsvil'sk Uyezd of the Kazan Guberniya cultivated hops (*kolmak*), which they used to brew beer; if necessary, wild hops were also used. In the Kransoufim'sk Uyezd in several villages of the Perm Guberniya beans could also be found (*kara borchak*). Occasionally they sowed poppies (*mek*).

Almost everywhere except for the northern and south-eastern regions of Tatar settlements they cultivated pumpkins (*kabak*). This gourd was often, with the exception of potatoes, the only vegetable garden plant grown.

Almost all Tatar villages of the forest and forest-steppe areas, and as much as possible in the fields but rarely in the vegetable garden, they cultivated radish (*shalkan*). This crop usually started off the crop rotation in plots from recently cleared forests (*y'shna zhire*). In the Osa Uyezd of the Perm Guberniya Tatars maintained their tradition of sowing this crop on accidental forest fire sites, which can be explained by radish's natural predilection to grow in the forest fallow. Only the wide spread of potatoes in the latter half of the 19th century pushed out the plating of radish.

Watermelons were cultivated in the steppe area (*karby'z*), as well as rockmelons (*kavy'n*), and in the southmost areas—the Nikolaev and Buzuluksk uyezds of the Samara Guberniya, and the Orenburg and Orsk Uyezds of the Orenburg Guberniya—'these crops replaced all other vegetables' [Debu, 1837, p. 172]. Melon cultivation was also often a source of income for the Tatar-Cossacks, and

Tatar ploughmen had their livelihood heavily connected to potatoes (*berenge*). Contemporaries noted that potatoes became the main source of nutrients for the impoverished population [Trudy', 1884, p. 151]. And since poor peasants made up a large part of the Tatar rural population, Tatar ploughmen in particular contributed to potato cultivation in the Volga Region [Materialy' dlya statistiki, Ed. IV, p. 19].

But even in the late 19–beginning of the 20th centuries the spread of potatoes did not cover the entire territory of the Tatar settlement in the region. It was mainly cultivated in the Oka-Sur interfluvium, and the Volga and West Trans-Kama Regions. In the uyezds to the North, East, and South of the first districts potatoes were cultivated on a small scale, where their area rarely exceeded 1–2 hundred square meters. For example, in the Orenburg Guberniya potatoes began to emerge in the latter half of the 19th century.

Fruit-farming was less widespread among Tatar peasants than vegetable cultivation. Fruit-farming has only been documented as occurring in the Kama Region [State Archive of Kirov Oblast, f. 957, inv. 1, item 38b, Table]. There were also gardens in the forest-steppe zone in somewhat larger sizes: in the Volga, West Trans-Kama Regions, and also in the Oka-Sur interfluvium. In certain cases, apples were offered for sale [Pashkevich, Ed. V, p. 164].

Based on the above, one can conclude that fruit-farming and vegetable cultivation, albeit on a small scale, existed amongst Tatar peasants.

Family farms and their beasts of burden.

Everything was interconnected on peasant family farms. The deficit and reduction of areas of grass acreage, pastures, and hayfields led to a lack of fodder for animal breeding. Land scarcity, cattle plague, the sale of livestock to pay taxes, cattle theft, and other reasons hindered the development of animal breeding [Sbornik statisticheskikh, Vol. 5, pp. 59, 60]. Fires and mass cattle mortality, which became almost a regular occurrence in a number of guberniyas, and other disasters turned yesterday's average peasant into a poorer version of himself, who was now facing deficits. One of the primary causes of the reduction in the number of livestock per capita were lean years with small harvests [Materialy' dlya izucheniya, 1880, pp. 100, 113]. The lack of fodder forced peasants to sell their cattle, sheep, and goats [Obshchij svod, 1896, pp. 473, 475]. During the post-reform period crop failures occurred every 6–7 years, and they often lasted as a rule for two years in a row, causing a high frequency of death by hunger among the population³². Af-



Tatar village. Nizhny Novgorod guberniya
Photo by M. Dmitriev. Late 19th century

ter each such year both time and money were needed to restore the number of livestock. In the latter quarter of the 19th –beginning of the 20th centuries weak farmsteads started to overcome crop failure consequences thanks only to territorial and governmental loans for food and seeds, and sometimes for horses.

The 1882 horse census data clearly demonstrate the supply of horses among former state serfs. The Tatars were ranked first (34.1% and 45.5%) in terms of the horseless and those possessing a single horse in the Kazan Guberniya. Thus, 79.6% of households were a part of the interlayer of 'low-incomers' (a territorial statistician term). Russians made up 54.6% of such households; Chuvash, 45.2%; and the Mari, 44.5%. The Tatars had twice less (15.1%) wealthy households (with 2 horses) than the populations of other nationalities. Wealthy peasants with 3 or more horses accounted for 5.3 of the 100 Tatar households, while Russian peasants had a figure of 12; Chuvash, 18; and the Mari, 22.1 [Obshchij svod, 1896, p. 480].

The situation for farmers from the underpopulated south-east guberniyas with fertile soil was relatively better. In 1900 in the Ufa

³² The worst crop failures occurred in 1872–1873 in Samara guberniya; in 1877, in Kazan guberniya; in

1880, in Samara and Simbirsk guberniyas; in 1883, in Kazan, Penza, and Simbirsk guberniyas; in 1885, in Penza guberniya; in 1891, in 30 guberniyas of European Russia; in 1892, 15; in 1897, 19; in 1898 12; in 1901, in 17 guberniyas, including guberniyas in the Volga-Ural Region [Mariskin, 2004, p. 75].

Guberniya 18% of the population were horseless, 38% of households had one horse, and 11% of estates had 4 or more draft horses. The supply of draft animals in the peasant homesteads of the Orenburg Guberniya was somehow better than in the Ufa Guberniya: 40% of all homesteads were horseless or had just one horse in 1891. Landowners had more horses than other peasant groups [Usmanov, 1981, pp. 263, 266, 286–292].

The rural Tatar population of the Volga-Kama Region sought to use their plots of land most productively. The supply of horses on homesteads had a tremendous influence on the level of land production. Horseless ploughmen cultivated their plots and sowed them later, hiring for that purpose pulling power for payment, and were deprived of fertilizers. They needed two horses for plowing their plots in many places, and in areas with wet and viscous ground Tatars, who had just one horse, might as well have been horseless [Yevtikheyev, 1890, p. 51].

The difficult economic and social situation of the Tatar ploughmen was often explained away by the authorities as 'the low level of interest Tatars have in agriculture.' In this respect, the results of household surveys in zemstvos are quite fascinating. In the late 1880s in the Malmyzh Uyezd of the Vyatka Governorate 44% of Tatar homesteads were horseless, but Tatars, who did not maintain domestic farmsteads among them, accounted for only 3.3% [Materialy' po statistike, Vol.1, pp. 22, 23]. In the Kazan Guberniya 95.5% of Tatar peasant farmsteads were engaged in agriculture, and 79.6% cultivated their entire allotment, despite the fact that 36.6% among them were horseless. Horseless ploughmen, although they hired beasts of burden, did not have the opportunity to cultivate their entire allotment. 'The low interest of Tatars in agriculture' was explained, first of all, by the lack of beasts of burden on farmsteads [Zagidullin, 1992, pp. 63–65].

Animal breeding. Another important branch of Tatar peasant agriculture, second in importance after agriculture, in the middle of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries was animal breeding (cattle breeding, in particular).

Domestic animals were both a source of food (meat, milk, bird egg) and raw material for different crafts (skins, wool, feather, leather, bone). Horses were the main beasts of burden for ploughs and transport and also served in other respects on Tatar farmsteads. Livestock products, just like the animals themselves, had significant market value. Livestock breeding, especially in the forest and forest-steppe areas of the region, was a source of manure and an important method for the support of soil fertility. These and other reasons explain the value behind animal breeding on peasant farmsteads.

The composition of herds was typical for settled animal breeders, and cattle, sheep, goats and horses occupied their own important places in them in the Volga and Kama Regions. The number of horses and sheep in the south-east areas of the region was increased slightly. In some cases the Tatars had camels in the southern uyezds of Samara and Orenburg guberniyas.

Animal breeding among the Volga Tatars was in a satisfactory condition until the mid-19th century, inclusive. But during the latter half of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries animal farming for the majority of Volga Tatars was an occupation of great changes, most of which were for the worse (reduction of livestock and so on). The reasons for this situation varied in nature. First, it was the result of the meagre feed base for animal breeding. S. Palitsyn wrote about the Tatars of the Laishevo Uyezd of the Kazan Guberniya that the lack of cattle in this region was due mainly to a lack of food [Palitsyn, 1890, p. 56]. This situation, however, was the same for peasant households of all nationalities. Thus, given that the supply standard of meadows and pastures in relation to arable land was 1:2, in the Kazan Guberniya at the end of the 19th century this ratio was 17.6 dessiatins to 100 dessiatins of arable land, and in certain uyezds even less [Popov, 1898, p. 9]. The Tatars worked on hayfields and pastures that were worse than what was allotted to other peasants [Materialy' dlya sravnitel'noj, Ed. 6, p. 133; Ed. 7, pp. 175–176]. In the Menzelinsk Uyezd of the Ufa guberniya at the end of the 19th century up to 40% of peasant com-

munities produced almost no hay [Biryukovich, 1903, p. 9].

Most land-poor Tatar rural communities in the western and central areas of the region grazed their cattle during summer on unfavourable, rough lands with stubble and so on [Materialy' dlya sravnitel'noj, Ed. 1, p. 38]. In winter the cattle had to be satisfied mainly with straw, but even then it was not always enough because in the circumstances of a wood shortage in peasant huts straw was used as a heating material: in the Sviyazhsk Uyezd of the Kazan guberniya, for example, they used straw for heating in 49.1% of peasant communities; in Mamadysh, 60.1%; in Kazan, 64.1%; and in Tetyushi, 91.5% of communities [Popov, 1898, pp. 11, 12]. It was the meagre feed base that had a negative impact on livestock numbers and its overall quality. Moreover, the impoverished finances of the majority of Tatar peasant farmsteads did not allow them to rent pastures or purchase hay and coarse grains, which led to animal breeding being in a worse condition than among peasants of other nationalities. A direct correlation between feed availability and livestock numbers in the Malmyzh Uyezd could also be clearly traced in the national aspect: each Tatar farmstead had 1.1 dessiatins of hayfields; and Russians, 1.8 dessiatins; Udmurts and Mari people, 2.5 dessiatins. As a result, the first farmsteads had 1.9 heads of livestock (in terms of cattle); the Russians and Mari, more than 3 heads of livestock; and Udmurts, 6.1 heads [Materialy' po statistike, Vol. 1, p. 96].

The shortage of food during the winter period along with the need to pay taxes and debts caused an event characteristic for Tatar villages known as the mass autumn livestock sale, where first and foremost it was working animals that were bought again in spring [Biryukovich, 1903, p. 14; Steinfeld, 1893, pp. 297–298]. This same reason—the shortage of food—also caused another phenomenon typical for the Tatars of neighbouring Kazan villages—that is, labour in cities during the winter as draymen—'barabuses'—solely for the purpose to feed their horses [Vorobyev, 1953, pp. 63–64].

Apart from this, the development of capitalism in post-reform Russia was followed by the disintegration of natural consumer cattle breeding, the formation of specialisations in certain areas, and the development of elements, branches, and later also entire districts of commercial cattle-breeding [Smykov, 1978, p. 100]. Thus, in the Perm Guberniya the livestock of sheep grew rapidly, which was determined by the development of the local wool industry. The wealthy Tatars of the Kasimov Uyezd had many cattle, but commercial animal breeding was most considerably developed in the south-eastern regions of the territory as well as in the south of Samara and Orenburg guberniyas. One of the main reasons for this was the markedly better supply of pastures and hayfields [Voenno-statisticheskoe obozrenie, Vol. XIV, part 2, p. 57].

The main method of livestock breeding among Tatar ploughmen in the western and central guberniyas and also in many uyezds of the Urals was grazing-stall: from spring to autumn cattle grazed under the control of the shepherds, and for winter it was kept in the barns. In Perm and Ufa guberniyas as well as in several villages of the Kama Region a version of free summer cattle pasturing can also be found. In the southern foothills of the Urals and Trans-Urals they practiced the grazing-stall method of livestock breeding with elements of semi-nomadic livestock breeding and in some cases also utilised a year-round pasture type of grazing on pasture feed.

The stall type of grazing in winter practiced by the Tatars differed significantly depending on the various environmental zones they lived in. In the forest and forest-steppe areas animals wintered in enclosed spaces: horses were kept in log, wicker, stone, and other types of stables (*aran*); cows, sheep, and goats, in pens made from poles and wicker fence (*abzar*). Goats and sheep were also often held surrounded by a fence under a tent (*lapas, kalda*). The lack of construction timber and its need among the population caused animal accommodation, including cattle, to be mostly provided in dugout shelters. Often during cold winters poor peasants fed cows with their calves, matrons and

their young stock inside, and during times of the most bitter colds even their entire livestock could be fed and kept in the house. In the uyezds of the steppe zone livestock was typically penned up in the yard without any shelter, and less commonly, in wicker or adobe pens.

The main winter forage for cattle in most Tatar villages was straw. Before field work and long routes hay and, as far as possible, oats were given as feed to horses [Popov, 1893, pp. 5–6; 1898, pp. 31–35, 61].

The lack of food, extremely poor conditions, and an overwhelming workload often caused diseases and cattle plagues. To a large extent this was also caused by the lack of quality watering holes. Other serious consequences for peasant animal breeding were epizootic outbreaks, which most frequently occurred in the eastern guberniyas of the region. The lack of quality veterinary help also stimulated the development of popular ways and methods for the treatment of livestock. Horse doctors, mainly Russian peasants, travelled around the villages of the region. But this type of work developed among the Tatars of the Alatyr and Kurmysh Uyezds of the Simbirsk Guberniya as well, and entire villages became involved in it [Mukhametshin, 1977].

The strip settlement of peoples and close economic contacts led to Tatar livestock breeds having hardly any difference from the peasant livestock of the region as a whole. Domestic animals were united by a single quality that was reflected in the statistical descriptions of the mid-20th century: horses and livestock were of a simple breed [Spisok naselenny'kh mest, XXXI, p. CCCXVIII]. Little or no reproductive work was ever undertaken. The scarcity of food and bad conditions all but destroyed any possible breeding activities [State Archive of Kirov Oblast, f. 869, inv. 1, item 39, s. 56].

The horses (*at*, *alasha*) of Tatars, especially in the western and central guberniyas, were mainly of the forest type [Petrenko, 1984]. In the 19th century their small stature and weak power set them apart from other breeds [Gulyaev, 1876, p. 21]. In the south-east of the region, particularly in the Orenburg Guberniya, Mongol or Asian horse breeds dominated

in Tatar herds (known in European Russia as Bashkir, Kyrghyz, or Kalmyk) [Raspopov, 1884, p. 82].

In general, the lack of food, overwhelming workloads from an early age, premature transition from milk to fodder, and other reasons had a negative impact on the quality of Tatar horses. I. Popov described horses he observed in the Kazan Guberniya in the following way: 'Local horse could barely plough a half or three-fourths or a dessiatin per day even in light soils, and the breaking of virgin sod is out of the question: horses would just stop, breathing heavily, and shake their heads. And no urging on or even whipping could get them to do anything more [Popov, 1894, p. 3].

There were few breeds of cattle on Tatar farmsteads (*sy'er*, *ugez*). Thus, Russian and Ukrainian milk breeds dominated in the western and central parts of the region. Kalmyk or Kyrghyz cattle breeds raised for meat were prevalent in the south-east, in the steppe zone [Popov, 1891, pp. 16–60; 1909, p. 45; Sabaneyev, 1873, p. 102; Smykov, 1984, p. 180].

Tatar peasants of the southern uyezds of Samara and Orenburg guberniyas used as part of their farmsteads bulls and oxen (*ugez*), and also camels (*doya*). However, there were not many of the latter. Camel's milk, the same as horse milk, was used to make kumis, and the wool was used to produce blankets and broadcloth-armyachins.

The Tatars mainly bred sheep (*sarik* of the so-called 'Russian' village breed, which were unique in their small body weight and sparse wool coats, which were also a result of bad feeding conditions. Tatar peasants of the Penza Guberniya bred finely-fibred sheep of the 'Silesian breed.' Along with Russian sheep they bred Horde and Bashkir fat-tailed sheep in the Saratov and, particularly, in the southern uyezds of Samara and Orenburg guberniyas. The Tatars differed in their penchant for lamb, which is why sheep livestock on Tatar farmsteads were always larger in number compared to other peoples of the region [Vorobyev, 1953, p. 73].

Goats (*kezhe*) were also typically of the 'Russian' breed. Orenburg Cossacks, where the manufacture of head scarves was devel-

oped, along with typical goats also bred goats for wool in small numbers. Poor peasants of all peoples of the region replaced their cows with them as they did not have the opportunity to breed the latter ('goats are the cows of the poor'). But there were goats on wealthy farmsteads as well since goat milk (not without good reason) was considered to be healthy, especially for children [Vorobyev, 1953, p. 95].

Almost every Tatar household had chickens, and less frequently, geese, ducks, and turkeys. Contemporaries pointed directly to the special Tatar commitment to poultry breeding [Lindgren, p. 11].

Non-agricultural activities. In the late 19–beginning of the 20th centuries such agricultural branches as beekeeping, hunting, and fishing already played an almost insignificant role on traditional peasant farmsteads, although they were also preserved in many Tatar villages.

The maximum spread of *beekeeping* among the Tatars in the period under review was in Ufa and Kazan guberniyas. By the beginning of the 20th century these guberniyas occupied second and third place, respectively, in European Russia in terms of the numbers of beehives and apiaries [Khabachev, 1911, p. 12]. Thus, at the end of the 19th century in the Ufa Guberniya 78% of villages were involved in beekeeping, and in the Menzelinsk Uyezd, where Tatars made up the significant part of the population, the figure was 85% [Obzor Ufimskoj, Ed. I, pp. 31–34]. Beekeeping was also widespread among Tatars, in the Osa and Kungur Uyezds of the Perm Guberniya, and in the West regions of settlement of the Tatars [Sbornik statisticheskix, vol. 7; Sbornik statisticheskix, Vol. 7, Ed. 1, pp. 202–289].

In some very rare cases beekeeping was done on a commercial scale with apiaries that became quite large (up to 500 beehives) [Khabachev, p. 12].

Fishing among the Tatars of the Volga Region existed in multiple industrial forms and types that utilised different tools and methods.

Amateur fishing was practiced in the many Tatar villages of the region where there were suitable water reservoirs. And it only existed on a noticeable scale in just the eastern part of

the region, in the numerous rivers of the Ural Region and lakes of the Transurals. Fishing in the Urals and its inflows—the Ilek, Sakmara, and others—held an important significance for Orenburg Cossacks-Tatars, albeit it was much smaller in terms of volume than among the Ural Cossacks. On the Ilek River the annual catch reached a thousand poods, mainly sturgeon and ship sturgeon, and was purchased by non-local merchants. Fishing in the basin of the Ural River was often done on an industrial scale. Unlike the Ural Cossacks, fishing in the possession of the Orenburg stanichniks was free and unregulated [Issledovaniya o sostoyanii, pp. 88, 93].

Hunting in the middle of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries was still practiced in many Tatar villages of the region. There was a relatively large number of Tatar hunters in the Cis and Transurals [Materialy' dlya, Ed. IV, pp. 18, 19]. At that time the main targets were bear (*ayu*), elk (*poshi*), reindeer (*ky'r kezhes*), wolf (*bure*), fox (*tolke*), hare (*kuyan*), marten (*susar*), ferret (*kozen*), badger (*bursy'k*), squirrel (*tien*), wild goose (*ky'r kazy'*), wild duck (*ky'r urdege*), grouse (*kortlek*), wood grouse (*suer*), quail (*bedzhe*), and other animals and birds.

During this period in the Cisurals ancient methods of hunting, such as falconry and [Akhmarov, 1903, p. 63] bear hunting with spears, still remained (*senek*).

Firearms began to appear among Tatar hunters only in the late 19th century. However, they used them more often than, say, Mari hunters, who at that time still mainly used the bow and arrow [Kryukova, 1956, p. 34]; by the end of the century Tatars had almost completely stopped using the latter.

The Tatar peasant economy of the Volga-Ural Region in the mid-19–beginning of the 20th centuries was a combination of interrelated branches, the basis of which was farming. There were also different types of trade and crafts that were part of the economy. Animal breeding was important, although not a primary occupation, and gardening, vegetable cultivation, beekeeping, hunting, and fishing were less developed.



Tatar peasants at the bazaar. Photo from the early 20th century.

Starting in the middle of the 19th century a number of important socio-economic changes began taking place in Tatar villages. Income inequality and the social polarisation of Tatar villages became increasingly pronounced. Its small wealthy half became a part of the system of trade and commercial and agricultural entrepreneurship in a more intensive way, concentrating on their farmsteads those few tools and machines, improved methods of agricultural technology, and commercial field crops that were widespread in pre-revolutionary Tatar villages. Capitalist relations developed especially actively in the agricultural sector of the south-eastern and eastern uyezds of the region, which can be observed in the growth of marketable grain production and the intensification of animal breeding in the households of wealthy peasants and Tatar-Cossacks. The other (larger) part of the Tatar village population was made up of land-poor and landless, horseless, impoverished, and bankrupt peasants. In the central and western guberniyas of the region the extremely poor condition of agriculture, which was the basis of a peasant's existence, worsened the 'crisis of the three-field system.' This is why the workforce of a significant portion of the poorest peasants relied not so much on farming per se but on routine agricultural work

and non-agricultural types of crafts and handicrafts. Medium-income peasants, who strove to preserve a customary farming economy at all costs, also with just the slightest possibility practiced various additional sources of income on the side.

In the middle of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries plough farming was prevalent in the economy of the Volga and Ural Tatars. In the western and central guberniyas of the region this was based on the farrow three-field system of agriculture cor-

responding to a typical group of field crops, whereas winter rye made up about half of all crops. Sokha and wooden harrow dominated among tillage tools.

Animal breeding for Tatars, although it indeed played a subordinate role in comparison to farming, held a great significance for them as a source of food, raw materials for handicraft industries, beasts of burden, and suppliers of fertilizer. Everywhere in the herd, in accordance with the pasture-and-stable type of animal breeding, cattle, sheep, goats, and horses dominated. At the same time, in the large south-east regions of the steppe cattle-breeding preserved semi-nomadic features among wealthy peasants and Cossacks, in particular, herds of horses and sheep continued to graze in the winter. Fruit-farming among the Tatars was localised mainly in the Volga Region, vegetable cultivation was prevalent in the central uyezds of the region, and the south-east districts were specialised in melon cultivation. Beekeeping was also practiced in the Cisurals in the form of apiculture. Hunting and fishing were preserved in the region wherever there were suitable conditions.

In the middle of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries changes took place on Tatar peasant farmsteads. Archaic agricultural tools

and equipment were gradually replaced by steel plough, croppers, threshers, and marketable grains became more readily available, especially in the south-east regions, which is indicative of the development of capitalism in agriculture. The deepening of socio-economic divides in villages, the development of entrepreneurial competencies among the rural bourgeoisie, the growth of the all-Russian market,

and other reasons—all edged out traditional domestic crafts with the handicraft industry and manufacturing, and in some cases even with a factory.

During the period under review and despite extremely difficult economic conditions, the Tatar peasant economy slowly but steadily progressed, which was characteristic for post-reform Russia in general.

§ 3. Seasonal work

Nail Khalikov

The most widespread—quantitatively and territorially—form of Tatar peasant allotments was seasonal work. It came in different forms, including an agrarian departure for summer field work (harvesting, hay mowing) in the south-east regions of European Russia to the areas where crops were grown; to the neighbouring landlords' households; the non-agricultural movement to cities of unskilled labourers, such as loaders, bath attendants, etc., or stevedores and cart drivers, or to the fishing waters of Astrakhan and timber harvesting industry of the Urals and Siberia. P. Znamensky noted: 'Because of the decline of arable farming in Tatar villages, thousands of rural dwellers travel to nearby villages in the Volga Region for seasonal work. Poor Tatars in Kazan cleaned streets and worked as porters on quays, watchmen, day labourers, and watermen...' [Znamensky, 1910, p. 16]. It was considered a short-term departure, when a peasant did not break ties with his plot and farming and went to work mainly from autumn till spring, when they were free from traditional agricultural work. The exact number engaged in seasonal work depended on the condition of the harvest [E'konomicheskie zapiski, 1861, No. 40, pp. 319]. But it was not just bad harvests that had an influence on the growth of crafts: in 1896 in the Vyatka Governorate the prices for agricultural products dropped because of the good harvest, which caused a noticeable revival in crafts [Kalendar'... na 1898 god, p. 17].

The correlation between land supply and the portion of the population engaged in activities other than agricultural crafts can be seen in the case of the peasants of the Bugulma Uyezd of the Samara Guberniya. In volosts with large land lots (19 dessiatins per capita of males in the Nizhnye Chershily Volost; 30,4 dessiatins in the Ivanovo Volost) 3.2–21.5% of Tatar households resorted to seeking additional income sources, and in land-poor communities (5.4 dessiatins in the Kuzaykino Volost, 6.8 dessiatins in the Alkeyevo Volost) more than half of all households were involved in commercial activities [Sbornik statisticheskix, Vol. 5, p. 31]. Often the scale of withdrawal from the agricultural economy was of a considerable size: for example, in the Novo-Kakerlinsk Volost of the Buinsk Uyezd of the Simbirsk Guberniya, which had a majority Tatar population, up to 80% of families practiced handicrafts at the beginning of the 20th century [Podvornaya perepis', Ed. 4, Table 1].

According to the number of seasonal workers, long-term seasonal work prevailed: In the Yelabuga Uyezd in the Vyatka Governorate in 1894, where a particularly large group of Tatars resided, for example, 10.9% received year-long passports, half-year passports were obtained by 27.8%, and one-month tickets, 59% [Golubev, 1896, pp. 50, 54]. It can also be noted that the largest number of tickets were obtained during summer time [Sbornik statisticheskix, Vol. 5, pp. 86, 87].



Tatar loaders in the Kazan river port. Photo from the late 19–beginning of the 20th century.

The main districts of short-term departures were areas where work force supply for various reasons exceeded demand: Penza, Simbirsk, Ufa guberniyas, and the uyezds of the nearest guberniyas. Departures from here were often large in scale: in the mid-19th century it was noted that temporary recruitment for reaping and harvesting in landlord economies was quite well developed among Tatars of the Buinsk, Korsun, and Alatyr Uyezds of the Simbirsk Guberniya [Lipinsky, 1868, p. 381]. In the Samara Guberniya 70% of men left to harvest from the village of Balykly of the Buguruslan Uyezd, and the entire labour population departed from the village of Karkali of the Bugulma Uyezd (late 19–beginning of the 20th centuries). They went to harvest to mow hay in the south districts of the regions: for example, they travelled from the Bugulma Uyezd to the Bugurslan, Buzuluk, Samara Uyezds of the Samara Guberniya, and to the Orenburg Uyezd [Sbornik statisticheskix, Vol. 5, pp. 103].

A significant number of peasants during winter were recruited, especially in the forest volosts and uyezds of the Oka-Sura interfluvium, Pre-Kama, Urals and Middle Urals Regions, to practice tree cutting and timber rafting. Local beys who purchased forest plots often were

the ones to establish industries on their land. Peasants in the Perm Cisural were contracted to cut and drive lumber in factory dachas. The Tatars of the Kuznetsk Uyezd of the Saratov Guberniya during winter chopped and hauled timber for lumbermen and in summer drove up to 200 rafts ('ends') of 300–500 logs each along the Kadada and Sura Rivers [Chekalin, 1876, p. 24].

The Tatars also worked in the surrounding factories and plants where local industry existed: from the villages near Kazan to the factories of Alafuzov in Kazan, in the Kungur Uyezd of the Perm Guberniya at the Ivanovo and Pozhapovo plants, in the Simbirsk Uyezd of the Simbirsk Guberniya, at the cloth factory in Ishevo, in the Kuznetsk Uyezd, at the distillery, and so on. K. Fuchs as early as in the middle of the 19th century noticed precisely that '...if near their (Tatar *N. Kh.*) villages there are distilleries or potash factories, then the Tatars are always in action; they contract to chop wood and gather ovin and stove cinder' [Fuchs, 1840, p. 28]. Peasants were hired for factory work usually for the period from September to March.

Another type of seasonal work was the quite long non-agricultural departure to the factories and mines of the Urals, Donbass, oil fields of

Baku, and major cities such as Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Kiev, Tashkent, and others. This type of departure, which lasted a year or longer, in fact meant the withdrawal of a peasant from the agricultural economy and their transition into the ranks of the proletariat (although usually peasants did not legally break ties with their estate when leasing out their plot or paying imposed taxes and payments). N. Steinfeld stated that the Tatars from Kazan and Vyatka guberniyas moved to the cities of Orenburg guberniya, where they engaged in trade and worked as carpenters and unskilled labourers, etc., and were almost entirely uninvolved in farming [Steinfeld, 1893, p. 295, notes.I]. Many peasants of the Yelatma Uyezd of the Tambov Guberniya made secondary income, mainly as workers and prikazchiks, and often without returning home for six or more years. Several hundred people went to the south from there, to the Black Sea, and dozens to Saint Petersburg, Moscow, Orenburg, Bukhara, to the Kuban, Caucasus, and Siberia [Sbornik statisticheskix, Vol. 7, p. 94]. Seasonal work was especially developed among the Tatars of the Kasimov Uyezd, where 40% of the male population went to work, while 80.5% of them worked in the service sector as servants, lackeys, bartenders, waiters, and so on [Sbornik statisticheskix, Ed. of Russia, p. 496].

The number of seasonal workers in the period under consideration was not constant. Thus, the number of peasant passports and leave tickets increased 1.7–2 times in the Yelabuga and Malmyzh Uyezds of the Vyatka Guberniya from 1875 to 1894 [Golubev, 1896, pp. 50, 54]. In the first post-reform decade in Kazan there were around 152,6 thousand seasonal workers, and from 1891–1900, 1,478.1 thousand were registered [Smykov, 1962, p. 214], while their number, including people without passports, was in fact much larger.

One specific type of seasonal work in the Volga and Ural Regions, considering the large volume of freight transport that maintained the local market and transit trade, was the cart service. It was written about Kazan guberniya that '...many people were engaged in the cart service; Tatars accounted for half of all

cart drivers (mainly draymen) and coachmen' [Znamensky, 1910, p. 16].

Many Tatars worked as burlaks and loaders. One contemporary wrote about the Tatars: '...they could be seen at many wharves as rowers—ferryman, loaders, and stevedores, and at the same time they were the best workers in terms of what they were tasked with' [Tarapyggin, pp. 163–164]. In the early 20th century the total number of loaders in the Volga-Kama basin was 30–50 thousand [Rodin, 1975, p. 184; Shubin, 1927, p. 792], while it was more or less the majority of Tatars in Kazan and a portion in Nizhny and other cities.

Yet another widely spread type of Tatar short-term seasonal work was the industrial departure of peasant craftsmen. Tailors, wool-makers, furriers, sheepskin coat makers, jewellers from the Kazan Guberniya and fewer from Simbirsk, Penza, and Tambov guberniyas travelled to the Urals and Cisural Region, up to Shadrinsk uyezd of the Perm Guberniya, inclusive. Another option for short-term seasonal work that was common among Tatars all across the region, but typically within a single province, was carpentry. There were horse doctors among the Tatars who travelled all over Russia practicing their trade. In certain cases craft output acquired significant volumes: in the village of Lomaty of the Ardatov Uyezd at the beginning of the 20th century, 438 out of 1,122 men were engaged in this type of work [Podvornaya perepis', Ed. 3, Table 1].

The scale of departure among peasants for crafts depended on the degree of how developed the local craft industries were. Contemporaries noted that seasonal work was pursued as a result of the poor condition (because the lack of raw material, competition, and so on) of local domestic handicrafts. It is this reason why the most significant departure was from the Oka-Sura interfluvium, Volga, and Eastern Trans-Kama regions. Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century in the Menzelinsk Uyezd of the Ufa Guberniya, as a result of the insufficiency of raw material for local crafts (the forests had all been felled) and the unsatisfactory state of farming, including among the Tatars, the main source of income came from

non-agricultural industries [Mironova, 1907, pp. 72–73]. Vice versa, relatively few peasants left for work from the Kama Region, where local handicrafts were rather well-developed [Statisticheskij vremennik, Vol. 2, Ed. 3]. It is revealing that the peasants from the village of Memdel of the Kazan Uyezd, for example, who were in general wealthy and practiced numerous crafts, not only did not go to work but in the opposite manner attracted residents from surrounding villages to work there as well. Poor peasants were mainly involved in hunting.

Thus, agricultural departures prevailed among Tatar uyezds and guberniyas, especially at the turn of the 19–20th centuries to work on the harvest, hay mowing, and threshing for landlord economies and in steppe regions; as concerns non-agricultural pursuits, Tatars travelled to the plants and factories, mines and trade areas, timber harvesting and driving industries, and to the rivers, railways, and cities. Tatar peasants were also actively employed

practicing the cart service. Handicrafts were unpopular, but the common types included wood, leather and sheepskin processing, tailoring, carpentry, jewellery, locksmithing, etc. However, a concentration of manufacturing activities can be observed in certain districts, such as gold-embroidery and making ichigs near Kazan, felt and fur and furriery, and tailoring in Trans-Kazan; furriery in the Kasimov Uyezd of the Ryazan Guberniya, downy shawl weaving in the Orenburg and Orsk Uyezds of the Orenburg Guberniya, and so on.

The ethnic differences among the peoples were vivid: the Tatars of the Middle Volga and Kama Regions preferred handicraft production; and the Tatars of the Oka-Sura interfluvium gravitated towards seasonal, including long-term, craft work. Generally, among the Volga Tatars who were in a worse economic state (in terms of land and livestock supply), the scale of seasonal work development took the lead over other peoples of the Volga and Urals.

§ 4. Handcrafting

Nail Khalikov

In a socio-economic context, handicrafts were a broader concept that meant the achievement, the 'finding' of some financial, food, or other personal, economic gain. In the remote past such traditional activities as hunting, fishing, honey-hunting, gathering, and other pursuits could be considered as crafts. In the 19th century for peasants this could mainly be seen in 'trading' for commercial benefits and monetary funds. Contemporaries noted that a peasant in a Tatar aul who did not trade was the exception [Trudy', 1884, p. 145]. While peasant crafts, seasonal agricultural and non-agricultural (workforce trade) work, and handicrafts were often a source of extra income, for the burghers and other town residents of tribute-paying classes crafts were often a source of providing for themselves.

During this period crafts and the art of making crafts existed mainly as a home pursuit more appropriate to natural production of the

feudal type or in the form of handicrafts in the capitalist formation era and market relations.

Home crafts involve the production of items in their own household with the help of family members, usually using their own material for personal usage and consumption. At the turn of the 19–20th centuries home crafts and items almost disappeared and were being forced out by cheap industrial manufacturing products. In some very rare cases home crafts were preserved, for example, weaving by the christened Tatars who continued to follow their old economic traditions for a long time.

Handcrafting meant the manufacture of smaller batches of goods within one's own household at all stages of the production cycle. Home-made or, more often, purchased raw materials were used as the base, and the goods were sold at local markets or made to order. The handicraft industry was seasonal: crafting in the winter was usually combined with ag-

ricultural work on one's allotment in the summer.

In the middle-latter half of the 19th century, and in some cases in the 18th century as well, handicrafts of the Kama and Middle Volga Regions (Trans-Kazan within the Kazan Guberniya and the southern uyezds of the Vyatka Guberniya) were characterised by a cooperative style of production that later evolved into manufacturing.



Production of ropes. Early 20th century.

Initially this took the form of dispersed manufacturing. People worked on certain details of final products on their farmsteads using their own inventory and equipment. Raw materials and parts were provided by contractor herdsmen, who also carried out payments and sold the produce. Examples of such handicrafts are the weaving of hessian fabric and sacks, construction of carriages, making ichigs, and certain other types of manufacturing as well. Centralised manufacturing meant that work was done in specialised facilities with equipment provided by the owner. This could be seen in the textile and fur production sites of the Kama and Volga Regions. The workers were hired employees rather than individual craftsmen who worked

10–12 hours a day and more. Craftsmen often worked in izbas or in poorly-adapted spaces, and in unsanitary conditions. Payment was low; and women and children, who were often involved, received even less.

Handicraft production sites could be either local and seasonal. In the first case the site (space, often residential, equipment, etc.) was located in the same village or sloboda. Craftsmen supplied their neighbours and the nearest area by selling their products at local markets. Examples of local production were hessian and sack weaving, fur and leather processing, woodworking, carriage building, and many other types. Woolmakers, dyers, jewellers,

and tailors went to seasonal production sites that were often far away in the Lower Volga and Ural Regions, Siberia, and Central Asia. There were many Christian Tatars among the tailors.

Regional and sub-ethnic differences could be clearly observed in manufacturing. Local handicraft production sites of all types were especially advanced among the Tatars of the Volga-Kama Region. The highest concentration of Tatars fell on the Kama Region uyezds of the Kazan Guberniya and the southern uyezds of the Vyatka Guberniya. Such phenomena as the high density of the Tatar population and the shortage of land for peasants were the defining aspects of these regions. Tatars of the Oka-Sura interfluvium preferred seasonal production sites that did not have anything to do with handicrafting. Crafts were less developed in the Southern Ural, eastwards of the Volga and Kama. This was caused by partial loss of time-honoured crafting traditions during migrations as well as by the lack of raw materials. Local peasants often practiced side work as well: they harvested for their well-off countrymen, drove horse-drawn carts, dug for gold, worked in mines, etc. Tatar-Cossacks, who owned large areas of land and the peasants of the southern uyezds of the Orenburg Guberniya, almost never engaged in handicrafting; their farms were based more on entrepreneurial agriculture. The majority of necessary work



Embroideress in Gold.
Photo from the beginning of the 20th century.

here was completed by Tatar craftsmen that came from Kazan and Vyatka guberniyas.

Handicrafts differed in the types of raw materials used. This included processing wood (wood chemistry, sack and hessin weaving, rope-making, carpentering, lathing, coopering, carriage building, and other crafts); livestock products (processing fur, leather, wool, making felt, etc.); metal (jewellery, processing copper, metalworking) and minerals (producing bricks, carving stone).

A lot of Christian Tatars were employed in forestry and the wood chemical industry or participated in wood processing. This correlated with the role of wood in agriculture and the rural everyday life of the time.

Charring and making resin, tar, turpentine, and potassium were quite well advanced everywhere except the unforested steppe uyezds of Astrakhan, Orenburg, and Samara guberniyas. In the Kazan Guberniya in the 1880s there were 300 resinous wood distilleries that belonged to Russians and Tatars. Charcoal,

which was essential to the numerous Ural metallurgical plants, was charred in especially large quantities by the Tatars and Bashkirs of the eastern uyezds of the region. But by the turn of the 20th century the wood chemical industry fell into decline due to competition with the increase of coal mining, oil extraction, etc. [Khalikov, 1998].

Large amounts of bark, cork, and bast fibre were stocked up. Oak bark was used to process budge and leather; cork was used for roofing; ropes were made out of bast fibre; and inner bark was used for weaving sacks and bast shoes.

The production of hassian fabric and sacks was especially typical among Kazan Guberniya peasants. At the end of the 19th century in the Kazan Uyezd there were 1,500 such craftsmen in volosts with a predominantly Tatar population, and there were 1,600 craftsmen in the Tsarevokokshaysk Uyezd. In the middle of the century 200,000 sacks and hessins made almost entirely by Tatar craftsmen were delivered annually for sale from the Kazan Uyezd to its central city alone [Keppen, 1841, p. 38]. It is not a coincidence that these were referred to as 'Tatar crafted' goods in the Lower Volga Region.

These production sites were typically designed for handcrafting. However, in the Kama Region and in the uyezds of Kazan and Vyatka guberniyas production adopted a cooperative nature and transformed into dispersed manufacturing by the middle of the 19th century. Craftsmen found themselves in complete, almost slave-like dependence on intermediary buyers: they delivered the products directly to them and received raw materials from them as well. They were basically becoming hired workers with personal allotments.

Tatar craftsmen of the Kazan Guberniya practically monopolised all rope production (from lime tree bast). The manufacturing centre was located in the Kazan and Mamadysh Uyezds, but at the end of the 19th century production fell due to competition with more durable hemp rope manufacturing.

A significant portion of village craftsmanship was made up of weaving the most popular shoes of the time—bast shoes. Bast shoes were made in almost every peasant home, while

in the Kazan and Tsarevokokshaysk Uyezds of the Kazan Guberniya and in the Belebey Uyezd of the Ufa Guberniya bast shoes were made for sale as well. Easy to make, cheap and comfortable 'Tatar'³³ bast shoes were very popular in Ural factories and mines, at the fisheries of the Caspian Sea, etc. Weaving baskets of different sizes, furniture, and housekeeping objects from bast, willow rods, and bird-cherry twigs was well-developed in the region. Several thousand people of the Kazan Guberniya, including Tatars, were engaged in the weaving process [Melkaya promyshlennost', 1911, pp. 37–38; Khalikov, 1998].

Professional carpenters, especially Kazan Tatars, were well-known and respected among the peoples of the area. One contemporary noted: '...I often saw Tatar men building houses in Russian villages' [Fuchs, 1844, p. 9]. They were also the people responsible for building izbas in the Tobolsk Guberniya in Siberia. Tatar carpenters from the Kazan Guberniya played a major role in producing textile equipment, including spindles, shuttles, and reeds; they also delivered equipment for the entire population of the area [Vorobyev, 1953, pp. 129–130]. They also built simple furniture, doors, window frames, shovels, and other items. For example, up to a thousand 'Kirghiz doors' for yurts were produced annually in certain Christian Tatar villages of the Mamadysh Uyezd [Mukhametshin, 1977, p. 53]. Lathing production of dishware was well-developed in the Chistopolsk and Tsivilsk Uyezds, and especially in the Mamadysh Uyezd of the Kazan Guberniya, where the '...foreign population, primarily Tatars, was engaged in manufacturing cups' [Kosolapov, 1905, p. 35].

One of the most well-developed crafts in the area was carriage building. The demand

for carts and sleighs first came about in the 18th century for use on roads from Siberia to European Russia. Up to a thousand households of craftsmen, both Tatars and Russians, were found in the Kazan, Mamadysh, and Laishev Uyezds at the end of the 19th century [Ponomarev, 1895, p. 25]. Production was characterised by cooperation and dispersed manufacturing: some craftsmen manufactured the bodies, and others made the wheel-pairs for carts and tarantasses, the skids for sleighs, or shaft bows for harnesses. In the villages of Verkhny and Nizhny Temerlik of the Laishev Uyezd alone there were up to 120,000 shaft bows built annually.

Tatar craftsmen were almost entirely uninvolved in the production of agricultural equipment. The widespread fur processing production sites played a significant role in the handicraft industry. Wool and felt production, predominantly at seasonal sites, were popular among craftsmen all throughout the Volga-Ural Region, including in the Simbirsk Guberniya, in the Menzelinsk Uyezd of the Ufa Guberniya, and in the Shadrinsk Uyezd of the Perm Guberniya. In the Tobolsk Guberniya it was mostly Tatar settlers from the Middle Volga Region who were engaged in this trade. There were centres of concentrated production, such as the village of Shatrashany of the Buinsk Uyezd in the Simbirsk Guberniya, where felt hats and felt 'boots' (valenki) had been being produced since the middle of the 19th century. Trade was especially advanced in the Kazan Guberniya. At the end of the century there were around 250 households of Tatar woolmakers in the Kazan Uyezd and about 600 such households in the Mamadysh Uyezd. In the Malmyzh Uyezd of the Vyatka Guberniya there were such notable places as the Koshkino, Sardykbash, and Sizner Volosts, where 400 people worked in the manufacture of valenki [State Archives of Kirov Oblast, f. 1280, s. 133; Tekushhaya statistika, 1898, pp. 351, 371–373]. During this time in the villages of the Mamadysh and Malmyzh Uyezds there were also large felt-making workhouses, which started as cooperatives and evolved into manufacturing sites and even factories with up

³³ They were known Tatar because they featured a right-angle weave (Russian or Mordvinic straw shoes were made using an angled weave, technically more complex). Another advantage was that 'Tatar' straw shoes were the same for both the right and left foot. This meant that when only one shoe was worn through, only it had to be replaced. With 'Russian' straw shoes, both the right and left foot had to be replaced at the same time.

to 60 employees [Ponomarev, 1895, p. 33]. Tatar craftsmen reached complete perfection in the production of valenki.

A variety of fabrics and textile goods (clothes, interior design items, etc.) were of the utmost importance in everyday life and housekeeping. That is why textile manufacturing among Tatars existed in multiple forms, especially in the middle to latter half of the 19th century, from home-made to manufactured at sites and factories. For example, one observer mentioned that the Tatars of the Saratov Guberniya 'weave red calico or simple cotton fabric at home for personal use...' [Beznosikov, p. 146]. However, by the tail end of the 19th century homespun fabric had almost disappeared completely, being forced out by cheap industrial produce. Domestic fabric weaving was practiced for a longer time only among the Christian Tatars, whose way of living preserved the traits of a subsistence economy.

The tailor trade was a widespread craft that existed predominantly as a seasonal form of labour. Tailors sewed sheepskin coats and other outer clothing in the villages of Vyatka, Ufa, and Orenburg guberniyas. Tatar tailors were everywhere in the uyezds and guberniyas of the Oka-Sura interfluvium, Volga Region, and Ural Region, but there was a particularly large concentration in the Kama uyezds of Kazan guberniya. In Kazan the Christian Tatars of the Mamadysh and Laishev Uyezds were especially active in the tailor trade.

Processing animal products and preparing raw materials for agriculture were indeed well-developed, as goods made of fur, leather, and wool were frequently used in everyday life for farming and manufacturing purposes.

Almost every village had furriers who supplied their neighbours by processing skins on demand or for local market sales, sometimes working for a secondary income on a seasonal basis. In the Kazan Guberniya alone in the 1880s there were around 2,000 craftsmen in this industry, both Tatar and Russian [Tekushhaya statistika, 1898, p. 373]. Another centre was in the Kasimov Uyezd of the Ryazan Guberniya, where karakul and merlushka lamb skins imported from Central Asia were processed.

Tatar craftsmen were widely regarded as one of the most prominent peoples in the leather processing industry. This craft was mainly practiced in the Trans-Kazan uyezds, and to a lesser extent in the Spassk and Chistopol uyezds of Kazan guberniya, as well as in Vyatka, Samara, and Simbirsk guberniyas. Artisans worked for the local markets and less often on demand or for intermediaries. They attained particular perfection in the production of high quality yuft and morocco, which were well-known far beyond the region as 'al-bulgari.'

Dyeing was also widespread among Tatars. Before the existence of aniline chemical dye and indigo, which appeared at the end of the 19th century, natural substances and their decoctions were used for dyeing purposes.

The production of sun-dried earth bricks for ovens and burnt bricks for house building was also rather developed as well.

In the history of the craft and trade activities of the Tatar people there were also other trades as well, mostly small and local, including mining chalk and stone in Ural uyezds and erecting stone buildings; collecting sphagnum moss, which was essential for calking seams on log houses; mining and selling salt in the Astrakhan and Orenburg guberniyas, and other pursuits.

Some crafts disappeared in the 16th century with the destruction of the urban culture of the people. Some examples of this are glassmaking and bone carving. Traditional stone architecture and crafts involving work with stone almost disappeared as well. They were preserved only in a few religious buildings, some residential houses in the Kazan, Kasimov, and Kasimov Uyezds, in the Tatar slobodas of other cities, and on lavishly ornamented tombstones.

In the Kazan Guberniya during the 70s the Tatars held second place after Russians in the number of their population practicing crafts. The majority of Tatars worked in sack and hessian weaving, leather-working, tailoring, and other forms of production. The Maris and Chuvashs outdid the Russians and Tatars only in terms of wood processing. Handicraft techniques and technology were similar among the

peoples of Kazan guberniya and its neighbouring areas [Busygin, 1966, p. 178].

Crafts among the Tatars of the Volga Region developed unevenly. As a result of economic reasons, market conditions, the development of different industries, and other reasons some crafts fell into decline and even disappeared (wood chemical production, sack and hessian weaving, jewellery), some remained stable (carpentry, joinery, brick production), while still others were developing (felt-making, leather-processing, ichig-making, tailoring). The geographical areas of concentration for crafts were quite distinguishable as the Kama Region within

the northern uyezds of the Kazan Guberniya and the southern uyezds of the Vyatka Guberniya. The Kazan craft-industrial region started to first form here in the 18th century with numerous manufacturing sites, and by the middle of the 19th century there were already factories. Handicrafts were slightly less developed in the Volga uyezds of Kazan guberniya, in the northern uyezds of Simbirsk guberniya, in the Western Kama Region (Spassk, Chistopol, Bugulma, Ufa Uyezds), and in Kasimov uyezd. Seasonal production sites that were not associated with crafts were predominant throughout the remainder of the Tatar's settlement area.

§ 5. Tatar entrepreneurs and the Russian market

Lyudmila Sverdlova, Marat Gibadullin

The market reforms of the middle of the 19th century encouraged the growth of entrepreneurial activities among broad layers of Russian society. As a result, the involvement of the Tatar population of Russia in entrepreneurial activities rose significantly.

The results of the first Russian Imperial Census prove that trade was widespread among the Tatars of the Volga-Ural Region, who became especially active in internal commerce. According to our data, there were 13,892 Tatar people employed in various kinds of trade in the region. It should be noted that Tatars comprised 7.7% of the region's general population, while the percentage of Tatar trade enterprises was 9.4% of the total number. However, if we take a closer look at each separate guberniya, it becomes obvious that those involved in trade were allocated unevenly. As can be seen in Table 36, Tatar merchants were the most active in the Ural Region, especially in the Orenburg, Ufa, and Vyatka guberniyas. The percentage of Tatars employed in trade here was quite significant in comparison to the total Tatar population. The situation was different in the Volga Region. Astrakhan Tatars were the most outstanding in terms of trade activities, and there were much fewer Tatars

engaged in trade in the Samara, Saratov, and Penza guberniyas.

The largest trading capitals in Chistopol were owned by the Tatar merchant and entrepreneur S. Vagapov (grain purchases, turnover of 191,000 roubles); the 'K. Khabibullin and Son' trading house (bread and grocery trading with a combined turnover of 163,000 roubles); and the 'Iskhakov Brothers' trading house (grain sales, 5 enterprises with a combined turnover of 145,000 roubles).

One particularly important centre of national entrepreneurship outside the Kazan Guberniya was the Menzelinsk Uyezd of the Ufa Guberniya. Tatar merchants and grain manufacturers owned around 20,000 commercial establishments and several steam mills (48%), and their combined turnover exceeded 3.3 million roubles (43%). The most significant trading capital belonged to the 'Khalfin Brothers' trading house (bread sales, turnover of over 1 million roubles). G. Zaynetdinov, another entrepreneur, had 4 establishments, including a steam mill with a total turnover of 1 million roubles, while the merchant M. Saitbatalov traded for a total of 678,000 roubles [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 551, inv. 1, file 65].

Table 36

The allocation of the Tatar population engaged in trade, by guberniyas, 1897

[Pervaya vseobshchaya, Vols. 2, 5, 10, 14, 28, 30, 31, 36, 38, 45, table 22; Mendeleyev, 1907, pp. 18–19, 88–89].

Guberniyas	Tatar population by guberniya, in %	Engaged in trade	
		total	of those engaged in trade by guberniya, in %
Astrakhan	5.2	2,036	19.8
Kazan	31.1	2,818	20.1
Penza	6.0	926	4.6
Samara	3.9	539	2.0
Saratov	8.7	564	6.2
Simbirsk	3.9	202	2.5
Total:	10.4	7,089	7.9
Vyatka	4.1	1,171	10.6
Orenburg	5.8	2,988	19.8
Perm	1.5	1,559	6.4
Ufa	8.4	1,089	12.1
Total:	4.5	6,807	11.7
Total across 10 guberniyas	7.7	13,892	9.4

The majority of Tatar entrepreneurs were included in the circle of trading industrial bourgeoisie who actively participated in the development of national crafts. They created industrial enterprises based on these crafts in an attempt to strengthen their positions in areas they had been dominating for a long time.

In the late 19–beginning of the 20th centuries internal trade was quickly developing in Russia. The growth of the domestic market, which acted as a catalyst for injecting life into state trade, had fertile grounds to develop on: railway services and the manufacturing industry were developing quickly, urban farms were expanding, and the urban population was increasing.

As there is no clear information on the size of turnovers in post-reform Russia, the majority of authors use circumstantial data, in particular records of the incoming state trading taxes that helped to fill in some of the gaps in the national statistics of this period. Thus, according to G. Dikhtyar, from 1860–1869 there was 7.7 million roubles paid in taxes, from 1870–1879, 13.3 million roubles; and from 1880–1889 there was 21.5 million roubles paid [Dikhtyar, 1960, p. 24]. In other words, taxes grew by a factor of 2.7 during the given period.

A fast trading tempo was also in full swing in the Volga Region as well. The growth of freight service volumes can be linked to the expansion of local markets and the scale of entrepreneurial activities in the guberniyas of the region. While in 1897 there were 678,929 thousand poods of various goods transported down the rivers of the Volga basin [Rossiya, 1901, Vol. 6, p. 278], in 1909 it was already 9,686,000 poods of goods [Istoriya trgovli, 1913, Vol. 2, Ed. 7, p. 10], meaning that cargo turnover grew by 42% in 12 years. The main trading centres of the Volga Region were the following cities: Rybinsk, Kazan, Samara, Saratov, and Astrakhan.

During the post-reform period Kazan remained one of the major trading points for all of the eastern part of European Russia, even though it lost its value as the industrial capital of the region. The main reason for the decline in the economic importance of Kazan was that the intensive railway construction, which overwhelmed the Volga and Ural Regions at the end of the century, did not have much of an effect on the Kazan Guberniya. In 1897 the extension of the railway here was only 159 versts, or 4.6% of the total length of the railway net-

Table 37

Distribution of trade certificates issued to Tatar entrepreneurs in Kazan in 1901

[National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 98, inv. 4, files 378, 380, 381].

Type of trade	Certificates issued to Tatar entrepreneurs	
	Total, in %	of the total number for Kazan, in %
Textiles, cloth	15.4	60.6
Primary products, leathers, furs	9.5	63.7
Clothes, footwear, hats	12.1	37.0
Bread, groceries	34.0	16.9
Haberdashery	7.0	58.6
Fruits, eggs, fish, fowl	8.0	21.0
Tea, sugar	2.0	29.6
Other	12.0	7.6

work of the Volga Region [Rossiya, 1901, Vol. 6, p. 292]. Naturally, this undermined the position of Kazan entrepreneurs on the local market and put them in a less advantageous situation compared to their competitors.

However, the trading capital of the city was growing and consolidating its strengths. This can be seen in the growth of the city's turnover during the post-reform period. If during the 1860s there were 4,8 million roubles worth of goods in circulation [Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1869, p. 32], and in 1893 and 1897 city turnover was 33,7 and 36,8 million roubles accordingly [Ivanovsky, 1899, p. 32], which means it increased by a factor of 11 in 30 years.

Kazan was also the central concentration point for the Tatar merchant bourgeoisie, whose members played a significant role in the economic life of the city.

As mentioned in the calculations provided (table 37), the most active Tatar merchants dominated in the grain, grocery, clothing, shoe, and textile trade. Up to 68% of all the trading right certificates were issued for these types of trade. For comparison, the majority of entrepreneurs in Kazan dealt with grain and grocery trading (41% of issued certificates), while trading right certificates for other types of goods were also issued in relatively smaller numbers.

It should also be pointed out that in some trading fields national trading capital predominated as it centralised the majority of trading

enterprises. For example, Tatar merchants owned 60% of the enterprises that sold manufactured goods, including 3 out of the 6 first-grade trading enterprises. They also owned 63% of all raw material and leather trading enterprises, 3 of which were included in the 7 first-guild enterprises.

Tatar entrepreneurs regulated almost all trade that dealt with raw skins, which made them the suppliers of raw materials for many leather-processing factories of the city, and they also controlled the market for ready-made shoes and carpets.

The absolute majority of trading enterprises owned by Tatar merchants were classified as small or medium-sized. Thus, 65% of third-grade trading certificates were issued (69% in Kazan), and 33% of second grade certificates (28% in Kazan).

Members of the middle class national bourgeoisie were becoming more and more active in trade activities, which is explained by the fact that the national capital was slowly being pushed out of the sphere of industrial manufacturing, where the process of concentrating and monopolising had reached an impressive scale by the beginning of the 20th century. Without the opportunity to compete with the large capitalists who settled in Kazan, Tatar entrepreneurs preferred to invest in trade and were quite successful in doing so. Also, one would only need minimal capital to start trading, which made this field of entrepreneurship

more accessible to the numerous small and medium capitalists.

But among Tatar merchants there was quite an impressive number of large tradesmen whose turnover reached 1 million roubles and more. In Kazan such merchants as Muhammad-Sadyk Galikeev and Muhammad-Batret-din Apanayev, Suleyman Aitov, Aytuganov, et al., were remarkable for the scale of their operations. Makhmud Khusainov, an Orenburg merchant, had his own trade delegates not only in Russia but abroad as well: in Berlin, Constantinople, and Kabul. The Musins, merchants, and manufacturers from Semipalatinsk managed cargo and passenger traffic along the Irtysh River and developed gold-mining in Altai and Eastern Kazakhstan. In Semipalatinsk, Zmeinogorsk, and Ust-Kamenogorsk they owned jewellery shops and also transported grains to Russia. In 1900 the Musins owned 2.5 million US dollars kept in Russian banks.

Tatar merchants of other guberniyas of the Volga-Ural Region and beyond also developed large-scale trade and manufacturing operations. Thus, in 1910 in Astrakhan 292 among 1,268 trade establishments (23%) were run by the Tatar bourgeoisie of the city. The majority of them dealt with selling bread and groceries (36%), fish, meat, fruit (around 30%), and leather (6%) [Vsya Astrakhan', 1911]. Here merchants of Tatar descent also owned a major portion of the establishments that sold raw materials, Asian goods, manufactured products, and carpets. They controlled 40–60% of the sales market.

But in order to get a full picture of the structure of the national trade capital and the main tendencies and aspects of its development during the post-reform period, it is necessary to study the information on the types of capital Tatar entrepreneurs had in circulation. Information on the size of the turnover of all establishments owned by Tatar merchants at the beginning of the 20th century is especially valuable.

The main form of trade-industrial capital functioning during the second half of the 19th–beginning of the 20th centuries was individual private enterprises based on the private or

familial property of manufacturers and merchants. This comprised the majority of the capitals functioning in industrial manufacturing and trade. For example, in 1901 in Kazan 93% of all the certificates issued to entrepreneurs were issued to private individuals.

Business practices also included collective forms of entrepreneurship. The unification of capitalists was extremely important for the deployment of financial resources and formation of large capital.

Two main reasons can be highlighted as being behind the necessity to consolidate the resources of disjointed entrepreneurs. First, such associations were formed when the individual capital of the majority of entrepreneurs was too small to enable each of them to separately launch their own production as individuals. Second, the creation of companies was determined by the rules of market competition and the necessity of capitalists to expand, maintain, and retain markets.

The main form of collective entrepreneurship, in which trading capital existed at the turn of the century, was trading houses (partnerships). There were two types of them: both full (open) partnerships and limited partnerships.

Full partnerships were formed on the basis of making a contract with its members to carry out business in the conditions of full and shared responsibility. This meant that members of the partnership were responsible for obligations arising in connection with its operation with all their property, regardless of whether it was invested in the company capital or not. In addition, full partnership was based on the principle of collective responsibility, according to which each member was entirely responsible for all transactions made by any of their partners [Chuprov, 1892, pp. 181–182].

In limited partnerships capitalists were united under uneven conditions. Some members of such an association were full partners and thus responsible for the results of business operations with all of their property, while other members and investors limited their risk to the amount of invested capital. At the same time, only full partners had the right to vote on

company affairs, while investors were in fact unable to manage the enterprise at all [Chuprova, 1892, pp. 181–182].

Trading houses were actively formed by Tatar entrepreneurs, businessmen, and industrialists. The national bourgeoisie saw them as an opportunity to strengthen its position on the internal market, a tool allowing them to successfully withstand severe competition and compete with more mature and robust, in terms of economics, bourgeoisie of the industrially developed centres of the country. At the same time, the creation of partnerships contributed to the consolidation of economic relations among Tatar entrepreneurs with business circles from other regions of the country (and with foreign countries as well) and to the closer integration of national capital into the Russian economy, as many trading houses were created by Tatar entrepreneurs together with the capitalists of other nationalities.

The first associations of Tatar capitalists in the Volga Region appeared back in the middle of the century. One of them was the 'Mishkin Brothers' trading house, which was founded in 1877 by merchants of the second guild from Kazan, two Tatars named Muhammadalim and Aynedin Mishkin. The trading house had a capital of 30 thousand roubles and was mainly engaged in industrial activities. In Kazan it rented out the Osokin cloth factory, which was in complete and utter decline at that time. In a short time the facility was fully reconstructed. A steam engine was installed along with 38 machines and 139 looms. The factory resumed operations, and in 1877 it produced 251 thousand arshins of different cloths in the amount of 248 thousand roubles. At that time, a total of approximately 500 people were working at the factory. Later the trading house began renting out another cloth factory, this one in the Samara Guberniya [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 2, inv. 3, file 318 a, s. 448–449].

The trading house 'A. and I. Rakhmetullin,' founded in 1888 as a 'limited partnership,' had charter capital in the amount of 150 thousand roubles and specialised in the production and sale of kerosene and mineral oils. The company

also owned the property of a limited partnership called Trading House Subayev, Rakhmetullin and Co., and also the 'Cotton, mechanical and weaving factory of Kazan merchants Galim Subayev and Ahmetzyan Rakhmetullin' [Salikhov, 2002, p. 235]. In the Kazan Guberniya the company also owned two industrial plants. Its manufacturing plant was producing up to 184 thousand pood of different grade paper yarn and cotton to the total amount of 121 thousand roubles annually. The factory was equipped with a 40 h.p. steam engine, 35 looms, 3 steam boilers, and 37 machines for various purposes. The factory total headcount was 215 employees [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 2, inv. 3, file 912, s. 142]. This trading house also owned an oil refinery on the outskirts of Chistopol equipped with a steam engine and other equipment, which could produce up to 200 thousand pood of kerosene that was sold for 200 thousand roubles annually [Orlov, 1887, p. 630].

One of the largest trading houses in the region was 'B. Subayev, I. Burnaev, and M. Saydashev,' which had capital of 300 thousand roubles and was structured as a full partnership since 1888. This company specialised in the production and sale of furs. The skinners belonging to the trading house in Kazan produced a variety of products to the amount of 300 thousand roubles annually [Katalog, 1890, pp. 43–44]. On its basis in 1895 the 'Ahmetzyan Sajdashev & Sons and Baky Subayev' trade and industrial co-partnership was registered with a capital of 500 thousand roubles, specialising in the trade of sugar, tea, fur, and other products and also owning glass work facilities.

The Kazan Guberniya was marked by the operation of trade and industrial companies founded by entrepreneurs from different cities. For instance, 'Ishmuratov and Co. Nurmyn Manufactory' was founded in 1884 by the Arsk merchants of the second guild Akhmet Ishmuratov and Abdrakhman Ishmuratov, the Kazan merchant of the second guild Muhammadgarif Utyamyshev, and Sterlitamak merchant of the second guild Muhammadzarif Utyamyshev with a charter capital totalling 20 thousand roubles. This organisation was a trust partner-

ship specialising in the production and sale of calico, nankeen, and other products.

Some of the trading houses were founded by people living in various cities of the empire, which indicated the presence of close trade and economic ties between entrepreneurs and the formation of a national market. For instance, in 1889 Kazan merchant Muhammadsadyk Burnaev and Irkutsk merchant Zagidulla Shafigullin established a full partnership in the 'Burnaev and Shafigullin trading house' with share capital in the amount of 60 thousand roubles. The 'H. Tagirov and A. Nasyrov and Co. trading house,' founded in 1893 as a trust partnership, was owned by the Kazan merchant of the second guild Hasan Tagirov and Simbirsk merchant of the second guild Ahmetzyan Nasyrov. The trading house charter capital was established at 20 thousand roubles. The company was engaged in the

trade of haberdashery, manufacturing goods, and other products.

In 1891 the 'Abdrakhman Ibragimov and Sons trading house' was established as a full partnership, but the family had been known in Kazan since the 80s. In 1886 F. Ibragimova, a widow of a Tashkent merchant, was part of the tea trade in Kazan on Moskovskaya Street (in Yunusov's house) and Tatarskaya street (in Shamsutdinov's house) (with a turnover of over 100 thousand roubles) [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 3, inv. 1, file 812, s. 17–18]. The trading house was founded by her sons Musa (Tashkent), Shakir, Zakir (Bukhara), and Murtaza Ibragimov. The company did not have a severely limited scope of business operations and was engaged in the trading of 'various products, but it was so successful that it increased its initial capital from 40 thousand to 120 thousand roubles' [Svedeniya, 1893, p. 87].

Table 38

Trading houses of Tatar merchants in 1892 [Svedeniya, 1893].

Guberniya	Total number of trading houses	Capital, thousand roubles
Kazan	3	442
Perm	3	50
Orenburg	1	100
Other guberniyas	2	241

By 1892 throughout the country there were 10 trading houses belonging to Tatar merchants with an authorised total capital of 833 thousand roubles. The majority of them functioned within the bounds of the Volga and Ural Region [Svedeniya, 1893].

Some trading houses were founded with a combination of Russians, Tatars, and the capitalists of other nationalities. The development of domestic entrepreneurship in the post-reform era was marked by the internationalisation of capital. For instance, in 1892 in Orenburg the 'D. Myakinkov and G. Davletshin' company was founded (with charter capital totalling 100 thousand roubles), which specialised in the building timber trade. It was founded by Orenburg merchants D. Myakinkov, G. Davletshin, N. Yadgarov, and S.

Nazarov [Svedeniya, 1893, p. 108]. In 1901 in Kazan the Petrovsko-Alekseyevsky Partnership of Glass Factories also began operations (with charter capital totalling 60 thousand roubles). Among its founders were p. p. citizen A. Sergeev, merchant Ahmetzyan Saydashev, and peasant Z. Tagirov. The company produced and sold glass and glass products [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 98, inv. 4, file 8387, s. 8–14, 25–25].

In the period from 1877 to 1905 there were 20 trade and commercial industrial companies belonging to Tatars in the Kazan Guberniya. Their charter capital ranged from 6 thousand to 500 thousand roubles, with authorised capital in the amount of 1,273,620 roubles. On average the charter capital of one company was equal to 63,681 roubles, meaning that the

companies of Tatar entrepreneurs were quite small. Half of them were formed as trust partnerships, 5 of them as full partnerships, and 5 were registered as trade and industrial companies based on shares—that is, joint-stock companies [Galeev, 2000, pp. 251–259].

However, trading houses were not limited to only commercial activities. Many of them, even though they were founded at the expense of large commercial capital, were organised specifically for the construction of new or the expansion of already existing industrial enterprises. Some of them were technically well equipped. Considerable investment was required to equip the plant (factory) with steam engines and other machines. Only large capitalists, mainly from among the merchant class, could afford such substantial investments. However, even they were not always able to afford it. For this reason, the establishment of trading houses by Tatar entrepreneurs can be considered as just one method of national commercial capital penetrating into production.

The richest Tatar entrepreneurs, or the Yunusovs, Apanayevs, Khusainovs, Aitovs, Muhammadzyan Galeev, Salikh Gubaydullin, Gaynutdin Sabitov, the Azmetyevs, Arslanovs, Utyamyshevs, Usmanovs, Utyaganovs, and others represented the core of the trade and industrial bourgeoisie. The number of joint-stock enterprises in the Tatar business world at the end of the 19th century was insignificant: traditional Tatar capital took the form of family companies that desired to preserve their narrow group of capital owners.

Leather, soap production, raw material processing, partial sewing, woodworking, and other branches of industry specific to Tatar entrepreneurship even at the end of the 19th century were considered labour-intensive industries, and they had long been developing on the basis of crafts. The mechanisation of these branches of industry contributed to multiple increases of labour productivity, but the expansion of production required significant additional costs not only for the purchase of equipment and rental or construction of production facilities but also for the procurement of raw

material and parts for the manufacturing process and hiring of labour. It should be noted that the sale of products from these enterprises did not reach beyond the local but more often the regional market. One exception were Tatar national crafts, which were oriented towards the Russian and other external markets. However, these businesses never grew into large industrial plants.

The specific nature of the transit trade can be found in the use of Kazan as a major shipping terminal for storing products in the anticipation of favourable commercial, weather, and road conditions as well as the time for the further advancement of products to their sales locations, in our case to Nizhny Novgorod, Irbit, Menzelinsk, Orenburg, and other markets in the Volga-Ural, Siberian, and Middle Asian Regions. In Kazan traders could perform singular wholesale operations on the resale of goods both through exchange and agreement to larger enterprises that shipped large batches of goods to fairs. Such operations did not require the entry of businessmen into the Kazan merchant guild, and traders were recorded in the documents at their place of permanent residence. In the documents found in the National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 98, inv. 7, file 59], the entry was often partial and might indicate only the name of the guberniya the trader came from (see Appendix I, Table 23).

In 1871 Kazan businessmen maintained close trade connections with entrepreneurs from the Vyatka Guberniya, who were the main trading partners of Kazan businessmen. Out of 105 businessmen from this guberniya, 19 were from Urzhum, 15 from Yaransk; the business communities of Vyatka, Malmyzh, and Sarapul were represented by 12 people each, 11 came from Yelabuga; 9, from Nolin; 7, from Slobodsky; other cities of the Vyatka Guberniya were also represented by 2–4 entrepreneurs.

The second most important trading partners of Kazan merchants were entrepreneurs from the Ufa Guberniya, with a total of 90 people. Birsik (37 people) and Ufa (22 people) were the most highly represented cities.

The third largest group of people who traded through Kazan was one from Saratov guberniya (54 people), and those merchants were followed by traders from Moscow guberniya (45 people), in particular Moscow (33 people), Samara (44 people), Simbirsk (43 people), Nizhny Novgorod (42 people), Orenburg (39 people), Perm (38 people), Yaroslavl (29 people), and other guberniyas.

As for Muslim traders, besides the cities and uyezds of Kazan guberniya, most of them arrived from Ufa (20,2%), Orenburg (14,6%) and Vyatka (11,3%) guberniyas (see Appendix I, Table 24).

Wholesale trade required a considerable amount of investment, including the cost of the wholesale purchase and transportation of products, in addition to large temporary costs. For this reason merchants constituted the vast majority of traders with 566 people, or 83.8% of those engaged in the transit trade; among them were members of the lower middle class at 81 people, or 12%, and peasants at 28 people, or 4.2%. A total of 3.3% (22) of traders were women, 21 (95.5%) of them were merchants and one peasant (4.5%), which was obviously connected with both the labour intensity of wholesale trade and the need to be frequently absent from home.

Therefore, the major main trade flows went through Kazan from the Volga-Ural Region, which was connected to the city by convenient river and transport routes along the main routes of Russia.

Besides the major lines that comprised the Kazan guberniya and its capital, the territory of the guberniya featured a widespread domestic and local transport network that was part of the country's general transport network. Kazan was interconnected by 18 trade and country roads that linked the uyezd cities to one another and the latter to Kazan, and in the 1860s the zemstvos were responsible for looking after their condition. By the law of 1 June 1895 expenses related to the payment of benefits for the upkeep of judicial and administrative institutions established according to the law of 12 July 1889 and the costs of upkeep for justice and peasant affairs institutions and provincial

administrative committees were transferred over to the treasury. The sums of money freed up in zemstvo budgets were invested into road capitals, which in 1895 throughout the entire guberniya constituted 9.2% of all zemstvo costs. In 1894 rural communities spent an average of 34,911 rubles for the upkeep of roads, bridges, and river crossings from the common sums of each of the 34 zemstvo guberniyas. We would like to emphasise that the labour and material costs of rural communities were not taken into consideration.

In 1871, during the navigation period, 355 inhabitants of Kazan guberniya transported goods through Kazan, which equates to 34.4% of all total recorded participants of the transit trade through the capital of the guberniya. A total of 1.7% of traders were women, 187 (52.7%) came from cities and posads, and 168 (47.3%) came from settlements and villages. There was a small difference between the townspeople and country people engaged in transit trade in the form of 9 more (5.4%) townspeople. The majority of traders bought and sold grains, cereals, hay, and other agricultural products, including skin, fat, and wax, for further resale at markets.

Out of 355 traders and residents of the Kazan Guberniya, 303 (85.4%) were Christians, including 6 women, and 52 (14.6%) were Muslims. While Christians besides Russians were represented by other nationalities residing in the Kazan Guberniya, Muslims were represented exclusively by Tatars.

Out of 187 townspeople 174 (93%) were Christian traders, including 2 women, while 13 (7%) were Muslims. Out of 167 villagers 129 (76.8%) were Christians, including 4 female peasants, while 39 (23.3%) were Muslims.

Therefore, out of 303 Christian traders 174 (57.4%) were natives of the cities and posads of the Kazan Guberniya, while 129 (42.6%) were country people. Christian townspeople were 45 (14.6%) more than those from the localities and villages of the guberniya.

Out of 52 Muslim traders 13 were townspeople (25%), and 39 were country people (75%), meaning that the number of country people was twice as large as the number of

townspeople. This can be explained by the fact that the main portion of Tatars beyond Kazan lived in the countryside.

The largest number of traders came from the cities connected to Kazan by waterways. This included the people of Arsk, Sviyazhsk, Chistopol, Laishevo, Cheboksar, Mariinsky Posad, and Tsarevokokshaysk, who annually enrolled on both temporary and permanent merchant conditions in Kazan [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 299, inv. 1, file 62, s. 1–205]. The confessional distribution reflects the resettlement of indigenous people in the Kazan Guberniya.

Merchants paid social class taxes equal to one, and later to 4% of 'honestly' declared capital; 10% from every tribute-paying rouble was charged for 'water and land transport,' and merchants also paid one-quarter of a percent of their entire capital for the duties imposed by zemstvos and towns. But contributions to the treasury and local needs were continuously growing. For instance, by an Imperial Decree from 25 October 1816 a new tax was to be introduced at the beginning of the next year to fund the construction of 'big roads,' and from each registered soul, generally from all villagers, free people, and lower middle class, 25 kopecks, from merchants, 5% of each rouble that they pay to the treasury as duties [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 3, inv. 1, file 12804, s. 128–128 reverse].

In order to reduce guild duties, because they determined the amount of other payments, every single merchant declared capital at the minimum rate for this guild, being careful not to disclose his financial capabilities. 'To ask a Russian merchant about how much capital he actually has and what is the size of his turnover, is, according to our merchants, the most indiscreet and tactless question, that is why he will never answer it,' stated the 'Kazan Stock List' [Kazansky birzhevoy listok, 1833, 6 February]. In order to replenish the treasury, by the decree of 1 January 1863 a single license fee in the amount of 265 roubles was introduced for merchants who wanted to be registered in either of two guilds.

Apart from that, merchants paid customs duties, estate tax, bank operations fees, documents drafting fee [passport, powers of attorney, etc.], 'the fair duty,' rent, and (if hired) a shopping premise from the city administration or a private party ['a shop duty']). The amount of this duty depended on the size of the shopping premise. For instance, the trade license fee for a shop with two entrances was twice as big as the price for a single door premise. Each shop was paid for separately, and there could be a few dozen of them. Merchants had to display a document confirming the payment of the sales tax for the specific place, and its availability was controlled by the Commerce Deputation and by the authorities.

Merchants paid a 'weight' tax during the loading and unloading of goods at the docks or customs, payed for branding their trading tools at the Chamber of Measures and Weights, or simply rented them.

If merchants hired salesclerks or, as they were called, 'inmates to the shops,' they also bought licenses for the salesclerks according to one of four classes, again depending on the volume of trade and size of the shopping premise.

A merchant, who opened a business in another city, paid the guild tax one more time to become a member of the merchant society of this city if they had a real estate or rented a shopping premise, warehouse, etc., in the city and did not owe any debts for town taxes. For instance, merchants of the first and second guilds from Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Samara, Saratov, Nizhny Novgorod, Yaroslavl, Rybinsk, Vyatka, and other cities traded in Kazan up to 1865, but they were registered here as merchants of the third guild. It was cheaper that way, and they dealt retail instead of wholesale trade.

Industrialists were entirely a different story. Their choice of guild was determined by the way they organised their business, and how they traded products of their enterprises, such as wholesale [from warehouses] or retail [in shops and markets], or construction and upkeep of an industrial enterprise in the city. For instance, merchants of the first guild, the Kre-

stovnikov brothers from Moscow, having the biggest industrial enterprise in Kazan, were members of the first guild local merchantry. Many big entrepreneurs were registered as temporary merchants in several towns, paying the required duties in each of them.

It was difficult to track the transportation of goods by road, and official statistics does not provide accurate information on this question. However, roads served as access to river wharves and railway stations. These roads were used to transport goods from urban and rural areas, located away from railway and river routes. Cartage was used to transport goods over short distances, which headed in meridional directions, and over long distances, which headed in latitudinal directions. In comparison with river transportation, cartage characterised by high costs, low carrying capacity, and slow speed. Benefits of this method can be the delivery of goods 'from door to door' without additional costs for reloading.

With the establishment of sledge paths, carts with goods were transported over even longer distances, crossing railways. However, during the spring and autumn slush stopped most commercial traffic on the majority of roads as the scarcity of roads was the true scourge of the Russian national economy. Earthen roads were in poor condition, a significant part of peasants was engaged in cart service, and low price of winter transportation was explained by the poverty of peasants, forcing them to be content with a price that allowed them to feed themselves and their horses during the winter. It was calculated that 'if the highway transportation distance is increased by 22% against the earthen road transportation distance, the maximum cost of highway transportation was cheaper by more than half than earthen road transportation' [Rossiya, 1901, p. 355].

In the middle of the 19th century up to 9 million roubles worth of products was transported to Kazan overland, and four-fifths of goods accounted for the winter months over sledge paths and frozen rivers. The main bulk of grain, purchased at the local markets and uyezd fairs, was brought to Kazan by the sledge path. And here traders stocked

up fat, wool, skin, and other goods. In turn, flour, grain, salt, fish, tea, sugar, and industrial products were exported from Kazan. Wagon trains crossing Kazan roads consisted of up to 10, 50, 100, and even 200 carts. According to merchants, for every hundred verst a wagoner charged 6–8 kopecks per pood of goods [Materialy', p. 100]. In Kazan they were unloaded and reloaded with products to transport to Siberia, Irbit, Kyakhtinsk, Orenburg, Rostov, and other fairs, and in summer they waited for goods from the Nizhny Novgorod fair.

Merchants hired local wagoners to transport products within the Kazan Guberniya and to closely located uyezds and towns. 2066 wagoner signs were issued in 1888 [Laptev, 1861, 98]. Peasants mainly from the villages of Kovali, Salmachi, Dubyazi, Chepchugi, and Cheboksa were engaged in transportation. Tatar peasants made up the main part of wagoners, even though this type of work was never the only source of livelihood for them, as it was, for example, for those in Siberian.

Development of steam navigation resulted in the significant reduction of the overland delivery of products, especially in summer, but winter roads were used very actively, including over ice covered rivers. Delivery from cities in winter constituted about one-third of the total annual overland delivery, the rest of the goods were transported over water routes. When the railway was unavailable, delivery by wagon was the only option available to transport goods in winter, even though it cost more than half as much as transportation over water routes.

Judging by its amount of capital and grain trade turnover, Kazan was 'of primary importance for all of north-eastern Russia.' Nizhny Novgorod operated in direct connection with Kazan. The best variety of wheat was brought from Samara, Saratov, and Melekes. Rye, pea, buckwheat, flax, and hemp seed came in from upstream Volga towns, localities and villages of the Volga-Kama basin. The winter purchase constituted 70–80% of the total annual delivery [Kazansky birzhevoy listok, 5 April 1888]. Grains were taken to the Vyatsk, Vologodsk, and Saint Petersburg provinces, while grain and flax seed were taken to ports

Table 39

Sales of Commodity Traded by Tatar Entrepreneurs in Kazan in 1869
[Oboroty', 1870, pp. 11–12]

Commodity name	Poods	Amount, roubles in silver
Loose Kyakhta tea (5,000 containers, weighing 3 poods and 10 pounds)	16,250	500,000
Canton tea (25,000 containers, weighing 3 poods and 30 pounds)	93,750	3,000,000
Finely ground brick tea (10,000 containers for 64 bricks, weighing 3 poods and 20 pounds)	35,000	500,000
Coarsely ground brick tea (20,000 containers for 36 bricks, weighing 3 poods and 5 pounds)	62,500	1,000,000
Sugar (procured from Moscow and Saint Petersburg)	300,000	2,400,000
Dry goods: paper, wool, cloth, silk	63,000	3,000,000
Fur (except for fur to be processed into fur articles)	6,500	600,000
Raw, unprocessed hide	340,000	1,200,000
Glass procured from Kazan Province factories (10,000 containers, weighing 16 poods)	160,000	200,000
Glassware from the Zheltukhin Factory	29,720	47,750

for overseas shipment. And at the turn of the 18–19th centuries and 50 years later the same amount of grain, up to 50 million poods, was sold in Kazan. In monetary terms [in prices of the middle of the 19th century] the imported grain, flour, flax, and hemp seed were totalled at 2 million roubles, while exported goods, at 1.6 million roubles in silver [Zagoskin, 1895, p. 525; Kazansky birzhevoy listok, 22 February 1876; 3, 18, 26 July 1890; 26 November 1891]. With certain limitations we can conclude that only 20% of marketable grain was sold in Kazan. Commission agents from the Military Ministry came to Kazan in the winter and purchased grain, mainly for troops in the Caucasus. The winter retail prices for flour, crops, and grain depended on the size of their purchase, as the final prices for the products at local markets were set with the arrival of officials. Grain, purchased by the treasury, was stored right there at the granaries in the 'grain stores.'

In the latter half of the 19th century Kazan retained the position of the largest grain processing centre in the Volga River Region. There were five big mills in the city, and two of them were operated by steam engines. The 1870s were marked by an increase in the demand for flour as well as an increase in the price of flour, leading to the emergence of new mills in Saratov, Samara, and along the Orenburg branch of the railway. Deliveries of grain to Kazan and the volume of the flour-milling business decreased, even though flour milled in Kazan was very highly valued. According to the Exchange Committee, 28 million poods of grain [apart from semolina] were sold in Kazan for a total of more than 15 million roubles. In the late 19th century more than 4 million poods of wheat were sent from the Lower Volga Region to the Kazan Guberniya for processing into semolina, most of the imported rye was grounded, and all buckwheat was processed into crop at the hulling mills

Table 40

Number of fairs and their turnover in Kazan guberniya (1860–1900)
[Respublika Tatarstan, 2001, p. 193].

Year	Trade certificates issued	Number of fairs	Commodities delivered to the fair, in roubles.	Commodities sold at the fair, in roubles.
1860	976	28	628,146	229,807
1866	12,248	41	885,377	281,043
1870	18,155	62	1,759,685	486,342
1875	19,104	71	1,423,730	475,450
1880	22,157	76	6,278,950	1,533,920
1883	24,101	74	6,765,155	2,430,152
1886	20,038	73	7,283,485	2,634,466
1890	20,167	72	4,842,773	2,200,560
1900	30,006	80	6,536,733	2,955,200

in Kazan [Kazansky birzhevoy listok, 18 November 1890; 6 November 1896; Kazan calendar, 1872, p. 70].

Kazan was one of the most important Russian centres of the fish trade. According to data from the beginning of the 19th century, annually around 150 thousand poods of fish products were sold in Kazan, which constituted 6% of the 2.6 million poods of products coming to Kazan. Other products were shipped to Moscow, Saint Petersburg, to the north, north-east, and sometimes the south-east of the Volga-Kama Region [Skoroportyashhiesya produkty', 1913, pp. 38–39; Bochagov, 1891, p. 155].

As the main exporter of these products, Astrakhan annually shipped to the Kazan market up to 1.9 million poods of fish [Skoroportyashhiesya produkty', 1913, p. 39]. Kazan merchants established close ties with the fish capital of the Volga Region back in the middle of the 1850s, when broad exploitation of Astrakhan's fish resources began. Together with Moscow, Yaroslavl, and Nizhny Novgorod merchants, Kazan merchants occupied key positions in the Astrakhan fish trade up until 1917 [Laptev, 1861, pp. 440–441; Kazanskij kalendar', 1872, p. 71].

Mainly in winter, chum salmon, taimen, thorn, nelma, peled, and muksun were shipped from Siberia by cartage. Herring, canned fish, and expensive grades of fish were shipped from Moscow, Riga, Revel, while Aral fish

was shipped from Kazalinsk. Smoked and salted White Sea herring, Ustyug smelt, flounder, cod, Arkhangelsk and Nerchensk salmon were shipped from Arkhangelsk overland through Vyatka [Skoroportyashhiesya produkty', 1913, pp. 43–45]. Local fish was traded by peasants and those who leased out fishing. Seal and fish oil were produced in large batches for the industrial needs of Kazan. Isinglass, caviar, and viziga were shipped to the Volga-Kama market through Kazan.

The volume of the wholesale meat trade in Kazan was a lot less than wholesale fish trade. A total of 10 to 15 thousand poods was shipped from the city to Nizhny Novgorod and Moscow—that is, 20–25% of imported meat [Kazansky birzhevoy listok, 15 November 1879], while the rest was consumed locally. Live cattle, frozen carcasses, dead poultry, and salted and pickled goods of various variety were available at the Kazan market. Products were purchased from Vyatka, Ufa, Samara, Saratov guberniyas, the Orenburg Krai, and Siberia. In the early 19th century 50 thousand of Kyrgyz bred sheep as well as cattle, Kyrgyz, Bashkir, and Kalmyk horses were annually taken to Kazan from Orenburg and Troitsk fortress, cattle and sheep were shipped from Uralsk, undersized horses known as 'Vyatka' and cattle purchased at the local uyezd fairs were shipped from Vyatka to Kazan [Kazanskiye Izvestiya, 5, 12 December 1814].



Timerbulat Akchurin.
Photo from the late 19th century



Hasan Akchurin.
Photo from the early 20th century.



Ibragim Akchurin.
Photo from the early 20th century.

In the 1880s, 40 thousand heads of cattle were brought to the Kazan market, half of them were small cattle. Apart from that, around 11 thousand poods of poultry were imported to the city from uyezds of Kazan, Vyatka, and Ufa guberniyas, 5 thousand poods were brought from the forest regions of Kazan, Vyatka, Perm guberniyas, from the northern Transurals and Siberia [Kazansky birzhevoy listok, 15 November 1879; Skoroportyashhiesya produkty', 1913, p. 24].

On the banks of the Volga, near the railway crossing, local meat traders opened offices of their plants for the purchasing and fattening of poultry. Annually around 50 thousand poods of dead poultry from the Sviyazhsk, Tetyushi, Yadra, and Cheboksar Uyezds of the Kazan Guberniya and from nearby uyezds of the Simbirsk Guberniya were exported to Saint Petersburg and abroad from this point. Additionally, 1.5 thousand poods of poultry and 1.2 poods of game were supplied from Kazan [Skoroportyashhiesya produkty', 1913, pp. 44–45].

Eggs were supplied to internal and external markets by Tatar merchants. Apart from local retail dealers, there were around 30 big companies in Kazan, which dealt solely with purchasing and shipping eggs outside of the guberniya. These companies also specialised in the wholesale poultry trade. 1,695,000 poods of eggs [1 pood = 250 eggs] were delivered to the Kazan market in 1910, and in some years

this figure was bigger than 2 million poods. Eggs were purchased from Kazan, Vyatka, Perm, Simbirsk, Samara, and Ufa guberniyas. Up to 100 thousand poods of eggs were sold in Kazan, the rest was exported to the capitals and abroad, mainly to German, English, Austrian-Hungarian, and Dutch markets [Skoroportyashhiesya produkty', 1913, pp. 13, 18; Kazansky birzhevoy listok, 29 August 1888].

During the navigation period of 1872 around 1,300 cargo ships of various sizes, 720 passenger ships, and 360 tow-boats were received at Kazan wharves. In winter up to 300 vessels stayed in the backwater near Kazan [Kazansky birzhevoy listok, 27 January 1872; Zagoskin, 1895, p. 525].

During the navigation period of 1868, which lasted for six and a half months, 41,065,500 poods of goods, including 32,800,500 poods of grain, the rest being fat, skins, wax, honey, soap, candles, fish, wool, sheepskin, lambskin, furs, and hair, went through the city's wharves. At the same time, such 'traditional articles of export' as resin, tar, bark, bast, fiber [approximately in the amount of 1 million silver] and Perm salt [up to 5 million poods] was not recorded. It should be noted that to the mentioned cargo turnover figure at the wharves in 1868, 2 million poods of grain should be added, which were imported and exported during the flood period on the Kazanka, and 19,680,000 poods of grain and flax seed, 2 million poods

of fat, potash, hair, wool, skins, alcohol, and other goods collected at the wharves on the Kama River closer to Sarapul, which were not shipped to Kazan [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 85, file 72, s. 5–7; Kazansky birzhevoy listok, 26 January 1869].

In the early 1880s, in the most difficult period for Kazan businessmen, up to 150 million poods of goods were transported annually from Astrakhan. Apart from 30 million poods unloaded in Tsaritsyno, 7 million poods unloaded in Saratov, and 2 million poods unloaded in Samara, around 110 million poods arrived in Kazan. 120 million poods of goods, transported over the Kama to 'Ustye,' waited for dispatch. Depending on the water level of the Volga, a part of the goods [from 30 to 100 million poods] was unloaded from big vessels to small ones at the wharf. Up to 230 million poods of goods, the main part of which was reserved for the Nizhny Novgorod fair, was dispatched upstream along the Volga. That is why fuel, timber, and construction, single-piece goods, which were not sold at the fair, had not been registered. In the navigation period up to 320 million poods of different goods in total were transported upstream and downstream along the Volga between Kazan and Nizhny Novgorod [Kazansky birzhevoy listok, 13 February 1883].

Even when the railway was put into operation, cheap transportation over water still shouldered much of the load. According to the Ministry of Railways, in 1908 over the Volga to Kazan 47,725,000 poods were transported, and 14,237,800 poods of goods were shipped from Kazan—that is, the total turnover of goods through Volga wharves reached 62 million poods, while at the 'Kazan' railway station around 10 million poods were loaded and unloaded [Znachenie, 1911, p. 16].

One of the results of development of railways in the country was the increase in the number of fairs of regional and especially local significance.

Fairs were held in Kazan, Sviyazhsk, Lai-shevo, Chistopol, Spassk, Tetyushi, and other cities.

Starting in the middle of the 19th century rapid development began in trading on the commodity exchange, which was created to carry out transactions. The overwhelming majority of transactions closed on the Kazan commodity exchange, which was opened in 1868, were grain related, which represented the focus of local merchants to expand the grain trade, providing rather stable revenue on the domestic and external markets. Deals of grain wharves along the Volga, Vyatka, Belaya, Sura, and Kama Rivers were concentrated here. Business contracts for the purchase of other types of goods, real estate, for chartering goods over water, land and railway routes were 'displayed' at the exchange. The sale of goods at the commodity exchange was permitted beginning in 1874 [Kazansky birzhevoy listok, 18 March 1873; 17 March 1874]. In 1882 the annual exchange turnover amounted to more than 8 million roubles [Kazansky birzhevoy listok, 18 January 1884]. In 1870 G. Akhtyamov was appointed as the exchange broker, and he was responsible for helping Tatar entrepreneurs establish business contacts with Russian merchants and industrialists, providing information on the state of the market and consulting on the conclusion of commercial treaties. But the majority of Tatar merchants ignored the Kazan exchange, meaning they did not enrol in the exchange, nor did they attend meetings.

This was due to many reasons. In particular, they were not happy with the focus of the exchange on operations with grain, flour, and crop, which were not traded by influential Tatar merchants. The Russian language, through which contracts were concluded, was alien to the Tatar entrepreneurs, and they did not trust people of other faiths and actually did business without drawing papers, basing on 'trust.' For this reason, Tatars preferred to conclude contracts between each other in hotels and tea houses at the Sennoy Market.

The Sennoy Market was one of the main sights of Kazan, the core of the Tatar part of the city, an island, where a prominent eastern flavour had been preserved, which had always attracted visitors. When in the middle of the 19th century at the corner of Sennaya Street

Table 41

**Capital of Tatar entrepreneurs in the various manufacturing sectors
of the Volga-Ural Region in 1884**

Type of production	Percentage of the actual number belonging to Tatar entrepreneurs		
	factories	number of workers	production volume in monetary terms
Textile	32.0	53.9	40.9
Soap	13.0	18.8	24.5
Paper weaving	6.6	8.0	59.2
Furriery and sheepskins	1.3	28.1	21.8
Tallow rendering	12.4	8.9	5.7
Matches	13.3	17.2	10.8
All manufacturing	1.1	7.6	2.3

and Market Square the Senno-market Cathedral Mosque was built, the appearance of the market was finally finished. Around the mosque caravan-serai was built, as well as commercial apartment buildings with built-in hotels and rooms, inns, pubs, tea houses, baths, craft shops, and, of course, market stands. Gradually, the trading square was built up with stone buildings, and the number of commercial establishments rapidly increased. In 1882 there were more than 200 shops at the Sennoy Market [Kuzmin, 1977, p. 138].

The Sennoy Market also served as a kind of 'Tatar exchange,' where closed trade transactions took place, and the careers of most Muslim merchants began [Prokofyev, 1910, p. 193]. On the left-hand side of Sennaya Square and the adjacent streets stood single-storey granaries, occupied by shops and warehouses with window-free vaults, 'with big double doors' [Khvostov, 1922, p. 192]. On the right-hand side, on the first floors of stone houses, stretching to two districts, were located shops. Shops, designed for wealthy customers, were located on Sennaya Street in the Usmanov's building [it was connected to the buildings of Gostiny Dvor]. The rich were willing to visit the shops that were built next to the cathedral mosque and located on the first floors of commercial apartment buildings.

In the latter half of the 19th century the famous Tatar merchantry, the Yunusov brothers [tea, skins, fat, candles, soap], Ahmetzyan

Sajdashev [tea, sugar], Izmail Apakov [manufacture] traded at the shops. Murtaza Usmanov had extensive economic ties with the cities of Central Asia and China, offered his customers a great variety of 'eastern goods,' just as the merchants-millionaires Muhammadvaley Toykich and Muhammadzyan Kazakov did. Apart from these goods, Murtaza Azimov sold products from his nankeen factory. The merchant Muhammadzyan Galeev sold traditional Tatar shoes, considered the best in Kazan. He had 92 modifications of products, 'extremely different in nature' [Kazansky birzhevoy listok, 21 April 1891]. Muhammadvafa Sabitov specialised in the sale of 'Asian' head-wear.

In the early 20th century the merchants Muhammadbatretidin Apanayev [raw material, furs, fat, wool], Salikh Gubaydullin [manufacture], Abdrakhman Ishmuratov and Muhammadgarif Utyamyshev [tea], Akhmet Khusainov [cloth, raw material, grain], Abdrakhman Galikeev [soap] possessed 1st grade commercial establishments at Sennoy Market with a revenue of more than 20 thousand roubles [Vsya Volga, 1907, p. 57; Adresnaya kniga, 1906, pp. 3–95]. Meat was sold in 20 shops at the market, they were rented from the city by Absalyamov, Fatkullin, Baksheev, Kargin, et al., and the biggest cellar for storing meat, located under the Yunusov mosque, was rented by the merchant Mikhmenev [Kazansky birzhevoy listok, 15 November 1879; 29 April 1890; 11 April 1892]. Together with the

Tatar merchants, Russians traded at the shops, so did Persians, who sold carpets, shawls, and fabrics [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 98, inv. 1, file 321, s. 350–350reverse; Kazansky birzhevoy listok, 24 January 1886; Vsyazhskaya, 1899, p. 239; Pinegin, 1890, p. 594].

The biggest turnover at Sennoy Market was recorded by livestock sale [especially horse sales], which took place every Monday.

By the end of the 19th century principles of the market economy were firmly established in the economic life of the Tatar nation, which was reflected in a number of facts. First, national industry and trade were almost entirely focused on the free market. Second, the market competition and the supply-demand ratio impacted the migration of capital and labour resources from one industry and region to another. Third, the development dynamics of trading

and industrial capital of the national bourgeoisie entirely depended on the condition of the market situation, clearly reflecting the unstable and cyclical nature of the market economy.

The penetration of market relations into the Tatar environment resulted in significant changes in the social structure of Tatars, which was marked by the commencement of institutionalisation of the main elements of the market social-economical system and, first of all, formation of national entrepreneurship.

Tatar entrepreneurs were represented mainly by industrialists and businessmen and, to a much lesser extent, by financiers and bankers. And in the post-reform period Tatar entrepreneurs managed to settle in a number of branches of industry and trade, strengthen their position on the domestic market, some of them

[Khusainovs, Akchurins, Deberdeevs, Saydashevs, Agishevs, Izhboldins, et al.] even became a part of the Russian economic elite.

§ 6. Craft and Industrial Production

Marat Gibadullin, Lyudmila Sverdlova

Abolition of serfdom in Russia resulted in the formation of favourable conditions for the expansion of the scope of industrial entrepreneurship. Manufacture and factory-plant type enterprises began to open across the entire country. Already in the early post-reform years Tatar merchants had invested considerable funds into material production. During that period national capital had completely consolidated in a number of fields of the processing industry in the Volga Region and the Urals. Tatar capitalists invested funds in various productions.

The methods used to involve the trading capital of the Tatar bourgeoisie into production were the same as those for employed across Russia. It was achieved through the establishment of the dominance of trade agents over individual manufacturers and led as a rule to the ruin of the latter, turning them into wage-workers working at home. Characteristic in this respect was the bast-matting trade.

The peculiarity of industrial development among the Tatars in that period was that the overwhelming majority of enterprises of Tatar entrepreneurs had established themselves at the expense of trading capital representatives. This was confirmed by official statistics. For instance, in 1862 in Kazan guberniya out of 63 manufacturing enterprises belonging to Tatar entrepreneurs 40 [63%] were concentrated in the hands of merchants, while the average figure across the guberniya was only 43% [Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1863, p. 132]. Paper weaving production had successfully developed among the Tatars in the post-reform period and was concentrated mainly in Kazan and Vyatka guberniyas. In the Kazan Guberniya one of the first paper weaving mills was founded by the thriving trader and merchant Muhammadsadyk Burnaev. At his manufactory in Tsarevokokshaysk were up to 300 people were employed, and it annually produced goods amounting to 50 thousand roubles [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 81, inv. 11, 1870, file 110a, s. 37, 218].

Table 42

**The influence of the economic crisis of 1890 on the development
of the Tatar bourgeoisie's capital**
[Orlov, 1894]

Production	Number of enterprises	Number of workers	Amount of production
	in % by 1884		
Textile	100.0	80.1	70.1
Soap	41.6	39.7	18.4
Paper weaving	100.0	43.2	61.7
Tallow rendering	75.0	57.1	56.6
Sheepskin-sewing and leather	33.3	169.5	143.5
Matches	150.0	302.5	450.0
All manufacturing	91.2	83.4	64.6

Soon similar enterprises were opened by other Tatar entrepreneurs, including representatives of trading capital, such as merchant of the first guild Muhammadgali Usmanov, merchant of the second guild Mustafa Yakupov, et al. [the Kazan Guberniya], the Utyamyshev merchants [the Vyatka Guberniya]. By the 1867 the Tatar merchants possessed 8 out of 12 paper weaving mills in the region with a total headcount of 353 people and annual production volume of more than 135 thousand roubles [Timeryazev, 1869, p. 1].

Th woolen industry rapidly developed among the Tatars. The first woolen mills were purchased by Tatar entrepreneurs back in the pre-reform period. By 1867 Tatar entrepreneurs possessed 6 woolen mills in the Volga Region, where more than 4 thousand people were employed with an annual production volume of 961 thousand roubles [Timeryazev, 1869, pp. 27–28].

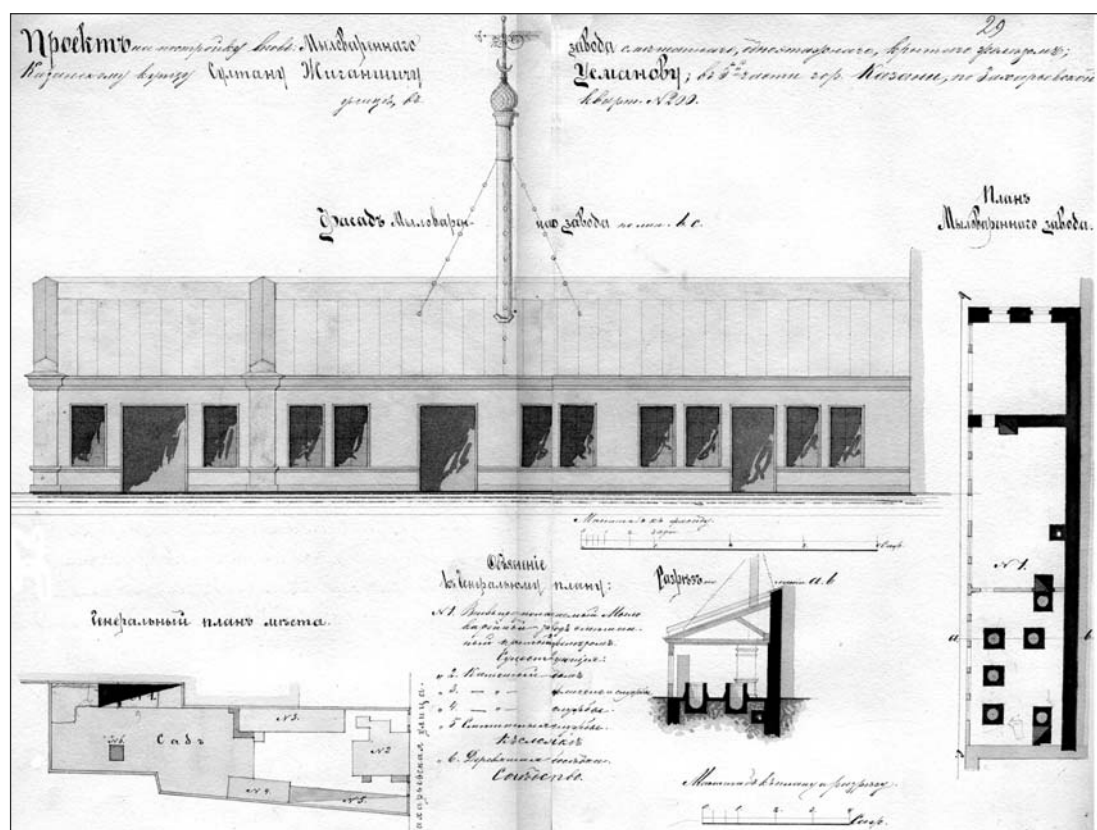
Tatar national capital still played a key role in its traditional sphere of production. Tatar capitalists built tanneries, soap, wool-scouring, fur, fat rendering plants, woolen and paper weaving plants, mills, woodworking plants and opened printing houses. National capital actively explored new industries, including glass, oil-refining, chemical, metal-processing, etc. But it did not have access to the branches of heavy industry, and Islam prohibited them from dealing with the production of wine and tobacco.

If we talk about development as a whole, it may be noted that in the post-reform period entrepreneurs from among the Tatars managed to occupy very strong positions in a number of branches of industrial production. Let's look at this process based on the material of the Volga-Ural Region.

Data from Table No.41, dating to 1884, points to the strong positions of Tatar industrialist in woolen production. They possessed 1/3 of all operating enterprises, which gave around 41% of total production volume, where more than half of the workforce of all enterprises of Tatar merchants was concentrated.

This process was also evident in the soap industry, where Tatar industrialists possessed 13% of all enterprises, employed up to 19% of the total workforce, and occupied around a quarter of the market of products of this industry. In the paper weaving and skinnery-sheepskin industries, in spite of the small number of enterprises belonging to Tatar industrialists, they occupied a considerable share of the number of employed people and production volume.

There were several reasons that allowed national industrial capital to consolidate in these spheres of industrial production. First, they were the traditional investment sectors for Tatar entrepreneurs. Second, in a fledging period of the market economy, in the period of industrial capitalism, large business could not



Construction Project. Soap Factory in Zakharyevskaya Street, Kazan.
Built on the orders of Kazan merchant Sultan Zhiganshin. 1898.

yet consolidate and monopolise production in these branches. Third, the level of capital saturation there was insufficient, and the Tatar entrepreneurs had a wide scope for investing and obtaining substantial profit.

It should be noted that if we take into account all branches of industry in the Volga Region and Urals, the share of Tatar bourgeoisie enterprises was small and constituted a bit more than 2%. This was the result of a lack of accumulated capital, because the process of initial accumulation in the Tatar community began considerably late and proceeded under less favourable conditions. It must be noted that by 1884 there was a clear picture of sectoral distribution of national industrial capital.

In the post-reform period the main role in Tatar entrepreneurship was played by the woolen industry, where the main bulk of the workforce was employed [77.7%] and which produced more than 55% of industrial

products of all the enterprises belonging to Tatars. The Tatar industrialists invested significant capital into paper weaving and soap production.

There was an uneven distribution of industrial enterprises across some provinces. By 1867 in the Volga Region, apart from the Kazan Guberniya, Tatar entrepreneurs possessed 6 woolen mills (those of the Akchurins, Diberdiyevs, Aleyevs, Agishevs, Bakhteevs, Kildeevs), with more than 4 thousand people employed and with an annual production volume of 961 thousand roubles [Counted according to: Timeryazev, 1869, issue No.1, pp. 27–28]. The biggest mills were located in the Simbirsk Guberniya, which was the main centre of the woolen industry in the Volga Region. The nankeen mills of Mustafa Azimov and Ismail Yakupov continued to produce cloth in Kazan, and the mill of Makhmut Abdryashitov operated in the Tsarevokokshaysk

Uyezd of the Kazan Guberniya. In the 1860s Simbirsk and Kazan guberniyas were the main centres of Tatar industrial capital. More than 67% of gross products were produced here, and more than 75% of the workforce employed at the enterprises of Tatar capitalists was concentrated here.

In 1861 in Kazan out of six leather processing factories two were possessed by Tatar merchants, Murtaza Azmetyev and the Yunusov brothers.

However, with the evolution of capitalist relations, the Kazan Guberniya gradually lost the status of the main centre of the national industrial bourgeoisie. This was due to the fact that in the traditional investment sectors of the national capital a number of large industrial enterprises had appeared, which were founded by representatives of large metropolitan business and foreign capitalists. With vast resources and massive opportunities at hand, they gradually monopolised production by displacing small and medium-scale entrepreneurs from the market. Lacking sufficient capital and being unable to compete with monopolists, the majority of Tatar industrialists related to that category rushed to those branches and regions where it was possible to capture the marketplace at the least cost.

It is no coincidence that in the 19th century Tatar industrial capital firmly was established in Simbirsk and Orenburg guberniyas, which economically were far from being the most advanced. This phenomenon was especially noticeable in the early 20th century.

In the late 19th –beginning of the 20th centuries fur production in Kasimov reached its highest prosperity peak³⁴.

The famous Moscow entrepreneur Arif Burnashev established an enterprise on goat's

wool scouring. He purchased raw material primarily in the Orenburg Guberniya, processed and scoured it in his native village of Azeyevo [the Ryazan Guberniya], and then sold it wholesale in Moscow [Islam, 2009b, pp. 13–14]. M. Deberdeev had a wool-scouring plant in the village of Baltin, in the Samara Guberniya, in the late 19th century in the same province the Deberdeevs owned two wool-scouring plants, and one was owned by F. Teregulov [Torgovo-promyshlennaya, 1899, pp. 63–64]. In the Orenburg Guberniya Makhmut Khusainov owned a wool processing and sheepskin-fur coat plant. It must be noted that the merchant owned 11 trade-industrial chambers in 8 cities of Russia and 3 chambers abroad: in Berlin, Constantinople, and Kabul.

The Tatar merchants Khusainovs, Yaushyevs, Abdrashitovs, and others opened fat rendering plants, tanneries, soap factories, slaughterhouses, warehouses, and trading houses on the territory of present-day Kazakhstan in Aktyube, Irgiz, Karabutak, Troitsk, Petropavlovsk, and Verny. Birushev, Muratov, Akchurins, Tyumenevs, Shamsutdinovs, Tabeev brothers, Valit Yanguzarov, and the Kaipovs should be mentioned among the Tatar entrepreneurs of Kazakhstan. Musins were the most successful entrepreneurs as they owned a flour mill in Semipalatinsk, 50 ships, and an extensive chain of shops.

Tatar entrepreneurs managed to penetrate into the gold-mining industry, which was once inaccessible to them. In the late 1860s in the Urals the Orenburg merchants Muhammadzakir and Muhammadshakir Ramievs and the Musins dealt with gold mining in the mines of Altai and Eastern Kazakhstan. According to the incomplete data of the Ural mining district, in 1897 Tatar entrepreneurs received at least 18 applications for gold mining [counted according to The Gold Mining Gazette, 1898, Nos. 3–4, 12].

It should be noted that the business recession observed in the empire during the years of economic crisis in 1866, 1873, 1882–1883, and 1890 also impacted Tatar industrial capital. Let's review the impact of industrial crises on national Tatar capital using data from 1890.

³⁴ For instance, in 1913 A. Kastrov's factory produced 1.5 million lambskins annually. H. Musaev's fur factory employed 60 workers, the entrepreneur's annual revenue totalled almost 50,000 roubles. Kh. Taneev, Kh. Akbulatov, M. Devishev, and the Vergazovs invested in fur production. In total, in the early 20th century in the Kasimov Uyezd in the Ryazan Guberniya there were nine large fur businesses belonging to Tatars, with a total turnover of 3,640,000 roubles [Islam, 2009b, p. 285–286].

Table 43

**Increase in power available per worker at Tatar-owned textile factories
between 1884–1890** [Data source: Orlov, 1887; 1894])

Power available	1884	1890
Per workplace	0.07	0.13
Per factory	20.8	48.4

Data from Table No.42 suggests that apart from leather and match all the other main industries of the national industry were affected by the economic crisis. The soap-making industry suffered the most: soap production fell by more than 80%. After the crisis Tatar industrial capital failed to recover its influence in this industry.

Wool, paper weaving mills, and fat rendering plants of Tatar entrepreneurs had also experienced a deep recession. Moreover, it was harder for national capital to adapt to the consequences of the crisis, and it took it longer to recover during the period of improvement. For instance, production volume across the main industries of the processing industry for the same period in Russia generally grew by 10%. Decline in production during this period was observed only in the wool (by 18.7%) and leather (by 28.8%) industries [counted according to: Strumilin, 1966, pp. 442, 445].

This feature of the development of national industrial capital was determined by the fact that Tatar entrepreneurs engaged in industrial activity primarily in the form of small- and middle-scale entrepreneurship, and it was considerably more susceptible to the harmful effects of crises than big capital.

In spite of the recession, the majority of enterprises of Tatar capitalists survived and continued operating. Industrial rise in the 1890s also affected the Volga-Ural Region. For instance, for the same period the industrial production volume in the Kazan Guberniya increased from 12.7 to 14.1 million roubles [Pamyatnaya knizhka, part 2, 1892, p. 62; Adresnaya kniga, part 3, 1900, p. 43].

The Tatar bourgeoisie did not fall behind the general trend. Turnover of the manufacturing enterprises of Tatar entrepreneurs showed steady growth. If in 1890 only across the Ka-

zan Guberniya it amounted to 592 thousand roubles; then in 1893, to 648 thousand roubles; and in 1896, to 943.5 thousand roubles [counted according to: Orlov, 1894; The National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 1153, inventory 1, file 1a; fund 359, inventory 1, file 259]. That is in 6 years it increased by 59%.

Along with the growth of production, the structure of industrial activity of the organisation underwent significant changes. In 1893 the entrepreneurs T. Akchurin and Ya. Akchurin established The Partnership of Timurbulat Akchurin and The Partnership of the Staro-Timoshkinskaya Manufactory of the Akchurins in the Simbirsk Guberniya with fixed assets totalling 300 thousand roubles, divided into 300 shares of 1,000 roubles each. The company was headed by Suleyman Akchurin [Khasanov, 1977, p. 211].

In 1894 Kazan entrepreneur, merchant of the first guild Ahmetzyan Sajdashev founded the commercial and industrial joint-stock company A. Sajdashev and Sons in Kazan. Its fixed assets in the amount of 500 thousand roubles was divided into 500 shares of 1,000 roubles each. The main purpose of the partnership was proclaimed as the development of glass production and tea trade in Kazan and other cities of the empire [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 98, inv. 3, file 1133, s. 44]. However, its economic activity was funded mainly through borrowed assets. During the economic crisis which broke out in the late 1890s, four years after opening, the joint-stock company collapsed.

In 1895 The Commercial and Industrial Partnership of T. Akchurin was founded in the Simbirsk Guberniya, which comprised a local wool mill and a small timber mill. Fixed assets of the company amounted to 1 million roubles, and later this amount was doubled. By 1911

at the wool mills belonging to the partnership around 2.4 thousand people were employed, and different goods were manufactured, with the turnover amounting to 2 million roubles [Ioksimovich, 1912, Table No. 8].

One more joint-stock company was established in 1897 by the Deberdeev brothers in the Saratov Guberniya. It was also involved in the cloth industry. Fixed assets amounted to 500 thousand roubles and were divided between the founders [Khasanov, 1977, p. 212].

In the early 20th century Tatar capitalists continued to create joint-stock companies in different branches of industry.

In 1905 a commercial and industrial partnership belonging to a merchant M. Mansurov began to operate, which specialised in the processing of agricultural products. He owned two steam-operated mills and a malting plant in the Perm Guberniya (capital, 150 thousand roubles) [Khasanov, 1977, p. 216].

Beginning in 1912 The partnership of Teplovsky Wool Manufacturing of A. Agishev with fixed assets equaling 400 thousand roubles began active industrial activity in the Simbirsk Guberniya. In the very first year of its existence the company made a profit of 57 thousand roubles [Akcionerno-paevy'e, 1915, p. 271].

Apart from the creation of own joint-stock companies, Tatar capitalists invested their capital into other commercial and industrial companies.

The cloth industry was in the forefront of the Industrial Revolution among the Tatars, though in comparison to the overall Russian scale, it fell behind in the level of development, for instance, from the cotton industry. In 1884 enterprises of this branch accounted for 88.6% of the generating capacity of enterprises belonging to Tatar capitalists, while in 1890, 95.4%.

The most wealthy Tatar entrepreneurs acquired machines already in the late 1850s. And by the 1870s a significant part of the fixed assets of woolen industry enterprises in the Volga Region were concentrated in the hands of Tatar manufacturers. For instance, in the Simbirsk Guberniya out of 17 wool mills, 7

(41%) belonged to the Tatars. Their enterprises were equipped with 38% manual and 63% mechanical looms [counted according to: Simbirsk collection, 1870] of the total number of mechanisms utilised in cloth production in the guberniya. At Tatar-owned wool mills 8 (32%) steam engines, which concentrated 44% of the capacity of all wool mills, were installed [counted according to: Orlov, 1884].

A number of enterprises were marked by advanced technical equipment. The biggest mill was located in the village of St. Timoshkino, in the Simbirsk Guberniya, and was owned by the merchant Suleyman Akchurin³⁵. As was mentioned in one of the official publications, 'in terms of resources and working capital, this mill dominates other mills in the guberniya' [Lipinsky, part 2, 1868, p. 88].

At the mill of merchant A. Aleev in the village of Yekaterinovka in the same province 72 looms, 110 mechanisms, and a 20 h.p. steam engine operated [Simbirskij sbornik, Vol. 2, 1870, p. 90].

The merchant A. Aleev purchased a wool mill in the village of Mullovka of the Samara Guberniya and for manufacturing needs purchased 300 spindles, 70 looms, a steam engine, and a 37 h.p. steam boiler [Orlov, 1887, p. 18].

Fixed assets, utilised by the Tatar manufacturers in industrial production, had markedly increased in the years of the Industrial Revolution. This period was marked by the significant upgrade of the production and technical base of the majority of enterprises. Entrepreneurs continuously replenished fixed assets, purchased new equipment, reconstructed production facilities, replaced dilapidated wooden buildings with durable and sturdy stone buildings, supplied electrical light and water lines to enterprises. For instance, in the period from 1884 to 1890 at the factory of Timerbulat Akchurin, the number of second breakers increased from 19 to 43, spindles from 3,920 to 4,900, looms from 168 to 312, generating

³⁵ The factory was equipped with 4,443 spinning machines, 198 looms, including 19 mechanical and 143 bespoke machines. The machines were operated by two steam engines with a total power output of 60 h.p. [Simbirskij sbornik, 1870, p. 92].

capacity of the enterprise increased to 160 h.p. Technical reconstruction was also carried out at the plant belonging to H. Aliev. On the place of the former wooden building he built a stone building and concentrated the entire process of woolen production there. The equipment in the mills was also renewed: a more powerful steam engine (capacity 55 h.p.) was installed, equipment in the spinning shop was replaced [Sudarev, 1963, p. 32]. In 1894 the first 10 mechanical looms were installed at the mill [Sudarev, 1963, p. 138].

As can be seen from Table No. 43, the technical modernisation of production resulted in a significant increase of power availability at the enterprises of Tatar capitalists in the Volga Region in this branch of industry during the period of industrial capitalism: calculated per employee, by 85.7%, calculated per one mill, by 71%.

Apart from wool production, the mechanisation of labour had also affected some other branches of industry among the Tatars, although to a significantly lesser extent. The Tatar capitalists owned steam-operated mills, soap, and fat rendering plants. For instance, in 1888 a thriving local merchant Muham-madgarif Utyamyshev opened a paper weaving mill in Kazan. It was equipped with a 6 h.p. steam engine and other equipment. Around 50 people were employed at the mill with an annual production volume of up to 150

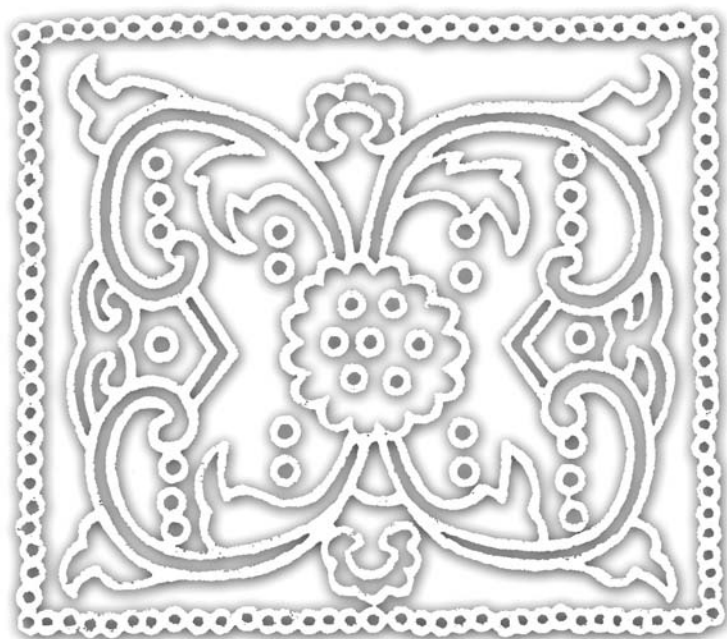
thousand roubles [Katalog, 1890, p. 27]. In the same years in Orenburg a merchant Akhmet Khusainov founded a small millet peeling plant. Annually it produced more than 3 thousand poods of millet, which were sent to Saint Petersburg, Moscow, and other cities [Katalog, 1890, p. 41].

However, in general the industrial revolution among the Tatar entrepreneurs took place at a slower pace and had not yet finished by the end of the 19th century.

One of the reasons behind such a gap was that the industrial revolution affected the primarily more developed, from an economic point of view, Moscow and Petersburg guberniya, the Baltic states, and the south of Russia. It came to the Volga-Ural Region much later. Here even in the early 20th century many trades were still at the stage of manufacturing production. Besides, national capital, which functioned primarily in small industrial centres, was behind competitors according to the scale of accumulated funds. The lack of working capital, which grew worse as a result of the industrial crisis in the early 1890s and the high cost of machinery, the main part of which was imported from abroad, held back the advancement in the technical reconstruction of production. Finally, a lack of qualified specialists, lack of awareness concerning the newest technical achievements and possibilities for their practical implementation did not allow Tatar entrepreneurs to expand the scope of application of machinery in a timely manner.

Section IV

The Tatars in the System of Russia's International Relations and in Sociopolitical Events



CHAPTER 1

The Tatars in Russia's Relationship with the East**§ 1. The Tatars in Trading and Economic Relations between Russia and the East***Vladimir Shkunov***Trade and Economic Relations in the Pre-Reform Period**

Despite the numerous trials that the Tatars had faced throughout their history, their commercial contacts with the peoples of the East, dating back to ancient times, laid a special foundation for national entrepreneurship and a commercial philosophy. Both Russian law and the basic principles of Sharia regulated Tatars' foreign trade activities. Islamic law was something that Tatar merchants shared with their commercial partners from the East. Islamic law determined the rules on Asian markets. Merchants referred to it to settle disputes and deal with reciprocal claims. This was especially important because the Russian Empire did not have any diplomatic and consular relations with some of the countries in the East.

Tatars in the East and the Problems of Developing Foreign Trade. Tatars, who usually knew Eastern languages and had a good knowledge of Asian social structures and customs, would often get jobs as public officials. Many of them had remarkable biographies. For instance, Abdulla Amirov, born in Sterlibashevo village, Orenburg Province, spent over twenty years in India before he came home in March 1806. Fluent in 'three Indian languages and Afghan', A. Amirov was appointed translator for the Orenburg Boundary Commission. A. Amirov co-authored a descriptive account with Kazan merchant Shakhmuratov (who had also lived in India), entitled 'On the Indian Realm and the People Who Inhabit It', [Shkunov, 2007, p. 354–355]. In particular, the work provides information on Russian-Indian commercial relations. Amirov and Shakhmuratov

mention that Russian leather, saffian, goat-skins, and other Russian goods were extremely popular in India. The work indicates that some articles came from Kazan and Orenburg guberniyas. Thus, Tatar merchants and travelers made a significant contribution to both extending the knowledge of India and developing Russo-Indian trade. Traditions dating back to the mid-18th century (in 1750, Tatar merchant Abdulla Seitov described a number of routes to India and Central Asian Khanates.—*V. Sh.*) were stepped up in the following decades.

In the first half of the 19th century, the Tatar population of the Russian frontier grew. For instance, a fifth census in 1795 reported 14.6 thousand Tatars in the Orenburg Uyezd, whilst the 1834 estimate was as high as 25.7 thousand, reaching 46.9 thousand in 1858 [Zobov, 1997]. The number of Tatars in adjacent Eastern countries grew as well. This was reported, in particular, by Russian ambassadors visiting Asian states for diplomatic or other purposes. For instance, Praporshchik [junior officer rank] A. Subkhankulov reported in a 1808 letter to the Russian Tsar, that 130 fugitive Russian Muslims has asked permission to return home [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 6, inv. 10, file 291, s. 131]. He estimated the total number of fugitives in Bukhara, Khiva, Samarkand, Shahrissabz, and other Central Asian cities to be up to 5,000 [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 6, inv. 10, file 291, s. 137]. When in Bukhara, another ambassador, translator from the Orenburg Border Commission, P. Demezov, noted that 'Bukharian opinions are largely influenced by Tatar subjects of Russia, who live on the outskirts of the city and trade with

the Kyrgyz people and Turkestani states' [Zapiski, 1983, p. 21]. Demezov mentions in the report that Tatars were so influential in Central Asian Khanates that Tatar merchants enjoyed 'the good favour of the Bukharian government'. Russian ambassadors reported that the number of Tatar merchants was increasing year on year in the first third of the 19th century. For instance, several caravansaries in Bukhara were occupied by Tatar merchants, their salesmen and workers. Those included Sarayi Nugai, Sarayi Kulüta, Sarayi Ayöz, and so on. Moreover, many Russian Tatars lived in Bukhara and other major Central Asian cities. They went to local madrassas, which suggests that the Kazan Region and other Tatar-populated areas of the Russian Empire had stable cultural and religious relations with Central Asia.

State and Legal Passport Regulations and Crossing Borders for Trade. In 1807, an imperial decree established a passport regime regulating the border crossing procedure for Russian subjects and in particular, for merchants. The provincial government could not issue passports, which created certain difficulties. This is why provisions of the decree were often violated in practice in the first years after its adoption. For instance, Orenburg Military Governor, Prince G. Volkonsky, reprimanded the Commander of the 30th Division in Tomsk, General G. Glazenap for allowing merchants who had passports to cross the border unimpeded. The general justified his actions as follows: '... we are not entitled to prevent Mohammedan Russian subjects to cross the border because they are permitted to do so under the Tsar's Edict for the purposes of trade even with such remote provinces as Chinese frontier cities, Kashmir, and Tashkinia. This would put an end to important trade, which is only beneficial to the state, because Russian merchants, who do not speak Tatar and are unacquainted with Tatar customs rarely go abroad alone and always employ Mohammedan clerks and workers [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 6, inv. 10, file 402, s. 89 reverse]. It is noteworthy that formal correspondences and legislative acts dating back to the period in question remain valuable sources of information about

the history of Russia's foreign trade in general and that of Tatar merchants in particular. For instance, in relation to the regulations regarding Russians travelling abroad and the issuing of foreign travel passports.

Merchants registered in guilds as well as pilgrims taking part in the Hajj to Mecca were exempt from the passport fee, except for a form costing 50 kopeks. The law also established a procedure for receiving passports. For instance, Siberian Tatars trading in the East were to receive passports directly at district police departments. According to the Treaty of Qulja of 21 July 1851, those wishing to enter Xinjiang, in addition to having a passport, had to obtain a special ticket issued to the head of each merchant caravan at the customs offices of Semipalatinsk, Petropavlovsk, or Troitsk, as well as at the Ust-Kamnegorsk Frontier Post [Nikonov, 1869, p. 554]. Moreover, the customs administration had to report each caravan departing to Qulja or Qoqek to the consulate in Xinjiang, providing a list of merchants and a brief customs inspection report. The same procedure applied to caravans heading from Xinjiang to Russia.

Tatar merchants leaving for Mongolia on business were supposed to obtain certificates in Russian, Chinese and Mongol from the border authorities, stating the merchant's name, amount and quality of the goods and the number of packages, camels, oxen and horses. Trading in Mongolia without such certificates was forbidden. It was the responsibility of the Russian consul in Mongolia to prevent this.

To enter Tianjin, merchants obtained tickets which were issued by the zarguchei in Maicheng. The ticket was issued in Russian and Chinese. It stated the name of the caravan head, those of the merchants, amount and type of goods, and the number of packages. Moreover, caravans heading for Tianjin could not deviate from the route via Kalgan, Dun Ba, and Tun Zhou [Nikonov, 1869, p. 555].

Tatar merchants' trips to the East often took months and years. Russian law at this time permitted merchants trading in Eastern countries to stay there for up to 7 years. They had to pay interest on capital and guild fees in advance

for the first year only; the rest of the payments could be made after the merchant had returned to Russia. Some Tatar merchants spent a long time not only in Central Asian Khanates but in Turkey and Iran. According to the law, Tatar merchants staying in Turkey beyond the expiration of the period specified in their passport had the right to ask the administration of the Russian Region in which they resided for new passports. They were sent to the merchants with the help of Russian missions. It is worth noting that the law clearly states that many Russian merchants 'stay in foreign countries for decades' [Nikonov, 1869, p. 558].

Thus, by the middle of the 19th century, basic legal procedures had been adopted in the Russian Empire for travelling and staying abroad, as well as the renewal of citizenship, which directly affected the to the foreign trade activities of Tatar traders.

The Kazan Region in the System of the Russian-Eastern Trade. In the 1815, the newspaper *Severnaya Pochta* (Northern Post), writing on the progress of Russian industrial manufacturing, stated that, 'This development has also been reflected on the other end of European Russia, namely Kazan, where commerce has grown to such a large scale that the city, situated on the Volga River, near the Kama, and having access to the nearby Sura, Vetluga, and Vyatka Rivers, has become a mediator between Europe and Asia [Severnaya Pochta, 1815, No. 8]. Eastern markets also attracted Tatar merchants from other cities of the Kazan Region. Whilst in the Khanates, the merchants not only bought Central Asian commodities but also contacted traders from other Eastern countries and regions, who came to Bukhara, Khiva, Tashkent, Samarkand, and other cities to trade. Such contacts enabled merchants from Arsk to procure goods imported from Afghanistan, Bengal, and other Indian regions [Spravochny'j, 1847, p. 451], which they consequently sold at the Nizhny Novgorod Fair, in Moscow and Saint Petersburg. Products from Kazan factories sold well in China, while Kazan-made saffian and goatskins were, to quote an expert in Russian foreign trade, 1st Guild

Merchant of Fredrikshamn I. Vavilov, 'one of the key goods' [Vavilov, 1846, p. 169].

Archive data suggests many fair cities in the Russian Empire to had so-called 'Bukharian rows' from the 18th to–19th centuries. 'Bukharian goods' was the term for articles imported from Central Asian Khanates.

By the middle of the 19th century, industry had expanded greatly in the Kazan region, affecting trade positively. The 'Military and Statistical Review of the Russian Empire' for 1850 reads, 'Many merchants, mostly Tatar, are trading with Kyakhta, Bukhara, and the Kyr-gyz Horde, where they obtained by purchase or more often by exchange, various Asian commodities: robes, silk fabrics, cotton, Kyr-gyz sheep, felt, prunes, dried apricots, and so on. Some Tatars trade in Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Orenburg, Siberia, and other localities' [Romishevsky, 1850, p. 103]. Merchants from Kazan, Chistopol, Kozmodemyansk, Spassk, Sviyazhsk, Cheboksary, Mamadysh, etc. were outstanding in terms of trading capital and the geographical span of their activities. Such merchants either participated in the Eastern trade directly or made profits on the transit and sale of Eastern goods at the Empire's major fairs.

Prince L. Ukhtomsky believed that 'Kazan... can be called the capital of the Volga in spite of Nizhny's commercial importance' [Ukhtomsky, 1863, p. 65]. A high significance was attached to the city not only due to its geographic position but because it played a special part in Russia's domestic and foreign trade. In the early 1860s, 19th Kazan merchants' turnover was estimated to be 6 million roubles in silver [Ukhtomsky, 1863, p. 65]. In his essay 'From Petersburg to Astrakhan', L. Ukhtomsky wrote, '... some Kazan merchants conduct large-scale direct trade with China, Persia, Bukharia, and Khiva' [Ukhtomsky, 1863, p. 65]. For instance, a large quantity of goatskins were exported to China which were produced in two factories in Yunusov, two factories in Apanayev, and the Usmanov factory [Fuchs, 1844, p. 124]. In some years, the total output was as high as 150,000 goatskins. Kazan merchants Apakov, Azimov, Urazov, Abdulin, and Bikmagometov

sold nankeen articles to Central Asian Khanates via the Orenburg Region. Kazan ichig boots, which were produced in two factories owned by merchants Abdulin and Faysulin, were popular in the East [Fuchs, 1844, p. 125]. These were unique items embroidered with silk and gold. In the mid-1840s 19th several Kazan merchants had amassed fortunes of hundreds of thousands or even millions roubles [Fuchs, 1844, p. 127].

The commercial and economic connections between Kazan merchants and Eastern states and peoples grew stronger due to the development of education amongst the region's Muslim population. It goes without saying that knowledge of Eastern languages was an advantage in trade as it allowed for a greater understanding of Asian culture, traditions, and custom. Religious affinity definitely played an important role in the close interaction between Tatar merchants and peoples of the East. It was not uncommon for young Kazan citizens to receive an education (in particular, a religious education) in leading Islamic centres of learning in Central Asia and countries of the Near East. Moreover, Kazan merchants had an opportunity to communicate with traders from Central Asian Khanates, who spent two winter months in Kazan every year before they left for the Nizhny Novgorod Fair. Merchants came to know each other and established business contacts. Therefore, the religious connection of the Tatar people to the Sunni Muslims of the East favored mutual understanding, intense commercial and economic cooperation and cultural rapprochement. Tatar merchants played an extremely important part in extending dialogues between Russia and the East and implementing Russia's Eastern policy in that period. By the early 1860s 19th, Kazan merchants already had close commercial contacts with China, Iran, Bukhara, Khiva, and other Asian countries and regions. Tatar trading companies dominated Eastern trade [Pinegin, 1890, p. 492]. The Kazan merchant community was a unique world with its own traditions, rules and decorums. Tatar merchants from Kazan even had a distinctive appearance: 'Tatar merchants from Kazan usually wear a nankeen or cloth kaftan styled

like that of Russian merchants over a zilan; they always have a silk kerchief in their bosom... However, they wear a lot of expensive jewelry, including diamond rings, thick gold chains, belts with massive silver buckles of various shapes... On his shaved head, the Tatar wears a yarmolka, sometimes decorated with gold and pearls, and a hat which rich people have trimmed with beaver fur [Evropejskaya Rossiya, 1906, p. 334]. Thus, Kazan merchants emphasized their affinity to the East even in their appearance. As in Asian countries, Kazan Tatars were keen and successful traders. The famous Russian scholar V. Rogozin noted in 1906 that trade was 'in the nature' of the Tatar people [Rogozin, 1906, p. 337]. It was through trade with Oriental countries that many rich Tatars made their profits. Other scholars in pre-revolutionary Russia also mentioned Tatars having an inclination for commerce. To quote A. Rittich, 'The Prophet's sermons went hand in hand with Tatar trade, as it had been Arabs, attracting Tatars spiritually to Mecca, Baghdad, and Bukhara...' [Rittich, 1870, p. 24]. General Staff Officer M. Laptev emphasized the importance of Kazan in Russian-Oriental trade, 'Relatively large capital, trade houses that dealt with Kyakhta and the capital cities since ancient times, and, finally, the city's location on three major water routes, place it far in advance of not only uyezd centres, but in advance of all cities in the east of Russia in terms of trade activities' [Laptev, 1861, p. 399].

Tatar merchants sometimes invested in producing plants of their own and commercial and industrial capital thus merged. Some entrepreneurs from the Simbirsk guberniya were outstanding in this regard. For instance, the Tatar village of Timoshkino had up to 100 wool-scouring plants. Timoshkino dwellers bought wool in Astrakhan, Orenburg, and Troitsk from Oriental merchants, Kazaks or locals. Washed wool was supplied to cloth factories in Simbirsk and Penza guberniyas, Moscow, etc. Some Tatar entrepreneurs (the Akchurins, the Yunusovs, and others) enjoyed considerable annual profits from such operations [Lipinsky, 1868, p. 90].

Tatar Merchants in the Irbit Fair and Oriental Commodity Trade. Tatar merchants

were essential to the Irbit market, which was of great importance to the Russian-Oriental trade [Khitrov, 1872, p. 59, 60]. It was there that wholesale batches of goods imported from the East (primarily China, Middle Asian Khanates, Mongolia, India, Kashmir, Afghanistan, etc.) were sold and domestically-produced/European commodities were purchased to be re-sold to Asian states. Aside from that, the Irbit market absorbed a large number of articles made at plants and factories that belonged to Tatar merchants as well as exported to Oriental countries. For instance, nankeen (a fabric made of Middle Asian cotton), goatskins, cotton fabrics, sheepskin coats (made in the village of Shamordan and the Laishev Uyezd), and other commodities were supplied to Siberia's largest markets. Tatar merchants in the Irbit market bought large batches of peltry to later exchange them for tea in Kyakhta.

Tatar Merchants in the Development of Russia's Trade with Middle Asia. In the early 19th century, the Senate, the Department for Foreign Trade, and other governmental institutions received numerous reports, 'opinions', 'memorandums', and suggestions by customs authorities in borderline territories, governorates, and other public officials that dealt with the expansion of the Russian-Oriental trade. For instance, Director of the Orenburg Customs, P. Velichko provided an opinion on improving trade with Asian countries. In his report, dated 3 March 1808, he wrote, 'The only group of Russian subjects that goes to Bukharia for trade now is the Tatars, to whom Russian merchants properly entrust their goods' [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 6, inv. 10, file 402, s. 45]. The hope to attract Russian merchants to Middle Asian trade failed even when the government approved a project under which a large trade company was to be established and promised all kinds of support to the merchants. In particular, a dedicated military convoy was to be formed in order to protect merchants and their goods on the way to Middle Asian Khanates. The project failed because Russian merchants refused to participate. P. Velichko noted, 'Due to their appearance and law, Tatars are re-

ceived in Bukharia just like any other Asians are. That is, they enjoy governmental protection, complete freedom in their operations, and the friendly attitude of the public. They can even trade with foreign Asians directly at village bazaars. This yields a profit of at least 60% higher to our Tatars coming back to Russia than that of Russian merchants who trade with Asians at the border or at Menovoj dvors [trading houses]' [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 6, inv. 10, file 394a, s. 12 reverse]. Of course, Russian merchants were aware of the reception of Russian Tatars in Middle Asian Khanates. The few Russians who ventured to go there for commercial activities had to resort to cunning methods. For instance, Russian merchants trading in the Khanate of Kokand wore Tatar clothes.

Tatar merchants clearly dominated the Middle Asian sector of Russia's foreign trade not only due to cultural, linguistic, and confessional affinity between Russian Muslims and the peoples of Middle Asia but specific commercial practices in the Khanates. According to local law, Russian Muslims were to pay a duty of 1 chervonets per 40. It was twice as large for 'infidels' and 5 chervonets per 100 for Armenians and Indians. Lack of guarantee in the security of life and property, constant robbery on the way, the lawless practices of local authorities, poor linguistic skills and knowledge of local traditions and customs, commercial Sharia regulations, frequent wars in the region, and the fear of being caught and sold as a slave must have been the main reasons for the suppression of the Russian-Oriental trade in Middle Asia and explains Tatar merchants' domination of the region.

Tatar merchants benefited from the fact that foreigners were forbidden from entering Russia's far inland for retail trade because it enabled them to become leaders in Russian-Oriental trade. They raised considerable profit by importing goods from adjacent Oriental countries or purchasing them in bulk in borderline areas. In the Orenburg Region and along the Siberian Line, Tatar merchants practiced exchange trade with their Oriental counterparts,

which was all the more beneficial because the range of commodities imported was always wide. For instance, a lot of cotton and silk articles were imported from Bukhara, Khiva, Kokand, and China; woolen shawls and kerchiefs were brought by Indians, Iranians, and Bukharians from Kashmir and Tibet. Tatar merchants going to the remote Tibet, Kashmir, and India were also engaged in the import of the above-listed goods. Bukharian, Khivian,

and Kokand caravans also brought carpets from Iran and India as well as 'lazurite from the mountains of Badakhshan' [Nebolsin, part 1, 1835, p. 170–171]. Tatar merchants (from Kazan and Kasimov) bought large batches of lamb pelts that was used in the production of sheepskin known as Kalmyk in Russia. The Kazan guberniya consumed a lot of cotton yarn. English yarn was added to it to make kumach or nankeen. Finally, Tatar merchants benefited greatly from selling fat and livestock, which they bought in exchange for goods from the Kazakhs. Kazan, Shadrinsk, and Yekaterinburg imported fat to deliver large batches of it to the ports of Arkhangelsk and Saint Petersburg, from where it was then exported to the countries of Europe.

By the middle of the 19th century, Tatar merchants had essentially monopolized Russia's trade with Central Asia. Every attempt by Russian merchants and representatives of other peoples in the Russian Empire at establishing direct trade contacts with Middle Asian Khanates, East Turkestan, Afghanistan, Kashmir, and other Asian regions failed. Merchants not only lost their goods to robbers on their way and became slaves, but occasionally lost their lives. The Governor General of Orenburg, A. Katenin, wrote in his report to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated 30 November 1857, '... our merchants have ceased to visit Bukhara and Khiva. There are two reasons behind it. Firstly, a duty



A bazaar in Samarkand. Woodcut, early 20th century.

twice or four times as large as that imposed on Mohammedan traders is imposed on Christian merchants in Khiva and Bukhara, so the latter cannot compete. Secondly, Russian traders suffer exactions and oppression by Central Asian merchants, with whom they cannot hold any council [Yudin, 1902, p. 4]. The Governor General of Orenburg complained that Russian merchants had not attempted to establish any direct trade with Khiva and Bukhara since 1852, entrusting it completely to mediators, namely to the Tatars of Kazan and other Muslim agents [Yudin, 1902, p. 11]. The situation remained the same in the following years.

The Russian government proved unable to draw any concessions from the khans' governments regarding customs duties and merchant security. When receiving Russian ambassadors, the rulers of the Khanates would agree to Saint Petersburg's requests and demands. However, trade would resume its previous course as soon as the mission departed.

Russia's trade with Middle Asian Khanates was special for a number of reasons. Firstly, it was characterized predominantly by caravan and exchange. Secondly, there were seasonal patterns to it. Namely, merchants set off for the Khanates in early autumn (August to early November), which was tied to Kazakh migration from the north to the south. They gathered together to join the Kazakhs, moving 'in a single detachment, crossing the steppes as

an enormous chain of camel threads, which sometimes were as long as twenty versts' [Yudin, 1902, p. 22].

It was not uncommon for Tatar merchants who went to the Khanates of Middle Asia on business to fulfill important missions for the government, like handing it diplomatic messages, letters to the khans, etc. This is attributed to the lack of any formal diplomatic relations between Russia and the adjacent Middle Asian countries. There weren't even Russian consulates in the Khanates' capitals. Moreover, upon returning home, Tatar merchants informed their governing authorities of the Khanates' affairs, essential events, trade, prices, and foreign trade relations between Bukhara/Khiva/Kokand and China/India/Afghanistan/Tibet/Punjab/Xinjiang/Kashmir/other countries and regions in Asia. Such inquiries became common practice with time. Having returned to the Orenburg or Simbirsk Border line, Tatar merchants provided detailed reports on whatever they saw during their long trips to representatives of the local governing administrations.

M. Yudin, one of the leading experts on the history of the Orenburg Region, wrote, 'The typical Asian suspicion and morose manner prevented Russia from establishing better and more stable relations with the neighbouring Khanates. Thus, the regular departure and arrival of caravans was the only thing that preserved the relations [Yudin, 1902, p. 24]. Archive documents suggest that the Russian Empire maintained trade relations with the adjacent Middle Asian countries even when international conflicts in the region escalated. Tatar merchants contributed to the extremely lucrative international trade by finding efficient solutions to the difficulties.

Trade Operations in the Kazakh Zhuzes. It was not only in Middle Asia but in the Kazakh Steppe where Tatar merchants traded. For instance, Tatar merchants or their salesmen went to the steppe to buy fox, wolf, and other skins from Kazakhs for the very low price from 10 kopeks to 3 roubles [Kolmogorov, 1855, p. 7]. In the meantime, the actual cost of a good fox skin had gone up to 20 roubles in silver. Hav-

ing bought a large number of skins, merchants supplied them to Middle Asian Khanates and China. Large batches of fur were delivered to the Irbit Market too. This trade involved Tatar merchants from Petropavlovsk, Semipalatinsk, Ust-Kamnegorsk, and Troitsk. For instance, in the early 19th they supplied 25–30 thousand fox and wolf skins and up to 50 thousand hare skins a year [Kolmogorov, 1855, p. 7]. The price difference ensured high profit for the merchants. In spring, after the Irbit Market Tatar merchants brought a large amount of dry goods to the Kazakh steppes. The Kazakh market of the 1850's was generally viewed as a 'wide field for Russian industry in general and trade in particular' [Kolmogorov, 1855, p. 24]. As expert in Kazakh steppe trade G. Kolmogorov noted in 1855, 'a Tatar merchant would receive a net profit of 150 roubles in silver in 4 years for an assumed spent capital of 10 roubles in silver invested in 1850, that is, in May 1854—in which country, in what kind trade, in which plants and mines, without any hard work, worries, and failures? [Kolmogorov, 1855, p. 24]. Merchants ensured such high profits by giving commodities to Kazakhs on credit. In May–July, when Tatar merchants were collecting livestock from Kazakhs, huge flocks would be divided into four parts. One was meant for local exchange for Middle Asian fabrics, daba, printed linen, rice, dried fruit, and other merchants that caravans would have brought from Bukhara, Kokand, and Tashkent by that time. Merchants drove the second part of the flock to Qulja and Qoqek to exchange it for Chinese tea and other Chinese commodities. The third part of the flock as well as bovine cattle and camels were driven to Bukhara, Tashkent, and Kokand. Tatar merchants brought along domestically made factory products. The fourth and largest part of the flock was driven to Semipalatinsk, Petropavlovsk, and Ust-Kamnegorsk to be consequently sold for cash, on credit, and in the Irbit Market [Kolmogorov, 1855, p. 25]. The following data is suggestive of the volume of the trade. The Siberian Kazakh area alone supplied up to 150,000 horses, 100,000 bulls, 3 million sheep and rams, having a total val-

ue of up to 8 million roubles in silver per yer [Kolmogorov, 1855, p. 26]. If we were to add the several thousand camels that were sold to China and Middle Asian Khanates, rawhide, sheepskin, and astrakhan (up to 500,000 pieces of the latter were supplied to the Irbit Market alone each year), fur, goat hair, saiga horns, and other commodities, this would yield another 2 million roubles in silver [Kolmogorov, 1855, p. 26]. Livestock trade was even larger along the Orenburg line. This is why Tatar merchants raised huge capital in this particular area trade and were able to remain leaders therein.

In Xinjiang Markets. The example below is illustrative of how resourceful and intuitively enterprising Tatar merchants were. In his storehouses, a Tatar merchant from Semipalatinsk kept up to 200 thousand bricks of Chinese tea and a large number of loose tea hanks, having a total value of 1 million roubles in silver. The goods were customs-cleared. However, he took his time. Even though large batches of tea were idle and the money was out of circulation, his trade followed its natural course with his sons and salesmen driving livestock to Qulja and Qoqek, from where they brought tea and fabrics. The Tatar merchant even purchased daba and printed linen from Bukhara and Kokand. This suggests that he had enough spare money to trade in China and in the Central Asian Khanates. Internecine wars soon broke out in Xinjiang, causing tea prices to skyrocket: brick tea from 60 to 80 kopeks per brick, loose tea from 1 rouble 20 kopeks to 1 rouble 80 kopeks and even 2 roubles per pound [Kolmogorov, 1855, p. 29–30]. In 1852 and 1853, the resourceful merchant put his tea on sale, which ensured enormous profit for him. This is not the only example of how canny merchants could be. It is beyond doubt that merchants who had been trading in the adjacent Oriental countries for years were well aware of their affairs, for which they relied on their agents and trade partners. From previous Russian foreign trade, they knew such information to be valuable.

Exchange trade in borderline areas was extremely lucrative as Tatar merchants received goods first-hand from Oriental caravans that came to the Orenburg Region and the Siberian

line in caravans. Some caravans consisted of as many as 2–2.5 thousand camels. They brought merchants from Bukhara, Kokand, Khiva, and India [Kolmogorov, 1855, p. 32]. Exchanging domestically-made fabrics for Oriental commodities, merchants raised profit by re-selling them in Russia's inland, where the prices for them were much higher.

Tatar merchants were important for trade in the Ili Region. Russian merchants' commercial relations with East Turkestan broke down many times in the 18th century as the situation was extremely unstable in the region. When order was restored, trade resumed its course. The Chinese government made great efforts to develop trade and economic relations between Xinjiang and all the neighbouring states. The Russian Empire was no exception. In the 19th century, most Russian merchants maintained commercial relations with Xinjiang through Qoqek, Qulja, and Kashgar. Russian-Chinese commercial relations developed rapidly until the early 1880's, to which Russian merchants contributed in the form of large silver export from Xinjiang. While in Xinjiang silver cost 960–970 roubles per pood, in Moscow and Kyakhta it sold at 1100–1200 roubles per pood [Fyodorov, part 2, 1903, p. 46]. The benefit was obvious. Tatar merchants largely monopolized this important channel of Russian foreign trade. For instance, the total number of merchants in Qulja in 1897 was 232, of whom 22 were Tatar and only 3 were Russian [Fyodorov, part 2, 1903, p. 47]. In the same year, the total turnover of merchants from the Russian Empire in Qulja, Qoqek, and Kashgar amounted to 8,270,070 (our estimate.—*V. Sh.*) [Fyodorov, part 2, 1903, p. 52]. It is noteworthy that manufactured finished goods dominated Russian export to Xinjiang throughout the period. This included cotton and woolen articles, clothes and footwear, sugar, sweets, biscuits, matches, kerosene, lamps, sewing machines, dishware, writing and wrapping paper, dressed leather, threads, iron, copper, cast iron, and steel articles, etc. [Fyodorov, part 2, 1903, p. 52–53]. The commodities were mostly bought to the Nizhny Novgorod Market, Moscow, and other cities of the empire. Tatar merchants delivered

leather, fur, horse hair, wool, goat hair, dried fruit, livestock, etc. from Xinjiang to Russia. To sum up, Russia benefited greatly from trading with this region of Asia. It should be noted that a number of international agreements¹ regulated trade. In the late 19th century to the early 20th century, the following Tatar merchants who continued trade in the Ili area were notable for their sizable capital: Sadyk Musin, who had offices in Semipalatinsk, Verny, Kapal, and Jarkent (the annual turnover in Kulja was 100,000 roubles); Abduvali Yaushev (100,000 roubles, offices in Troitsk, Orenburg, Semipalatinsk; Gainutdin Fakhretdinov (100,000 roubles) who traded in textiles, iron and haberdashery; Idris Rakhmetdin (50 000 roubles) and others [Fedorov, part 2, 1903, p. 68].

His memories of his stay in Xinjiang in the 19th were left by a Kazan merchant Murtaza Feyzullin [Beitrag, 1846, p. 80–82, 95–101]. Tatars from the Russian cities of Verny and Kopal, who delivered prints, nankeen, calico, velveteen, cloth and hardware to Xinjiang, figured considerably in Kulija [Kostenko, 1872, pp. 189–190]. Some Orenburg Tatars had large trade turnover in Chuguchak. For example, Abduvali Abu-Bakirov, a Troitsk merchant of the second guild, would repeatedly visit this major commercial city, where he bought floral, black and brick tea and other Chinese goods in large quantities. From Chuguchak to Troitsk, the goods were delivered in summer within a period of two months, and in autumn, in the span of 80 days [Nebolsin, 1850, p. 28]. To deliver goods from Xinjiang to Nizhny Novgorod, a merchant paid 2 silver roubles per pood—the same price as merchants paid to deliver goods from Semipalatinsk to Kazan. Abubakirov would send Russian goods to Chuguchak 2–3 times a year. What is more, he dispatched caravans from various places.² Commercial proj-

ects of this Troitsk merchant extended beyond Xinjiang: he dreamt of direct trade with Tibet, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Badakhshan. In his 'account', Abubakirov showed his excellent knowledge of the markets in these regions of the East [Nebolsin, 1850, pp. 33–38]. According to V. Razgon, a Russian researcher of the history of the Siberian merchant class, Tatar merchants trading along the Trans-Siberian Line often played a dominant role: Generally speaking, before 1861 the total share of Muslim (those of Kazan, Qasim and Siberian Tatars, Siberian and 'newcoming' Bukhara Tatars, etc.) members of the merchant class was: 83% (63 families out of 76) in Semipalatinsk, 67% (28 families out of 42) in Ust-Kamenogorsk, 35% (17 families out of 48) in Petropavlovsk [Razgon, 1998, p. 195]. Among them were merchants from Semipalatinsk, such as the Salikhovs, the Rafikovs, the Usmanovs, the Gabitovs, the Ishterekovs, the Maksyutovs, the Sutyushevs; merchants from Petropavlovsk, such as the Bayazitovs, the Maksyutovs, the Sutyushevs, the Bekhtemirovs, the Devletkildeevs, the Zabiroyevs, Toimatovs and others [Razgon, 1998, p. 208].

Tatar merchants in Kyakhta and Russian-Chinese trade. During the period under consideration, Tatar merchants figured considerably into Russian-Chinese trade with Kyakhta remaining as its main centre. The scope of this trade can be judged by the following figures: while in the early 60s the Nizhegorodsky Market registered about 15 thousand places, at the same time in Kazan there were about 8 thousand places [Subbotin, 1892, p. 574]. Thus, Kazan swallowed half of the bulk of tea that was exported to the largest market of the Russian empire. Tea was delivered to Kazan from

¹ Article 4 of the Treatise of Kyakhta of 1872, Articles 2–15 of the Treatise of Qulja of 1851, Articles 4–14 of the additional Treaty of Beijing of 1860, and Articles 12–18 of the Treaty of Saint Petersburg of 1881 [Fedorov, part 2, 1903, p. 63].

² After purchasing goods at the Irbit Fair, he divided them into two batches: he sent the first one by way of

Petropavlovsk on 1 May, and the second one, via Semipalatinsk at the same time. The last caravan left the city of Troitsk in September. Goods from Xinjiang were dispatched to Troitsk and arrived there at the end of June—beginning of July and then in October. To Tacheng the merchant from Troitsk exported camlet, drap-de-dames, nankeen from the Kazan Guberniya, as well as Moscow chintz. Saffron purchased at the Irbit Fair was also in high demand in China.

both the Kykhta and Irbit markets. The city had special wholesale warehouses from which tea was delivered to Nizhny Nobgorod and also to the different cities of Kazan and neighbouring regions. In pre-revolutionary books, one could read the following: 'In its value and amount, the tea market in Kazan plays a significant role. There are merchants' houses which have bartered with the Chinese for a long time; there are also bulk buyers, buying tea both in Kazan and at the Irbit and Nizhegorodsky marketplaces. Kazan merchants at the main tea market in Nizhny Novgorod are considered the most significant tea traders' [Laptev, 1861, p. 435].

Before 1861, Kyakhta remained the main supplier of tea to Russia. From 1851 to 1863, Tatar merchants also delivered tea from Xinjiang, and from 1862, it was brought through the European border. The tea trade was beneficial to Tatar merchants, as the consumption of this drink in Russia grew with every year. The growth of tea imports can be illustrated by these average annual figures: 'in 1801–1810—75 thousand poods, in 1811–1820—96 thousand poods, in 1821–1830—143 thousand poods, in 1831–1840—190 thousand poods, in 1841–1850—271 thousand poods, in 1851–1860—372 thousand poods [Laptev, 1861, p. 605]. In 1861, caravan trade with China was reestablished, which grabbed the Tatar merchants' attention regarding Kyakhta. Trade in Kyakhta was exceptionally beneficial for a number of reasons. First of all, the Xin Empire consumed a considerable number of finished domestic products made at plants and factories that belonged to Tatar merchants. In particular, it concerned the enterprises producing morocco and coach-boxes in the Kazan region, yuft at Siberian factories, and others. Secondly, the raw materials brought by Chinese merchants from Shanxi Province and other regions of the Xin Empire were used by domestic factories and plants. Generally speaking, despite the fact Kyakhta was far away and there were problems of transporting goods, this course of Russian-Eastern trade was undoubtedly of interest to Tatar merchants during the entire period under consideration.

Tatar merchants in Mongolia. Some Tatar merchants took an active part in trading operations in Mongolia. These were major wholesale merchants, who bought goods in Moscow, Nizhny Novgorod and at Irbit Market and delivered them via Biysk to the territory of Mongolia. In the early 20th century, in Biysk uyezd (district), Tomsk Oblast, there were 1,700 Muslims [Steinfeld, 1910, p. 33]. A good dirt road, 577 versts long, led from Biysk to Mongolia. From Mongolia to Russia, along the Chuisk Trakt, they delivered brick and long leaf Chinese tea, camel's hair and fleece, rough leather, etc. Russian export comprised of hardware, flax, woolen and cotton fabrics, dressed leather etc. In order to protect the interests of domestic merchants, Russian consulates were established in Mongolia (in Uliastai, the general consulate in Urga). The Russian-Mongolian border, which, in practice was unguarded, made it possible for Tatar merchants to smuggle goods both into remote Khalka nomads' camps and to Urga. It earned the merchants enormous profits. Mongolia consumed a considerable number of Russian products (made of metal, leather, cloth, etc.). In turn, Tatar merchants bought cattle, raw materials and smuggled goods brought from the Xin Empire.

Tatar merchants and Russian-Persian trade. During the entire period under consideration, Russian-Oriental trade developed, moving in the direction of Astrakhan. Tatar merchants played a special role here. In particular, trade with Turkmens living on the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea was on their hands. The merchants owned sea-fishing ships, which were used to deliver to different wares from Bukhara and Khiva to Astrakhan. The famous Russian foreign trade researcher, G. Nebolsin wrote: 'This industry actually belongs to the Tatars only, because Turkmens and the Kyrghyz allow to approach the land only those who are their brothers-in-faith' [Nebolsin, 1835, part 1, p. 150]. Fishing in the Astrabad Gulf brought considerable profits. Here trade was done on schooners built in Kazan [Blaramberg, 1852, p. 173–174]. Lieutenant-colonel I. Blaramberg, an expert on Iran, noted that: 'In all respects, the Astrabad Gulf can be

honored as the most important harbor in the Caspian Sea; by its geographical position and natural benefits, it contributes to the extension of Russian trade more than any other place' [Blaramberg, 1852, p. 176].

Russian-Afghani trade. Tatar merchants began to show interest in Afghanistan as far back as in the latter half of the 18th century. At the turn of the 18th –19th century, merchant caravans from Kazan, Semipalatinsk, Orenburg and Astrakhan repeatedly went to distant Afghanistan, where they brought ready-made domestic manufactured goods, as well as hardware, iron, glass, china, mirrors, sugar and other commodities [Grigoryev, Kharatishvili, 2002, p. 433]. From Afghanistan, they exported indigo, Marengo, cochineal, Kashmir shawls, Badakhshan lazurite, precious stones, wool, etc. Furthermore, Russian Tatar-merchants bought Afghani goods at the markets of the Central Asian khanates, where caravans from Afghanistan occasionally arrived. For example, in 1818, Kashmiri shawls delivered exclusively to Troitsk were worth 378,360 roubles [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 339, inv. 1, file 29, s. 27]. The fact that Russian Tatars and Afghani merchants often stayed in the same caravans in Bukhara (Sarayi Ayöz) is also indicative of their direct trade links. Indigo brought from Afghanistan was delivered in large quantities to Kazan and other central guberniyas. This pigment was sold daily, worth considerable sums of money at the Nizhny Novgorod Market, the Irbit Market and the Combined Simbirsk Market and other markets of Russia. By the middle of the 19th century, direct journeys of Tatar merchants had virtually discontinued. It was due to the domestic situation in the country and the English-Russian trade as well as to economic competition in Middle Eastern markets, which had increased. However, it did not mean that trade which was exceptionally advantageous had ceased: its vector had shifted towards the markets of Central Asia. But in general, over the entire period under consideration, Afghanistan consumed a great number of Russian goods, while Afghani goods delivered by Tatar merchants from the

Central Asian Khanates sold well at the Russian Empire's largest fairs. The imported Afghani raw materials met the requirements of plants and factories producing cotton, silk, leather, cloth and other products.

Black Sea-Azov route of Russian-Eastern trade. Some Tatar merchants traded in Odessa, Crimean ports and Taganrog, where goods from Asian and African countries were delivered in great quantities. Some of them went to Turkey and Egypt in person, others bought eastern goods delivered to Russian ports, and others brought domestic goods to be exported to Eastern states. For example, in 1858, a Tatar from Kazan, Ksainov by name, brought Caucasian silk, haberdashery, and other commodities worth 12 thousand roubles to the Odessa Holy Cross Fair [Oboroty', 1858, p. 40]. A great number of English articles, as well as simple cotton fabrics, which were in demand among Crimean Tatars and people of Caucasia, were brought from Turkey [Semenov, 1859, part 3, p. 150]. By the middle of the 19th century, Turkish raw materials imported to Russia had multiplied: such as silk, cotton, pigments, etc. At the same time, a considerable amount of wool, which had been bought by Kasimov and Simbirsk Tatars, was exported from Russia to Turkey via Black sea ports, 'Plain Russian wool also made its way abroad long ago. Odessa, Rostov-on-Don and almost all Black sea ports send Cherkessk wool abroad, that is, Donskoy, Bitrug and beaver lamb wool which was obtained from the native southern breeds of sheep' [Vasilyev, 1862, p. 210].

The Tatar pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina and trade. In the early 19th century, Tatar merchants' capital became firmly established not only in the neighbouring Eastern countries, but it began to penetrate deep into Asia. For example, Tatar pilgrims, making a hajj to Mecca, simultaneously traded in Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and Turkey. On their way back, they bought local goods, which they sold profitably in Russia. Namely, the goods were bought in Syria (in Aleppo and Damascus) [Bazili, 1991, p. 277]. The pilgrimage to distant Arabia was in itself expensive. Therefore, 'almost all large

caravans with pilgrims heading for Mecca, are also joined by merchant caravans' [O Mekke i Medine, 1807, p. 251]. The Hajj to Mecca from the Crimean Peninsula lasted almost a year and a half and was fraught with enormous costs' [Radde, 1856, p. 296]. It is no accident that Crimean Tatars always sought 'to cover travelling expenses'. The Tatars of the Volga-Ural region who made Hajj to Mecca often bought Islamic literature written in Arabic, including manuscripts. In this way, a considerable number of books published in Cairo and Constantinople were brought to Russia. On returning home, Tatar merchants brought these books to fairs and sometimes sent their salesclerks to sell them in Tatar villages where 'the books are sold not only for cash, but are also exchanged for different agricultural products' [Ilminsky, 1866, p. 78]. To determine the number of Russian pilgrims arriving in Mecca from the Russian Empire in general during the period under consideration is difficult. For example, from 1827 to 1836, 875 people made Hajj from Crimea to Mecca. [Brosse and Reppen, 1841, p. 200]. If we take into consideration the fact that in 1828 and 1829, due to the war with Turkey, there was no pilgrimage, then, on average, annual Hajj was made by nearly 100 Crimean Tatars. Rich Tatars from the Kazan region also traveled to Mecca; their Hajj cost them about 1 thousand silver roubles [Laptev, 1861, p. 229]. In general, several hundred Russian Muslims travelled to Mecca every year.

On the issue of terminology in the history of Russia's foreign trade. Taking into consideration Tatar merchants' special role, as well as that of representatives of other nationalities (Greeks, Armenians and others), we think that the use of the notion 'Russian-Oriental trade (and on analogy 'Russian-Eastern, Russian-Iranian, etc.) which is customary for domestic (and quite often for foreign) historiography, is incorrect, taking into account the national composition of the merchants who dominated particular channels of this trade. We have previously justified the expedience of using the notion 'Russian-Oriental trade' which, in our view, reflects the nature of trade relations be-

tween the Russian Empire with the countries of the East [Shkunov, 2007, p. 16].

Thus, during the pre-Reform period, Tatar merchants played a special role in the Russian-Eastern trade, especially on its Crimea-Black Sea, Central-Asian and Xinjiang routes. During this time period, Tatar trading profit not only penetrated into the markets of the neighbouring Eastern countries, but also deep into Asia. In an article published in the magazine, 'A Library for Reading' in 1838 about a work by A. Humboldt, an anonymous writer remarked that merchants reached the regions of the East which are difficult to access earlier than researchers did: '... while very learned geographers talk nonsense or indulge in speculations about certain parts of inner Asia, which they call 'visited by nobody', you will find merchants and common Tatars in Siberia who know these countries perfectly well, where they have been more than once without asking European professors' permission [Kriticheskoe, 1838, p. 33]. This remark fully concerns Tatar merchants who, for centuries, had been the earliest explorers and pioneers in different regions of Asia, and contributed remarkably to the development of Russian-Eastern trade.

Trade relations in 1861–1905.

The post-Reform period opened up new perspectives for Tatar merchants. By the end of the 19th century, Tatar merchant capital had reached new regions of Asia. For example, the Tatars of Karsunsky uyezd and the Simbirsk region not only visited China, but also Japan, whence they brought carpets and Oriental fabrics which were very expensive in Russia [Akhmerov, 1903, p. 114]. The sphere of the distribution of Tatar merchant capital began to embrace not only neighbouring countries, but also distant regions of Asia and North Africa.

By the end of the 19th century. Semipalatinsk had become one of Russia's largest trading centres with Central Asia, as well as with Xinjiang. As pre-Revolutionary books noted, 'trade is a source of the city's well-being and attracts quite a few Russians, Tatars and Bukharans here' [Dolgorukov, 1898, p. 85]. Every spring, Semipalatinsk merchants sent their Tatar trade salesclerks on business to

Chuguchak, Kulja and Kashgar, while in the city itself they exchanged cattle, skins, furs, felts and lambskin with Kazakhs for yuft, tobacco, hardware, cotton cloths, brocade, velvet, cloth, chests, medicine and bread. In 1895, all of the Semipalatinsk fairs sold goods worth of 2,888,731 roubles; goods worth of 607,554 roubles were delivered to West China and the goods brought back from China totaled to the value of 565,346 roubles [Dolgorukov, 1898, p. 86, 87].

The construction of railroads that connected different regions of the Russian Empire created incentives for the promotion of Tatar merchant capital to the countries of the East. In the latter quarter of the 19th century to the early 20th century, railway transportation made cargo transit shorter and contributed to a more rapid profit turnover. It fully applied to the Central Asian, Chinese and Japanese routes of domestic foreign trade. But even if there was no railway communication, foreign trade links in some regions of Russia considerably expanded. For example, busy trade relations linked Amur Krai with Manchuria, where manufactured goods, copper and iron articles, furs, luxury goods and placer gold were delivered [Volsky, 1908, p. 404]. After the Chinese Eastern Railway (CER) had fully been put into operation, Tatar merchants trading in tea and other Chinese goods didn't have to deliver them by land in carts or by river transport. After direct tariffs were imposed from the ports of Hankou, Shanghai and Colombo, tea transportation straight to Kazan, Simbirsk, Orenburg, Moscow, Warsaw and other cities of European Part of the Russian Empire became possible. In 1903, as compared to 1902, the volume of Chinese tea delivered along the CER increased to 1,999,000 poods, that is by 614%. It was possible to pay for the delivery of tea from Shanghai to Kazan for instance. As far as the terms of delivery and transportation costs were concerned, merchants found it much more profitable. For example, one pood of tea delivered from Hankow to Moscow by paying a direct tariff, would cost 4 roubles and 86 kopeks [Volsky, 1908, p. 436]. The signifi-

cance of the tea trade can be judged by the fact that in 1897, customs income from tea made 20% of all customs charges in the state, or 3% of all state revenues [Ozerov, 1905, p. 53].

In this way, Tatar merchant capital also penetrated into China. In Harbin, for example, manufactured goods shops owned by the Agishev brothers and their sons were set up. They also owned haberdashery shops and luxury goods shops, shops selling ready-made clothes, shoes, and leather goods, furs, jewelry, groceries and colonial goods, wine and delicatessen shops, etc. [Ozerov, 1905, p. 570]. Foreign trade expansion was facilitated by the use of river steamers on the Amur and Ussuri rivers and on Lake Khanka.

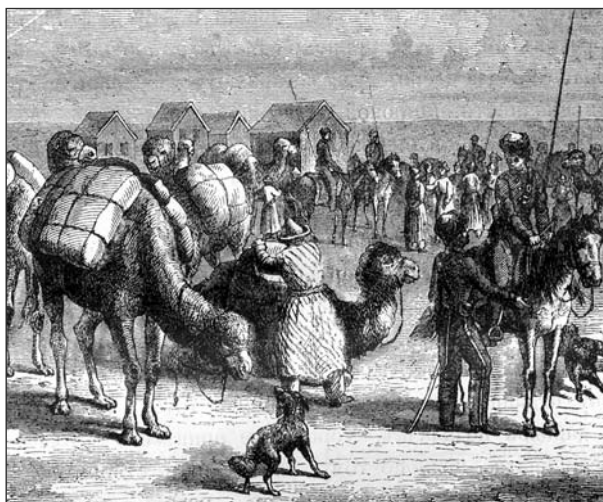
The development of communication lines and transportation in the vast expanses of Siberia and the Far East gradually diminished the role of trade fairs where Tatar merchants had traditionally figured prominently. It even concerned the largest marketplaces of the Empire such as the Irbit fair: from the middle of the 1890s, the trade turnover was steadily falling. In 1896, the import of goods to the Irbit fair was worth 47 million roubles, in 1897, it was 47 million roubles, in 1898—38 million roubles, in 1900—37 million roubles, in 1891—35 million, in 1902—32 million, in 1903—32 million roubles [Ozerov, 1905, p. 413]. Thus, in less than 10 years' time, the volume of imports to the largest Siberian marketplace decreased by over 10 million roubles.

In some border areas in the late 19th to the early 20th century, the positions of foreign merchants strengthened. For example, in Primorsky Krai, the Chinese, Koreans and Japanese offered competition to the local merchants. The sales of valuable furs via the Pacific ports to America, European countries and China were concentrated in the hands of Chinese buyers-up, who derived great profits, for, as a pre-Revolutionary monograph wrote, they 'accustom non-Russians to hard drinking and thereby get valuable furs from them almost free of charge' [Volsky, 1908, p. 427]. The rise of the Chinese on Russia's borders in the Far East caused concern, not only for domestic merchants, but

also for bodies of state administration and researchers. For example, professor Ozerov wrote in 1905: 'So, Russia is threatened with Chinese invasion... The living standards of our working population are very low, and Chinese invasion may consolidate them if due measures are not taken against it. At present they are already talking about the competition that the Chinese offer the Russian worker in the East Siberia regions bordering China' [Ozerov, 1905, p. 39–40].

Some Tatar merchants successfully combined trade business and production activity. For example, K. Akchurin owned a tannery at Petropavlovskaya station in Akmola Oblast and O. Khamitov owned a tannery in Semipalatinsk. Manufactured goods shops were run in Omsk by Aimameldinov, Abdulmanov, Gabibulin, Sirozittidinov, Savbyanov, Khabobulin; in Petropavlovsk these shops were run by Yu. Usmanov, I. Faizulin; in Kokchetav they were run by Usmanov and Khalitov, in Zaysan—by Yu. Seyfullin, A. Abrakhmanov, Devletkildeev, Urmanov; in Pavlodar—by S. Vakhitov, I. Khalimov, G. Vakhitov; in Kurgan—by Mukhametzyanov; in Barnaul—by Kh. Yusupov; in Tomsk—by S. Bairtudinov; in Minusinsk—by A. Mansurov, G. Uzunov; in Nizhneudinsk—by Mansurov; in Stretensk—by Abdul Mezid Akchurin [Volsky, 1908, p. 518–523]. Tatars also owned haberdasheries, commercial facilities selling furs, wool, tea, etc. Thus, practically everywhere in the expanses of Siberia and the Far East, there was a wide network of commercial facilities belonging to Tatar merchants. Imported goods from the East were sold here.

During the period under consideration, the geography of Tatar merchants' foreign trade links expanded. It was partly facilitated by the development of transport facilities as well as the integration of merchants' capital and the establishment of trade and other companies. For example, by 1899, a joint-stock Russian East Asian steamship company was established with the aim of carrying cargoes and passengers between Russian ports and those of Japan, China, Korea, Siam and other Eastern countries (the



A caravan on the banks of Irtysh.
Lithography, early 20th century.

governing body was based in Riga) [Volsky, 1908, p. 449].

Russia's advance into Central Asia and Tatar merchants' trade. The establishment of Turkestan Oblast, the seizure of Tashkent, the subordination of the Emirate of Bukhara and the Khanate of Khiva, the affiliation of Turkmenistan to Russia are the links on the same chain of Russia's colonial policy, which changed the economic life in the entirety of Central Asia. Already by the 70s–80s of the 19th century, the participation of new settlers in trading activities, first of all those who didn't practice Islam, became noticeably more active. The membership of the leading merchant centres in Central Asia substantially changed: the share of Russians and people from European countries increased. Nevertheless, the role of Tatar merchants didn't diminish. On the contrary, as the competition increased, they changed their trading tactics and channeled their capital into new spheres, developing the most promising sectors which were not typical of the traditional economies of the former Khanates. Practically all cities of the Turkistan Governor-Generalship had Tatar quarters and trade remained the leading occupation for many families. By the end of the century, the forms of trade organization had changed: they were acquiring a distinctive European style. For example, in Tashkent and other cities of the

Governor-Generalship, there were large Tatar trade companies which were widely known. Wholesale purchase became possible in the largest commercial centres of Central Asia due to the development of transport routes and delivery vehicles. A study carried out at the time noted: 'The richest Tatar firms, permanently based in Tashkent, which carry on trade in the steppe regions, send printed cotton, iron and other goods before they receive them in Tashkent [Obzor, 1897, p. 40].

In the last decades of the 19th century, changes in the industrial production of the Russian empire, the emergence of new branches, and higher consumer demand found its reflection on the state of Russian-Eastern trade. Tatar merchants were more and more attracted by the goods that were in greater demand in Russia's domestic market. For example, if they had earlier obtained carpets, thoroughbreds, salts and some other goods from the domains of Turkmen tribes, by the end of the century, it was oil and 'neftagil' (ozorketrite.—*V. Sh.*) [Nashisosed, 1873, p. 34–35]. Direct trade contacts between Tatar merchants and Turkmens took place in Ashūradeh on the island of Cheleken and in the Aleksandrovsy fort. In return, Turkmens received bread, iron, cast-iron cauldrons, fishing gear, sugar, tea, etc.

During this period, close trade relations were still maintained with Khiva. From there, cotton, silk, leathers, robes and fruits were delivered to Astrakhan, Kazan, Nizhny Novgorod, Orenburg and other cities of the Russian Empire. Ready-made Russian products were delivered to Khiva, such as cauldrons, cast-iron utensils, printed cotton, sugar, iron, small wares, rifles, etc. [Nashisosed, 1873, p. 128].

Starting in 1888, Tatar merchants' trading activity in Tashkent intensified. Large wholesale stores were built here. For example, the trading activity of the Yaushevs and the Bakirovs—merchants from Troitsk—was well known in the city; by the early 20th century, the volume of their business was worth 1,200,000 roubles for the former and 700,000 roubles for the latter [Dobrosmyslov, 1912a, p. 372–373]. In 1905, the trade turnover of Latif Gaisov-

ich Yaushev and his heirs reached 800,000 roubles. Troitsk Tatar merchants dealing in trade allocated considerable sums for the cotton business and raw cotton trade. At the same time, many Tatar merchants began to curtail their trading activities in Tashkent, gradually passing the torch to merchants of Uzbek and the Jewish heritage. The money was allocated to promising branches and types of trade connected with them.

Railroad construction and the expansion of Tatar merchants' trade links with the peoples of the East. On 1 May 1899, railroad traffic from Tashkent to Krasnovodsk was officially opened up on the Central Asian railway, and on 1 January 1906, the Tashkent Railway from Tashkent to Orenburg was launched. It positively resulted in the development of Tatar merchants' trade. Since there were quite large Tatar diasporas in Central Asian cities, the issue of providing education for Tatar children arose. In 1873, the first Tatar school was opened at the Mosque at Tashkent's Voskresensky Market. 100 children studied there. All in all, in 1887, 1,386 Tatars lived in the city (out of 130,304 people) [Dobrosmyslov, 1912a, p. 79]. Clusters of Tatar merchants also formed in Aralsk, the city of Turkestan, and others. In some populated areas which were also important trading centres, Tatar merchants played a key role. For example, in the city of Chimkent: 'Trade is mainly in the hands of Kazan Tatars' [Masalsky, 1913, p. 605]. Shorter time necessary to deliver goods from the banks of the Volga River, central guberniyas, as well as from the Southern Ural range with the help of the existing railway, facilitated the expansion of Tatar merchants' trade activity into the vast expanses of Kazakhstan and Central Asia.

The connection of the Trans-Caspian railway with the Samarkand-Adijan railway and, as a result, the creation of the Central Asian Railway (its operation started on May 1st, 1899) also had a positive influence on Tatar merchants' activities. They expanded their trade turnover, namely, in Ashgabat where there were about 40 caravans. 'In terms of trade, Askhabad is a major centre and transit point of

domestic and foreign trade; trade relations with Persia are quite brisk and are maintained by means of caravans' [Masalsky, 1913, p. 630]. A similar situation existed in Merv, from which raw cotton, cotton seeds, wool, hides, carpets, and rice were exported and where metal and manufactured goods as well as timber materials were imported. Their influence also became noticeable in Panj, a centre of trade with Afghanistan. From the neighbouring country, they imported fruits, nuts (pistachios), raisins, hides, raw cotton, etc. and imported Russian industrial goods, sugar, etc. Tatars also settled in the farthest regions of Central Asia, including the Pamirs. Namely, they could be found in the city of Przhevalsk (the former Karakol— *V. Sh.*) and Przhevalsk uyezd, where they were busy trading with China. Different industrial goods from Russia were imported into China (worth nearly 80 thousand rubles)—raw cotton, dried fruits, coarse calico, mata, etc. (worth nearly 688 thousand rubles) were exported [Masalsky, 1913, p. 766]. Tatar merchants also played a significant role in the trade business of Jarkent, a city bordering China. In the Asiatic part of the city, there was a large marketplace with Chinese stores and Dungan dining halls. From Jarkent, the merchants brought kerosene, sugar, cotton cloths, metals, matches, etc. to China and imported hides, leathers, wool, felt, and drove cattle. Tatar merchants had a considerable amount of money in the city of Verny (Almaty.— *V. Sh.*), in Kopal (they traded with Kulja) etc.

The books describing the period under consideration emphasise the special role of Tatar merchants at the markets of Central Asia. For example, Tatar merchants' capital was very strong in the entire Trans-Caspian Oblast: 'In this oblast, trade has so far been in the hands of the migrant population, mainly, Armenians and Tatars, as well as the Jews, Persians, and people of Khiva and Bukhara; Russians who deal in the trade business are relatively few here' [Masalsky, 1913, pp. 545]. Turkmens themselves, living on the expanses of Trans-Caspian Oblast, were less engaged in the trade business. The most important trade centres of this part were the ports of Krasnovodsk, Ashga-

bat and Merv. Ashgabat maintained close trade ties with Khiva and Iran, and Merv played a significant role in trade with Bukhara, Khiva and Afghanistan. From Khiva, hides, robes, lambskin, butter and other goods were brought through the Karakum Desert, while felt mats, tea, sugar, and various Russian manufactured goods were imported into Khiva. Of course, the largest flow of goods into the Trans-Caspian Oblast was from European Russia. From here Tatar merchants brought metal and industrial wares, flour, and sugar to Kislovodsk by sea, and green tea came through the Caucasus. From the Turkmen steppe, fish, raw cotton, wool, hides, etc. were imported.

In general, Tatar merchants took an active part in Russian-Central Asian trade. Only in Russian Turkestan were trade turnovers worth some 320 million rubles. In 1894, when the Emirate of Bukhara was integrated into the customs area of the Russian Empire, it revitalised trade relations with Afghanistan and India. For example, the export of these industrial products from Russia to Afghanistan increased: cotton fabrics, china and metal wares, sugar, etc., while imports from Russia were raw materials: raw cotton, wool, hides, etc. As before, Bukhara remained the leading centre of the Russian-Indian and the Russian-Afghani trade; there were customs houses, offices of branch banks (Russian National Bank, Russian-Chinese Bank and others), warehouses, and offices of foreign and domestic companies. The turnover of trade relations between the Russian Empire and neighbouring countries of the East lying along the Turkestan border, such as Iran, Afghanistan, India and China, had considerably grown by the early 20th century and reached 31.8 million rubles by 1908: import was worth nearly 15.7 million rubles while export was worth nearly 16 million rubles [Masalsky, 1913, p. 552]. The assortment of goods was well-established: with a trade surplus for the Russian side in general, exports from the Empire to neighbouring Asian countries was mostly made of finished industrial products, while imports mainly included raw materials and foodstuffs, which were in firm demand in the domestic market (for example, they import-



A departing caravan in Troitsk. Photo from the early 19th century.

ed fruits, nuts, sesame, etc. from Afghanistan worth considerable sums of money).

Kazan Tatars appeared during the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway. They were primarily merchants and petty traders who successfully utilised all the advantages of being pioneers. Their trading activity covered a considerable part of Manchuria: Russian Tatars could be found in Khailar, Bukhed, Mukden, Hungutlu, Chan Chun, Yakeshi, Jilin, etc. In 1904, a large Tatar diaspora settled in Harbin [Kashapov, 2010]. Tatar merchants' active participation in trade operations in Manchuria caused changes in trade flows and reorientation in the flow of goods. In particular, the price of meat has sharply increased in Harbin and Vladivostok. To provide for the demand of meat in Vladivostok, it was imported from Australia [Kharbinsky, 1908, p. 43].

Trading activity of Tatar merchants in the Kazakh steppe. The lack of competition in the Steppe earned enormous profits. The Kazakhs exchanged cattle for Russian industrial products. Quite often, Tatar merchants who left for the Steppe returned to Troitsk, Orenburg, Omsk, Orsk and Petropavlovsk with large herds of horses, loaded with different cattle-breeding products (hides, fat, intestines, etc.) and herds of cattle. Then the cattle or the raw materials were delivered to Moscow, Saint Petersburg, to the Vladimir Governorate, to Revel, Libava, and from there even to Berlin. 'Kazan consumed quite a lot of mutton fat' [Belonogov, 1903, p. 291]. Tatar merchants also played

a significant role at the large local markets of Kirghiz Krai: Konstantinovskaya in Akmolinsk, Petrovskaya in Atbasar, Tainchinskaya in Petropavlovsk Uyezd, Botovskaya in Karkarlinsky Uyezd, Char-skaya in Semipalatinsk Uyezd, in Aktyubinsk, Kustanai, Turgai, Irghiz, Guryevsk and others. To transport cargo, Tatar merchants used river and land transport, but more often cargo was delivered through a

combined method: on camels or horses, they were then transferred to river boats and eventually continued by rail and so on. The development of trade in this area was facilitated by enormous railway construction. Putting the West Siberian railway into operation and the construction of Orenburg-Tashkent railway facilitated a larger trade turnover and broader geography of trade.

Other trading conditions existed in Semirechenskaya Oblast. Here 'the market of cattle and cattle-breeding products ... was in the hands of Tatars and Sarts'. Small trade in the steppe and at local markets was also mostly conducted by Tatar merchants: '...when autumn comes, these merchants, provided with the stocks of goods which the Kirghiz need in everyday life, make their appearance in the winter nomad camps and, staying there for the whole winter, they exchange their goods for cattle, wool, hides and other steppe products, which are then exported to the north, to Siberia or to the south to Turkestan (cattle)' [Belonogov, 1903, p. 546]. The most important trade route in Tatar merchants' foreign trade in Semipalatinsk Oblast was the Chinese route. From Xinjiang to Semipalatinsk they delivered wool, hides, other cattle-breeding products, live cattle, cotton fabrics, raw cotton, china, brick tea, etc. In turn, they imported the following goods from China to Russia: cloth, cotton fabrics, utensils, candles, sugar, kerosene, matches, metal wares and others. Thus, by the early 20th century, Tatar merchants' foreign trade links

with the peoples of the East had considerably extended. This was facilitated by the development of communication, by Russia's trade agreements with almost all neighbouring states, by the implementation of large-scale projects on Russia's borders and on the territories of the neighbouring Asiatic countries, by the wide use of banking loans, by using insurance, and by the active creation of trading houses, companies and joint-stock societies. The rich experience of trade interaction with the peoples

of Asia which had been accumulated by the preceding generations made it possible for the Tatar commercial class to subtly feel the pulse of the East, to quickly adjust themselves to the rapidly changing conditions of both domestic and foreign markets. The prestige of Tatar merchants in the East contributed to more reliable partnership trade and economic relations between the Russian Empire and the peoples of Asia, and served as a kind of visiting card for the northern country.

§ 2. Russia's Central Asiatic policy and Tatar interpreters

Gulmira Sultangalieva

To develop strategy and tactics of attitude towards Khiva, Kokand, and as well as to find out what kind of plans the British had for Central Asia, the government needed to receive reliable information on a regular basis.

The customs house in Orenburg was one of the largest in the empire; Orenburg's *Menovoj dvor* [trading centre] gathered representatives coming not only from the steppe and Central Asia, but also from Afghanistan, Persia, China, etc. From the 1860s Orenburg rose in prominence, especially due to the infiltration of English intelligence missions into Central Asia and its neighbouring countries, whose territories, according to strategic plans of the British government, were regarded as potentially lucrative markets for English industrial goods and a convenient springboard for further military and political activities in this region [Rozhkova, 1949, pp. 152–180]; 1958, pp. 109, 111; Mikhaleva, 1982; Erofeyeva, 2000, p. 358,–362].

Since even geographical data and information on natural and climatic conditions were scanty, it is no wonder that this information was also provided by interpreters with official embassies and trade caravans arriving in Orenburg from Khiva, Kokand and Bukhara. Communicating with their retinues made it possible to receive 'the needed information' about the nature and mission of the embassies, about influential officials, and about the strength and combat readiness of the armies of neighbour-

ing countries [State Archive Orenburg Region, f. 167, inv. 1, file 2428, s. 1–28 reverse].

Dragomans were mainly engaged for oral translation, while interpreters' activities were determined by the role the Orenburg region played in the empire's eastern policy; they were required to have a command of oriental languages. The character, content of work, duties and powers of interpreters and dragomans depended on the policies of the regional authorities in the multi-ethnic region at the given stage.

Furthermore, the administration of Orenburg included Tatar translators in diplomatic missions, which were sent to Central Asian Khanates or appointed them as *pristavs* [official representatives] accompanying Khiva or Bukhara ambassadors who arrived in Orenburg. One of the first Tatar interpreters for the regional administration, who joined Russian diplomatic missions sent to Central Asian khanates, was interpreter Mendiir Bekchurin. On two occasions (in 1771 and 1780) he was sent with a diplomatic mission to Bukhara.

Lieutenant Abdulnasyr Subkhankulov arrived in Bukhara in 1810 on an important mission, namely, to present a letter from the Russian emperor to the Emir of Bukhara in order to establish diplomatic relations between the countries. In addition, he was given special assignments: to identify those who were counterfeiting Russian bank notes, in particular, the

counterfeiter Kh. Valitov;³ to gather information about the number of Russian prisoners and Kara-Kalpaks in the Khanate of Bukhara; to clarify the position of the British in Afghanistan and the Central Asian Khanates; to study the state of trade and the economic interests of the merchants and government of Bukhara; and, finally, to plan the routes of Russian trade caravans to Central Asia [Galiev, 1994, p. 51].

In 1818, Subkhankulov was sent on a new secret mission, this time to another Central Asian khanate, to Khiva. The official reason for sending the expedition was Russia's desire to reach an agreement with the Khan of Khiva on mutual protection of trade and, if possible, to have him pay damages to Russian merchants who had been robbed by Khivans. The aim of the mission was also intelligence. In general, Lieutenant Subkhankulov's missions helped the Russian authorities gain a better understanding of the events taking place in the neighbouring countries of Central Asia and find solutions to specific issues connected with the development of Russia's trade ties with her southern neighbours. [Shkunov, 1997, pp. 17–23; Vneshnyaya politika, 1952, pp. 332–337].

The Khanate of Khiva had a special role in the strategic plans of the Russian Empire. The proximity of Khiva to trade routes leading to the neighbouring Central Asian khanates made it very important for Russian-Central Asian trade.

In the first half of the 19th century the relations between Russia and Khiva, despite the development of trade contacts, were strained. One of the reasons was the delineation of spheres of influence in the Kazakh steppe. Despite the fact that the Kazakh lands bordering on the Khiva Khanate had been a part of the Russian Empire for nearly a century, the rulers of Khiva claimed control over the Kazakh

clans that camped along the Caspian Sea coast [Rozhkova, 1949, pp. 46–48].

In order to regulate relations, an expedition was sent to Khiva in 1819 with interpreter M. Bekchurin, who was supposed to convey a letter to the vizier of Khiva from the head of the Collegium of Foreign Affairs, K. Nesselrode. However, his mission was unsuccessful because Bekchurin was sent back without an official response.

Relations between the countries were greatly complicated by the question of the Russian prisoners of war in Khiva and the mechanism of their release. After unsuccessful negotiations, which took place in 1837–1838, the government decided to enforce its claims by force of arms; thus, a project for a military campaign against Khiva was supported.

Because of limited financial support for the Khiva expedition, it was decided to hire camels from the Kazakhs in the western part of the Orenburg Department instead of buying them. In early November 1839 Cornet Muhammad-Sharif Aitov was sent to the steppe 'for the delivery of 2,000 camels' [Ivanin, 1874]. However, Aitov collected only 500 camels; due to a lack of funds, he failed to repay the Kazakhs for 'hiring the camels' and he was taken captive by the Adai Kazakhs and sold to merchants from Khiva [State Archive of Orenburg Region, fund 167, inv. 1, file 24, s. 5].

While Aitov, an interpreter of the Orenburg Border Commission, was in Khiva as a captive (until August 1840), he met twice with the Khivan Khan Allakuli (1826–1842). The conversations with Aitov gave the Khan the ability to define the subsequent vector of relations with the Russian Empire. The Khan allowed Aitov to make a list of Russian prisoners who wanted to return to Russia. In August 1840 Aitov brought a letter from the Khan of Khiva Allakuli to military governor V. Perovsky and a personalised gift—a silver knife with a handle made of ivory—to Orenburg as a symbol of the resolution of the conflict [State Archive of Orenburg Region, fund 167, inv. 1, file 24, s. 22].

The information gathered by Aitov about the inner life of the Khanate of Khiva was of

³ A native of the village of Ishteryapova (Ashitovskaya) in the Ufa District of the Kazan Guberniya illegally left for Bukhara via the Troitsk fortress and set up the production of counterfeit Russian money, producing 8,000 roubles in assignats a week, which greatly worried the Russian authorities.

interest to the government; in September 1840, the interpreter 'was promoted to lieutenant for excellent actions while in captivity' [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 4, inv. 1, file 2786, s. 3 reverse.].

In May 1841 Aitov was part of the diplomatic mission of Captain Nikiforov, who went to Khiva in order to achieve recognition of Russia's rights to the entire eastern shore of the Caspian Sea [Sbornik, 1912]. However, the Khan of Khiva cautiously accepted the mission of Nikiforov and did not agree to reside Aitov in his court as a 'Russian public servant'⁴. In 1844 Aitov escorted Khivan ambassadors to St. Petersburg [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, fund 4, inv. 1, file 414, s. 67–72].

Interpreter Suleiman Batyrshin also made a certain contribution to the development of Russia's relations with the Central Asian khanates. He was sent by governor V. Perovsky to the Steppe in 1853 'for the speedy hiring of camels' from the Horde 'to transfer state food supplies' in the course of preparation for the Khiva expedition in 1853. For efficiency and on-time delivery of animal transport, Batyrshin was made a titular counsellor with seniority in 1854. In 1854–1859 he repeatedly accompanied embassies from Bukhara and Khiva to St. Petersburg as a *pristav* [official representative] and accompanied Russian embassies to Khiva and Bukhara as a *dragoman* [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 25, inv. 5, file 245, s. 46].

In addition, Tatar interpreters made detailed 'Notes' about the Central Asian khanates, which contained information on the socio-political development of the state and recommendations for developing areas of the empire's policy not only in relation to the neighbouring Khanates, but also in relation to the Kazakhs of the Syrdar region [Zapiska, 2007, p. 300–318].



Interpreter Suleyman Batyrshin. Photo, 1858.

For active assistance in the Central Asian policy of the empire, some Tatar interpreters were promoted and decorated: On 23 March 1811, Abdulnasyr Subkhankulov was awarded a gold medal on a red ribbon and a one-time payment of 750 rubles 'for diligent performance' of his duties during his time in Bukhara; S. Batyrshin received the rank of court counsellor in 1862 [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 25, inv. 5, file 245, s. 47].

In summing up our analysis of this aspect of the activities of Tatar interpreters and translators, let us note that the collection of various information and data about the persons who came from Central Asia as caravan leaders, merchants or salesmen to the market in Orenburg was a mandatory rule for Tatar officials. This can be seen in their messages and reports, where they notified local authorities about what they heard 'from the Kyrgyz and Tashkentians coming to the market' [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 4, inv. 1, file 4910, s. 1–5; file 2467, s. 165]. It was merchants and caravanners, who provided the administration with the first information

⁴ The negotiations begun by Nikiforov on the conclusion of a peace treaty between Russia and Khiva were continued in 1842 by Lieutenant-Colonel G. Danilevsky. His mission was more successful. He concluded an act, according to which the Khivin Khan Rakhimkul (1842–1845) pledged not to undertake hostile actions against Russia, not to condone the looting of trade caravans, and not to keep Russian prisoners in Khiva.

about the upcoming arrival of envoys and diplomatic missions from neighbouring countries and military and strategic information.

Tatar interpreters performed a wider range of functions than was provided for by their actual positions. They played the role of intermediaries in establishing contacts between the regional authorities and representatives of indigenous peoples; when receiving diplomatic missions from neighbouring countries and when sending Russian embassies; and in trade between Russia, the Steppe and Central Asia;

and they collected information on the history and culture of the peoples, on the natural and geographical conditions of the region, etc.

Thus, the activities of Tatar interpreters and translators in the agencies administering the Kazakhs in the first half of the 20th century was complex and multifaceted. Their work in governmental institutions and their participation in diplomatic missions and negotiations objectively met the government's purposes for advancement into the territory of South Kazakhstan and Central Asia.

§ 3. The North Caucasus

Ildus Zagidullin

During the reign of Catherine II the Russian Empire began to implement the so-called Greek project, which called for the complete conquest and subsequent partition of the Ottoman Empire. Part of the implementation of the Greek project was the accession of Crimea in 1783, the creation of the Black Sea Fleet, and the conquest of the Caucasus. In 1805–1806 all the major Khanates of Northern Azerbaijan were merged into the Russian Empire [Smirnov, 1958, p. 174].

The autocracy tried to use its experience in strengthening its political influence in the Kazakh steppe with regard to the Caucasian peoples as well. In the early 19th century, Orenburg mufti M. Khusainov was sent on a mission to the Caucasus, where he received Russian prisoners from the Kabardians and organised their tribal courts and the procedure for taking an oath of loyalty to the Russian Emperor [Azamatov, 1996, p. 47].

According to the literal meaning of the Decree dated 22 September 1788 on the establishment of the Assembly of Mohammedan Law, all the Eurasian space of the Empire came under its religious and administrative jurisdiction, especially considering that three years before that, in 1785, the Caucasian vicegerency (1785–1795) had been created, com-

prised of the Caucasus and Astrakhan regions⁵. In 1860, after the abolition of the Caucasian military lines, the Kuban, Terek and Dagestan oblasts were formed [Tsutsiev, 2006, p. 16, 20]. The Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, because the question of administration of the spiritual affairs of the Russian Ummah was poorly elaborated in legislation, took nearly every opportunity to isolate itself from the North Caucasus (the Kuban and Terek regions and Stavropol province), stating that they were not officially under its jurisdiction. However, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the local administration, due to the absence of religious administration in these regions, systematically sought an expert opinion in Ufa when it was necessary. The State Council, having considered in 1894 the program of the War Ministry on the reform of the administration of Muslim spiritual affairs in the North

⁵ In 1790 the Kazan Guberniya was abolished, after which it gained the status of a district within the Astrakhan Guberniya; in 1802 it was restored; in 1822 it was reorganised into a district with its centre in the city of Stavropol; and in 1847 it was renamed the Stavropol Guberniya. The territory occupied by the Nogais was divided into four administrative units, which led to a split between their tribal groups. All Nogai administrative units were included in Stavropol guberniya. In 1888 the Karanogai unit and Kizlyar uyezd were ceded to the Terskaya Oblast.

Caucasus, acknowledged that the powers of the OMSA did not extend to the Terek and Kuban regions and Stavropol province. But this opinion of the supreme authority was not properly codified in legal documents [Zagidullin, 2007, p. 6].

By 1830 the conquest of Transcaucasia has been completed. by that time an imamat had taken shape in the North Caucasus—an Islamic state with a strong ideology that united mountain dwellers who were 'totally hostile to Russia', which soon was headed by Shamil. An 'era of state-organised opposition to Russia on the part of a considerable part of the mountain communities of Dagestan and Chechnya' had began [Tsutsiev, 2006, p. 18]. The government was concerned about the spread of the anti-Russian ideology of the mountain dwellers among their brothers-in-faith in the Volga-Ural Region. In order to prevent any contact between them, in 1833 assignment of Tatar recruits (Muslims) to the Separate Caucasian Corps was prohibited [Svod voenny'x, 1838, Part 2, Book 1, Article 271].

At the same time, the government decided to use the Islamic religious institution under its control as an ideological countermeasure: it established the office of mufti of the Sunni Muslims of the Caucasus in 1834 in Tiflis. Of the two candidates recommended by Orenburg mufti G. Gabdrakhimov for this responsible position, the government chose Mustafa Tadzhetdin, who had studied in Dagestan and was one of the most educated clergymen in Kazan. It is known that Tadzhetdin appealed to the mountain dwellers in 1837, calling on them to submit to the Russian government. However, the mufti was not popular among the mountain dwellers of Dagestan. According to Ş. Märcani, the reason for his resignation and departure to Kazan⁶ was complaints against him from his enemies and the envious [Märcani, 1989, b. 302–303]. According to other sources, in 1840 M. Tadzhetdin went to Kazan on the pretext of family affairs, and made receipt of a salary equal to that of the Orenburg mufti a condition

of his return to the Caucasus. Tadzhetdin was replaced by Kazakh qadi Osman Effendi at the previous salary of 250 silver rubles.

When M. Vorontsov was the governor of the Caucasus (served 1844–1854), a Crimean Tatar qadi-esker and his four assistants were invited in 1845 with a salary of 400 rubles each in order to intensify the ideological influence on the mountain dwellers. Qadi-esker Sayyid Halil Effendi was active in preaching and was awarded the Order of St. Anna, 3rd class, and the members of his entourage were made officials of the 14th rank [Smirnov, 1963, p. 95–97; Avksentiev, 1973, p. 60–61]. In 1852 Vorontsov invited 10 ulamas from OMSA 'to counter the preachers of jihad' [Severnoy'j Kavkaz, 2007, p. 105].

Another important area in the government's activity to create a docile clergy was the foundation of eight Muslim religious schools in 1849—three for Sunnis (in Tiflis, Derbent and Shemakha) and five for Shiites (in Tiflis, Elisabethpol, Shusha, Shamakhi and Baku) [Smirnov, 1963, p. 98]. This step indicated the unwillingness of the authorities to involve Tatar mullahs in solving political problems in the Caucasus and an emphasis on creating a loyal local clergy.

Another step of the government aimed at forming aristocratic strata of the Caucasian peoples that were loyal to Russia should be noted. In 1828, as a part of His Imperial Majesty's Own Escort in St. Petersburg the Caucasian Mountain Half-Squadron of Life Guards was formed from among the elite of the Muslim mountain dwellers⁷. In May 1837, in order to incline the mountain dwellers to 'voluntary submission', a delegation from the emperor was sent to the Caucasus, headed by the commander of the Caucasian Mountain Half-Squadron of the Life Guards, Colonel Khan Giray. Meetings with chiefs of the mountain dwellers were held at certain points on the cordon line, where

⁶ M. Tadjedin then travelled to Mecca, but on his journey home in 1845 he died, aged 57.

⁷ At the height of the Caucasian war (in 1836) a group of Lezgians formed part of the Leib Guard of the Caucasian mountain half-squadron of His Imperial Majesty's Own Convoy (before 1882). Between 1839–1882 His Imperial Majesty's Own Convoy also included a team of Muslims from amongst the Azerbaijani troops.

they were invited to choose representatives from among themselves to express their loyalty to the Emperor. In August, Nicholas I arrived in the Caucasus. However, hopes for the peaceful accession of the North Caucasus proved vain [Petin, 1899, pp. 90–104].

In the early 1830s the soldiers of the Caucasian Mountain Half-Squadron of the Life Guards of His Imperial Majesty's Own Escort appealed to the Emperor with a request to enroll their children and relatives in military schools; as a result, 40 young mountain dwellers from 25 princely families were assigned to the Dvoryansky Regiment and the Alexandrovsky, Pavlovsky and the 2nd Cadet Corps. In 1830–1840 315 mountain dwellers were being educated in the cadet corps, and in 1845, 128 mountain dwellers studied there. In 1834 came an imperial decree on the summoning of the children of honored Muslims of the Caucasus Krai to the Page Corps. To teach Muslim cadets the basics of Islam, mugalim positions were originally provided for in the staff schedule of the capital's schools (since 1865—for a fee). Tatar civilians and military mullahs of St. Petersburg were invited to take these positions. Along with teaching the basics of Islam in the Page Corps, the imam G. Suleymanov (the future Orenburg mufti) conducted educa-

tional work among them in order to 'instill trust in the government'. In 1831 he was awarded the title of Tarkhan for his successful teaching activities in line with the government policy. In 1822–1846 Imam Muhammadalim Khan-temirov taught the Muslim mountain dwellers, and in the 1850s his son Imam Muhammaddin Khantemirov did the same. Then military akhund of the Special Guard Corps Hamidullah Khalitov started his teaching career.

On the eve of the end of the Caucasian War, by a decree dated 11 October 1858, the assignment of the children of honoured mountain chiefs to the cadet corps was terminated, and it was ordered that they should be given a 'local education'. The only exception was for children 'from honourable and rich families'.

Thus, the active participation of the Tatars in Russian relations with the countries of the East were in the pre-reform period, and it was largely initiated by the government to address specific foreign policy and economic objectives. The main areas of Tatar activity were establishing and developing trade and economic relations with Asian markets; service in border administrations as translators and interpreters and as escorts of diplomatic missions; and gathering information on the situation in neighbouring countries.

§ 4. The Tatars and the Ottoman State

Alfina Sibgatullina, Ismail Turkoglu

The Volga Tatars, as representatives of Turkic peoples and Sunni Muslims living in the Russian Empire, held Ottoman Turkey and the sultan-caliph in respect and awe, as the guarantor of Turkic brotherhood and the unity of the faith for all Muslims in the world. One important means of establishing regular contacts between Russian Muslims and brothers-in-faith in the Ottoman State was the hadj. In addition to the performance of religious duties, the hadj contributed to establishing cultural, interpersonal and trade and economic relations between Muslims of both countries. Hejaz, the region where Mecca and Medina, cities sacred

to Muslims around the world, are located, was at that time part of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, Russian Muslims performing the hadj, regardless of the route, would in any case enter the domain of the Turkish sultan-caliph.

Performing the hadj was a difficult, time-consuming and costly undertaking. Rich Tatars, in order to create the conditions for rest on their way to Mecca, established waqfs on the route of pilgrims. A document of 1791 tells of a Suleiman Chelebi from Kazan, who created a waqf in Istanbul. In 1837 one such waqf was established by Suleyman-aga from Kazan [Osmanskij arxiv pri prem'er-ministre Turecz-

koj Respubliki, fund C, HR, file 714]. In 1847 Muhammadjan Effendi created a tekke—a Sufi institution—in Mecca. At the turn of the century the purchase of various types of real estate in Istanbul, Mecca and Medina by rich Muslims from the Volga Region was noted. Pilgrims from the Volga Region were accommodated in the 'Uzbek' Naqshbandi tekkes in Istanbul and other cities of the Empire. Shakirds who had come to Turkey to study in madrassas organised communities and societies. Students and pilgrims brought books of various content to the Volga Region, including textbooks, which explains, in particular, the influence of Ottoman language on many writers and publicists of the early twentieth century. The Tatar intelligentsia also became acquainted with French novels through Turkish translations.

The capital of the Ottoman Empire was the main transit point for pilgrims en route to Mecca and Medina, and Russian Muslims did not miss the opportunity to visit Istanbul, speak with the local sheikhs, imams and ulemams, and purchase new books on Islam. A vivid example of this is the pilgrimage of Şihabetdin Märcani, who was in Istanbul for 12 days in 1880. Like other pilgrims from Russia, Märcani visited the main mosques and libraries of the city. He not only bought books, but presented his own books to the Hamidiye Library. Märcani was received in Istanbul by such famous people as Mufti Shaykh ul-Islam Ahmad Esad-Efendi, Minister of Justice Jevdet-Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs Asim-Pasha, Sheikh Muhammad-Effendi al-Edirnevi, Sayyid Salman al-Baghdadi, Darwish b. Ibrahim al-Kurdi al-Baghdadi and others. When Märcani spoke with them, he was pleasantly surprised that they heard of his essay 'Nazurat al-haqq'. They asked his opinion about the length of the day and night and about the sunrise and sunset in the Volga-Ural region, and about scholars and the Muslims of Russia in general; they were interested in spreading the European system of education among the Tatar people [Yuzeev, 2003, pp. 54–75].

The pilgrimage of Sufi ishan Zainulla Rasulev is an example of the acquisition of new religious movements by 'Russian Muslims' in the

Ottoman Empire. Thanks to his meeting with sheikh Ahmed Ziyaeddin Gyumyushhanevi in Istanbul in 1869, a new branch of the Naqshbandi tariqat, Khalidiyya, became widespread in the Volga-Ural region.

The attitude of the government of the Russian Empire to performance of the hadj by Russian subjects was mixed. The authorities often saw it as a way for alien ideology to penetrate; that is why in the mid-1860s (under the influence of the mass 'apostasy' of baptised Tatars to Islam in the Middle Volga Region) [Materialy', 1936, p. 449] and at the turn of the century (to counter the migration of Tatars to Turkey) the pilgrimage of Russian Muslims was prohibited under various pretexts.

In the late 19–early 20th century the number of Russian Muslims making the pilgrimage to Hejaz grew steadily and amounted to 8–10 million people per year. Some poor pilgrims staying in the territory of the Ottoman Empire could rely on the financial assistance of the Sultan, which was expressed in the allocation of free tickets for ships going to Jidda, the possibility to join the Sultan's caravan which brought gifts to Mecca every year during the hadj season, etc.; this meant full coverage of travel expenses and free food, as well as a guarantee of safety on the road.

In the late 18–first half of the 19th century, pilgrims played an important role in the resettlement of the Tatars. The Crimean War caused a new wave of migration from Russia. For this reason, in 1859 in Istanbul a state commission on displaced persons (muhajirs) from the Russian regions was created, the keeping of records about them was organised, and information about arrivals was gathered. Data about migrants up to that time was recorded in the archives only if material assistance was requested [Osmanskij arxiv pri prem'er-ministre Tureczkoj Respubliki, fund C. MF, file 3222; fund C. ML, file 8575]. We know that not all migrants made such applications. From 1876 to 1914 500,000 people moved from Russia to the Ottoman Empire. Most of them were representatives of the Caucasian Muslim peoples from Crimea and the Caucasus, while a small part were migrants from the Volga-Ural region.

At that time there was a resettlement agreement between the two countries. Each side had its own interest: Russia sought to liberate the Black Sea coast from Muslims (the imperial authorities at the same time prohibited resettlement from the interior guberniyas of the country), while the Ottoman Empire sought to settle its unoccupied land. Each side put forward its own terms: Russia's condition was that the migrants not be settled on the border with Russia, and the Ottomans' condition was that the muhajirs not leave the land that they received from the state. A common condition was that they not return. In this situation the only victims were the migrants, as in the course of migration many Muslims died. Among the muhajirs there were those who did not want to become Ottoman subjects so that they could return to Russia after a time.

There were periods when the Ottoman authorities prohibited the arrival of muhajirs from Russia due to the spread of the plague and cholera among them. A quarantine area was established not far from Istanbul on the shore of the Black Sea. In such years muhajirs were allowed to enter the city only after a medical quarantine. In the second half of the 19th century the number of migrants from the Volga-Ural region increased. Part of the Volga Tatars, for religious, economic, military and political reasons (forced Christianisation and Russification, famine in 1891–1892, the census of 1897, the Stolypin reforms, the reaction after the revolution of 1905, etc.), were forced to move to Turkey. The main reasons for the resettlement of Tatar migrants were the pressure of the autocracy in the sphere of Muslim religious education, the compulsory teaching of the Russian language and restrictions on book printing, social and economic problems, widespread famine in 1891–1892, the results of the Russo-Turkish wars, and the desire to live freely, to get a religious education, to live together with brothers-in-faith, etc. [Ibrahim, 1908; 1911]. In 1892, 51 ulama scholars from Mecca and Medina wrote a special appeal to the Caliph, Sultan Abdulhamid II, where they highlighted the increased activity of mission-

aries among Russian Muslims and the moral and material support of the missionary work of the Russian Church by imperial authorities. The ulama scholars asked the caliph to support brothers-in-faith at the public policy level [Osmanskij arxiv pri prem'er-ministre Tureczkoj Respubliki, fund Y, MTV, inv. 57, file 50].

The Ottoman authorities were forced to develop a specific policy on the placement of immigrants from the Volga-Ural region. There was a special commission for muhajirs, which kept records of them and monitored them, and also placed migrants throughout Anatolia. At the same time, the wishes of the migrants were taken into account when it was possible.

The Ottoman government allowed wealthy muhajirs to settle in Istanbul; others were placed in the interior areas of the Empire. The bulk of the migrants from the Volga-Ural region and Crimea were sent to Anatolia, an economically undeveloped region of the country. They received free plots of land (not less than 20 acres per man, and they were freed from taxes for 10 years and from military service for 25 years), free lots for building houses, and building materials. For a whole year the migrants were provided with free food. In addition to this, there was a rule that the migrants were not allowed to return to their native land⁸. Despite this, conflicts occasionally arose between the locals and the muhajirs; in this case they were sent to other areas or provided with protection.

Usually muhajirs were required to have official permission for resettlement issued by the Russian authorities. Those who obtained

⁸ For example, in 1894 a group of muhajiruns from the Kazan Guberniya arrived in Trabzon in order to return to Russia. But the Ottoman authorities did not allow them to leave and allocated special lands to them. In 1899 sixteen families (111 people) of Tatars from the Kazan Guberniya were dispatched to the town of Malatya. However, they refused to settle in the lands they had been granted because of their low fertility and 'barren landscape.' As a result, they returned to the city of Samsun, from where they would depart for Russia. The government then offered them new territories close to the coastal areas of Samsun (the present-day village of Hilmiya) [Osmanskij arxiv pri prem'er-ministre Tureczkoj Respubliki, fund I. DH, inv. 1318, file Ca/5; OATR, fund MV, inv. 97, file 87].

such permission were issued a Russian passport. Those who wanted to migrate from Russia appealed to the Sultan through special agents dealing with the resettlement of Muslims to the Ottoman Empire. Information about the route and the number of migrants was reported in advance to Turkey, whose authorities took measures for their reception and temporary accommodation. The Turkish Ministry of Internal Affairs allocated a certain amount for their transportation and accommodation, and gave long-term loans for construction of houses. However, some settlers came to the Ottoman Empire unofficially, without the consent of the parties and without passports. The Turkish side accepted them as refugees. The total number of Tatar migrants is unknown. On the average there were 4 people in each family. Tatars from the Kazan, Ufa, Saratov, Samara, Simbirsk, and Astrakhan guberniyas lived in Anatolia near the cities of Istanbul, Izmir, Bursa, Ankara, Eskişehir, Kütahya, Samsun, Amasya, Malatya, Adana, Yozgat, and Izmit, on the Balkan Peninsula in Dobruja, and in Mecca, Medina, Jidda, and Damascus. Tatar villages were organised, which were named Osmania, Mesudiya, Hilmiya, Hamidiya, Hamidabad, Ertugrul, etc. Some muhajirs did not like the place they were settled in, and they expressed their desire to return to Russia⁹. The Ottoman side tried to prevent these attempts, offering fertile land and building materials to those who were dissatisfied. The Tatars usually got along with the local population, although sometimes there were problems with land partition. The Tatars engaged in farming and livestock breeding. Those who settled in the city kept teahouses or coffeehouses with the consent of the authorities.

There were attempts to create their own diaspora and societies, but the Tatars gradually

adapted to the Turkish environment and assimilated. Subsequently Volga muhajirs and their descendants have played a significant role in the socio-political and cultural life of the Ottoman Empire, in particular, holding very high positions in state administrative structures, as well as gaining wide reknown in science, literature and art.

The Minister of State of the Ottoman Empire Mehmed Kani Pasha (1805–1885), who was a Tatar born in Penza Province, played a major role in the improvement of immigrants' life. He started his career as a translator and gradually became an influential figure under Sultan Abdulaziz (1861–1878) and Abdulhamid II (1876–1909). He successfully dealt with the financial and economic affairs at the palace and with the customs service, served as Minister of Finance (1864–1865, 1879–1879) and Minister of Public Works (1873), and was a member of the Meclis (National Assembly). He facilitated political relations with Russia and France, and was awarded the Order of Stanislaus 1st class and the Order of the Legion of Honour 2nd class [Osmanskij arxiv pri prem'er-ministre Tureczkoj Respubliki, fund DH, SAID, inv. 1, file 244]. Mehmed Kani Pasha was the highest governmental and political figure from among the immigrants from the Russian Empire. He was buried in Topkapı at the Merkez-Efendi cemetery. The descendants of Mehmed Kani Pasha also became prominent figures in the Ottoman Empire [Osmanskij arxiv pri prem'er-ministre Tureczkoj Respubliki, A. MKT. MHM, 335/6].

Tatar Miftahetdin bin Abdulgani, a native of Belebey Uyezd, Ufa Province and a graduate of the Sterlibashevo madrasa, may be named among the representatives of the administrative staff of various court services. In Istanbul he was presented to the Sultan by Mukhtar Pasha, and for thirty years Captain Miftahetdin served in security in the palace of the Sultan. Abdul Hamid II named him Mustafa, and appointed him as a manager of his palace. It is known that Mustafa-Efendi provided great assistance to Russian pilgrims [Gabdreshit Ibrahim, 1911, b. 3].

Gabderashit Ibragimov was the most active among Tatar theologists in Turkey at the end of

⁹ It is a known fact that the poem by G. Tukay 'Kitmibez!' ('We Shall Not Leave!') is written in protest against the policy making of the Russian authorities, who forced Muslims to abandon their motherland. It became a response to agitators calling upon the Tatars to migrate to Turkey. In his novel 'Muhadjiri' (1934) Makhmut Galyau (1886–1938) describes the depressing circumstances of the resettlement and accommodation of the Tatars in Anatolia.

the century. In 1895 in Istanbul he published the books 'Livaul Hamd' and 'The Morning Star', which were banned in Russia for severe criticism of Orthodox missionary activities and the Russification policy of the autocracy. Having made a journey through Europe and Asia in 1897–1900, G. Ibragimov began to preach the idea of reforming Islam and modernising the lives of Muslims among the Turkic Muslims of the Russian and Ottoman empires. In his first book he urged Tatars to migrate to Turkey. The book quickly became popular among Russian Muslims, and largely prevented the conducting of the census in 1897.

The migration of Russian Muslims to the Ottoman Empire had a positive impact on its economy: the bank investments and gold reserves of the country increased.

Muhajirs significantly strengthened the intellectual power of the Ottoman Empire. Among them were many intelligent and cultured people; their children were educated in Turkey, Germany, and France, and later formed a new generation of Turkish scientists, politicians, and artists. It was immigrants from the Muslim Turkic peoples of Russia (Y. Akçura, M. Rasulzade, A. Ağaoğlu and others) who contributed to the development of political movements such as Islamism, Turanism, and Turkism, which after 1908 became the dominant ideology in Turkey.

In the second half of the 19th century the priorities of the foreign education of the Volga-Ural Tatars changed. The eyes of Tatar youth who were eager for knowledge turned to the educational institutions of the Ottoman state. At the end of the century, secular higher education institutions drew the attention of Tatar youth: Istanbul's Darülfünûn (University), Dârul-muallimîn (Pedagogical Institute), Military College (Harbiye Mektebi) and 'Mülkiye' (Mekteb-i Mülkiye-i Şahane), the highest secular school where government officials were trained. But they officially began to accept foreign students only after 1905. Among the first Kazan Tatars who studied in 'Mülkiye' were Musa Akyegetzade (1884–1923) and Fatikh Karimi (1870–1937). Akyegetzade, the author

of the first Tatar realistic novel 'Hisametdin Menla', remained in Turkey after graduating from 'Mülkiye' (1891), wrote works on economics, and published the newspaper 'Metin' and various materials about the life of Russian Muslims.

Fatikh Karimi, while he was in Turkey in 1892–1894, carefully studied the culture and history of the Ottoman people. When he returned to Russia, he became active in journalism and was the long-time editor of the Orenburg newspaper 'Vakit', which regularly covered the lives of Turkic peoples not only in Russia, but also in the Ottoman Empire.

A graduate of the second level (Ida-diya) of 'Mülkiye' was Gubaydulla Bubi (1865–1938), the head and mudarris of the Izh-Bubi madrasah. Zakir Ramiev (the poet Derdmend) and Galimdzhana Idrisi got their education in Istanbul. An Ufa Muslim charity sent Ziya Kamali to study in Istanbul; he soon transferred to Al-Azhar University in Cairo, which was also located in the territory of the Ottoman Empire.

In the early twentieth century, many of the highly educated Muslim intellectuals working in the teaching collectives of the madrasahs 'Galiya', 'Husain', Izh-Bubi, etc., were graduates of educational institutions in the Ottoman Empire. For example, the founder of the madrasa 'Galiya', Z. Kamali (1873–1942), graduated from the famous 'Al-Azhar' University in Cairo (1904). Habibullah Zayni, a teacher in this madrasa, was a graduate of the Faculty of Biology and Geography at the Istanbul Pedagogical Institute; Gubaydulla Sattar was a graduate of Istanbul Teachers' Institute, and Gabdulla Sataev was a graduate of the Faculty of Physics and Biology of Istanbul University. Zakir Kadyri studied at the universities of Beirut and Cairo, Fakhri Gabdulla—in Istanbul, Zakir Ayukhanov—at Cairo University, Taki Badygi—in Hejaz. Khatmulla Fazylov and Lutfulla Baychurin perfected their knowledge during long stays in Egypt and Arabia. Nouri Ahmed and Abdullah Shepasov received their education in Istanbul and Beirut [Medrese, 2010, pp. 344–345]. In the madrasa 'Husainiya', special attention also was paid to the training of teachers and the ed-

education of graduates in universities at the expense of scholarships created by A. Khusainov. Shakirds of madrassas continued their studies at 'Al-Azhar', Istanbul and Beirut universities [Medrese, 2010, p. 377]. A part of Tatar madrassa graduates headed to Istanbul to study at the expense of the Ramievs, owners of gold mines.



Gubaydulla Bubi (sitting in the centre) among Tatar students. Istanbul. Photo, 1896.

Among Tatar students who came to study in Istanbul and decided to devote themselves to serving Turkish culture and education (and did not return to their homeland), the most prominent are Musa Akyegetzade, Halim Sabit Shibay, Ahmed Tajeddin and others [see.: Devlet, 1996, pp. 161–173].

One of the most popular and honoured guests in student societies of Russian Muslims was Turkish writer Ahmed Midhat (1845–1912). Many of those who arrived in Istanbul from Russia visited him. A descendant of Caucasus Muslims, A. Midhat was very interested in the problems of people from Russia and rendered assistance to his countrymen who arrived in Turkey. Midhat had close ties with pilgrims from Russia through his work, as he held an important position at the Ministry of Health. He taught at various educational institutions in Istanbul and communicated with students from Russia. Working as the head of publishing affairs, he had the opportunity to meet with journalists and booksellers from Russia. The Muslim Tatar-language periodical press ('Vakit' ('Time'), 'Terjeman', 'Idel', 'Siberia', 'Koyash' ('Sun'), 'Yoldyz' ('Star'), Şura ('Advice') expressed love and respect toward this most famous Turk in Russia.

A. Midhat considered Fatikh Karimi his 'spiritual son'. Even before his arrival in Istanbul, Karimi got acquainted with his works. In

1892, before entering the university, he consulted with Midhat. The latter approved his choice of 'Mülkiye', but warned that the young man must return home after graduation to serve his people [Gökçek Fazıl, 1999, pp. 315–323]. After graduating from the Higher School in 1894, Karimi taught in Yalta and actively corresponded with his tutor. In his letters, Midhat advised that Karimi not engage in politics, but educate his people, and maintain close contact and friendship with I. Gasprinsky [see.: Bargan Hüseyin, 2002, pp. 30–31]. Their friendship lasted until the death of Midhat.

It should also be noted that the descendants of Russian Turks were awarded state awards and rewards from the Ottoman Empire for their services: for example, mufti Muhammedyar Sultanov was awarded the Order of Osmaniye in 1893, and qadi Hasangata Gabashi, imam Galimdzhana Baroudi and others were given various awards of the Ottoman government.

The interest of the Muslims of both empires in each other was mutual and mutually beneficial. While Russian Muslims in Turkey strengthened their faith in conversations with sheikhs and well-known Muslim theological scholars, visited holy places, and received education, the Turkish intellectuals, who had seen firsthand the decline of the great empire of the Ottomans, were interested in the Russian mod-

el of development. While the Ottoman Turks had a strong state tradition, the Tatars were making clear progress in economic, social and cultural life, and some elements of civil society were appearing.

The heightened rivalry between Russia and the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century forced both sides to study each other better. It prompted Ottoman diplomacy to be actively interested in the condition of Russian Muslims. Ottoman diplomacy in Russia especially intensified during the reign of Abdul Hamid II, who, as it is known, was interested in the condition for Muslims in different parts of the world.

This is demonstrated by the reports of employees of the Ottoman Embassy in Russia and documents of the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs from the late 19–early 20th century. Eleven documents from 1883–1897 relate to certain aspects of the Russian government's policy toward the Muslims of the Volga region. In particular, the officials of the Ottoman Embassy in St. Petersburg kept a close watch on the life of the Muslim community in St. Petersburg, mainly composed of representatives of the Volga Tatars. Two descriptions of the holiday *namaz* performed by Tatars living in St. Petersburg on the occasion of *Kurban-Bairam* in 1890 and 1891 are of great interest. The descriptions are given by officials of the Embassy in St. Petersburg who were present at the worship service; they provide not only historical information, but ethnographic information as well [Ibragimov, 2006].

French scholar François Georgeon believes that 'it was not so much the Russian Turks, who had been on the path of modernisation since the middle of the nineteenth century, who were in need of the Ottoman Empire as it was the

Ottomans themselves trying to imitate them' [Georgeon, 1997, p. 191]. Numerous Turkish intellectuals—natives of Russia who had settled in Turkey—acted as intermediaries between these two societies.

From among the Ottoman intellectuals at the turn of 19–20th centuries, the Volga Region was visited by Suleiman Kami (1887), Suleiman Karchynzade (early 20th century), former Grand Vizier Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha (1910), writer and journalist Jelal Nouri Ilyari (1912), director of the Department of Inventories Mahmud Esad-Efendi (1913) and owner of the newspaper 'Ikdam' Akhmed Jevdet (1914). After visiting the main areas densely inhabited by Tatars (Kazan, Ufa, Orenburg, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Samara, Nizhny Novgorod, Penza, etc.), they wrote their own observations as separate works or newspaper articles which became available both for the Turks and Russian Muslims. After the emergence of the Tatar periodical press, the visits of Turkish guests were covered in detail in Kazan, Orenburg, and even central Russian newspapers and magazines [see.: Sibgatullina, 2010, pp. 152–187].

Thus, by the end of 19–early 20th century, Volga Tatars were able to establish quite close contacts with the Ottoman Empire, which is most clearly manifested in the religious, cultural and educational spheres. The relations of Tatar Muslims with the Ottoman Turks in the field of culture and secular education were expressed more in personal contacts, while in the field of religious life they were expressed in the strengthening of the pilgrimage movement from Russia in this period, in Tatar *shakirds* receiving their education in Ottoman *madrassas*, and in closer communication between religious figures of the two empires.

CHAPTER 2

Tatars in Sociopolitical Events and Military Campaigns

§ 1. Tatars in the administration of Kazakhstan

Gulmira Sultangalieva

The accession of Kazakhs from the Junior Zhuz and part of the Middle Zhuz to the Russian Empire in the 1730s presented the central government with the problem of including a population with a different economic and cultural type (nomadic pastoralism), language (Kipchak group of Turkic languages), and religion (Sunni Islam) in the overall legal and administrative system. Under these circumstances, the government was forced to look for the optimal way to integrate them into the organism of the empire as a whole.

The activities of Russian translators and interpreters in the Steppe. The creation in 1782 of a special administration 'for border affairs' concerning the Kazakhs, and of the Orenburg Border Commission (1799–1859), originally called the Collegium of Border Affairs, 17 years later on the basis of this body,—defined the scope of activities of Tatar translators and interpreters. The Commission was a kind of branch of the Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in this region and was in charge of diplomatic relations with the Steppe and Central Asian Khanates, monitored events taking place there, and collected and studied materials on the history, geography, economics, and ethnography of these countries. By the mid-19th century, the staff of the Orenburg Border Commission included two translators and three interpreters, all of whom were Tatars from the Volga-Ural region [Vasilyev, 1898, p. 4].

In the first half of the 19th century, such interpreters and translators as Salih Biglov (from among the murzas), Muhammadsharif Aitov (from the nobility of the Orenburg province),

brothers Iskander and Suleiman Batyrshiny (from the nobility of the Orenburg province), Mirsalikh Bekchurin (from the murzas of the Ufa district), Kutlugmuhammad Bikmaev (from the nobility of the Orenburg guberniya), Temirbulat Enikeev (from the nobility of the Ufa uyezd), and Abdulkadyr Subkhankulov served in the Orenburg Boundary Commission, and Muhammad-rahim Chanyshiev (a prince from the Orenburg province), Araslanbek Biglov (from the nobility of the Orenburg guberniya) and others worked in the staff of the West Siberian Governorate General.

Tatar translators were an important factor in the implementation of Imperial policy in the Steppe: they repeatedly visited Kazakh nomadic camps to collect data about the location of Kazakh auls and the dispositions of the Kazakh nobility; escorted Russian expeditions in the region; acted as arbitrators in conflict situations and when resolving land disputes between tribes or between the Cossacks and the Kazakh population; conducted audits of the payment of tent taxes; and were part of various commissions as experts on the creation of new territorial-administrative structures,¹⁰ the regulation of

¹⁰ In the 40–60s of the 19th century the commissions for the implementation of administrative bodies in the Steppes and the regulation of land disputes between the Kazakhs and the Cossacks, created by both the regional and central authorities, included the 'Tatars' as a matter of course, not only as translators and interpreters but also as experts. Amongst the members of the different commissions were M. Aitov (the commission for the revision of payment of the tent tax of the Adai, Shimekey, and Tabyn clans, 1845); Salikh Biglov (the commission for the administrative arrangement and division of Asian Russia and the Orenburg

relations between the Russian administration and rebellious Cossacks, etc. [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 25, inv. 5, file 245, pp. 1–62, 186; *Istoriya Bukeevskogo xanstva*, 2002, pp. 478–479, 501–504].

In the 1840s, Tatar civil servants constantly accompanied Cossack detachments building war fortifications in the Steppe: Orenburgskoe on the Turgay River, Uralskoe on the Ir-giz River (1845), Raimskoe (1847) and fort Karabutak (1848).

The range of their activities demanded that they have a proper education, the ability to analyse information, a broad mind and a memory enabling them to remember detailed information of a political, economic, military or other nature which was extremely important to the government in St. Petersburg and the regional administration.

Almost all of them were graduates of the 'Tatar school' at the Orenburg expedition or the Orenburg or Omsk military academies, which were subsequently renamed cadet corps.

The regional administration prioritised activities of translators and interpreters¹¹.

They were to translate Imperial laws for the Kazakh population, which required a knowledge of legal vocabulary and special political culture. The importance of these translations lay in the need to accurately communicate the laws of the Russian Empire.

Region (1866); S. Batyrshin (the commission for the distribution of lands along the left bank of the Ural River between the Ural Cossacks and Kazakhs (1866) [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 25, inv. 5, file 245, s. 1–62, 186–192; f. 4, inv. 1, file 2786; file 2728].

¹¹ Thus, in 1823 graduate of the Omsk Asian School Urazali Kurbanakov was sent to the Kazan Gymnasium to gain a more in-depth knowledge of the Oriental languages. In 1839 he took up service as a translator in the military section of the secretariat of the Boundary Management of the Siberian Kirghizes, specialising in the 'Tatar, Persian, and Arabic languages' [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 374, inv. 1, file 465, s. 1–8]. Translator at the Orenburg Boundary Commission Gaisa Bikmaev, well known in the first half of the 19th century, also received an education at the Omsk Asian School and then at the Kazan Gymnasium and Kazan University [State Archive of Orenburg Region, fund 4, inv. 1, file 2526].

From the late 18th century to the first half of the 19th century, dynasties of Tatar translators and interpreters who served at regional administrations for governing the Kazakh steppe took shape, which indicated a clear tendency toward the formation of a specific professional group of translators. Moreover, a new social category of clerks 'from among translators' children' was distinguished [Gvozdkova, 1999, p. 44]. An analysis of service records showed that marriages were contracted within this social group, which was characterised by a certain level of education, lifestyle and system of values [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 25, inv. 2, file 290, s. 1–7]. According to the theory set forth by American professor G. Freeze, these new social strata, having adapted to the existing order, took the form of traditional hereditary classes [Frize, 2000, p. 162].

With changes in the system of the administrative management of the Kazakh population, namely, with the creation of the Western Siberian Governorate-General, the Omsk Region and the inner and outer districts, the demand for Tatar translators and interpreters increased. Thus, a translator and a dragoman or interpreter were assigned to each outer district administration which was formed on the territory of the Kazakhs of the Western Siberian department [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 374, inv. 1, file 254a, s. 1–3].

By the mid-1860s, when the position of the Steppe changed within the Empire and it appeared to be sufficiently integrated, the highest state authorities of Russia and their regional representatives radically revised their views on the role and place of 'Tatars' in the Kazakh environment. This move on the part of the government was related to a range of foreign policy factors.

With the introduction of the 'Temporary regulation on the administration of the Orenburg and Western Siberian Governorate General' dated 21 October 1868, Tatar translators who worked in the Orenburg and Western Siberian Governorate General were transferred to regional administrations. The logical con-

clusion of this policy was the government decree 'On the replacement of Tatar translators with native Kirghizes' (Kazakhs.— G.S.), issued in 1876.

The service of Tatars on the territory of the Junior Zhuz. In the last quarter of the 18th century, the first administrative offices in the form of border councils existed on the territory of the Junior Zhuz. The number of councils created corresponded to the number of large tribal unions of the Junior Zhuz (alimuts, bayuls, zhetyru). At every council, paperwork was done by Tatars who received a salary of 100 rubles and 15 rubles for travel expenses. However, the reform introduced by O. Igelström fell short of expectations, because the created administrative bodies (the Border Court and Councils) proved not to be viable. With the abolishment of the councils, after the new khan was appointed in 1795, correspondence clerks were appointed as confidants¹² 'for sending to the steppe' at the Orenburg Border Commission at a salary of 120 rubles per annum [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 6, inv. 10, file 105, s. 1 reverse].

Correspondence clerks and mullahs under the khans and sultans of the Junior Zhuz in the first quarter of the 19th century were still Tatars: Nigmatulla Fayzullin (from the Orenburg Province) and Ishmuhammad Mustafin (from the Kazan Province) under Khan Jantor (1805–1809); and Gabdulsamat Bulyakov and Abdulsatar Suleimanov under Khan Sergazy (1810–1822) [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 6, inv. 10, file 2060, s. 83; file 2096a, s. 262].

In 1824 a new administrative order was introduced in the Junior Zhuz: its territory was divided into three parts—Eastern, Middle and Western—governed by sultans, while the power of the khan was abolished. In essence, the sultan governors became officials of the Orenburg Border Commission, which included the chairman, four counselors and four representatives from among the wealthy Kazakhs. The committee fulfilled functions of the provincial

government. The sultan governor was given the rank of major of the Russian service (a rank of the 8th class) and was considered to be an official appointed as the head of the local government [Dobrosmyslov, 1912, p. 324]. Due to the introduction of the new administrative reform, Tatar mullahs and confidants were sent to the sultan governors and the Kazakh population to receive their oath¹³. Their activities proved to be fruitful: 113 sultans, 188 foremen, and 2922 ordinary nomads were administered the oath [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 6, inv. 10, file 3238, s. 27–30].

Every sultan governor had a correspondence clerk (with a salary of 300 rubles per annum) and a scribe (100 rubles) on his staff who were not only to manage paperwork, but at the same time were to provide information about internal political events in the Kazakh nomadic camps and keep track of the disposition of the Kazakh elite and the behaviour of the sultan governor. The responsibilities of correspondence clerks under sultan governors and volost sultans were mostly carried out by Tatars [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 6, inv. 10, file 3238, s. 27–30].

The institute of pristavs [official representatives] introduced by the government in the Kazakh steppe in 1820 was maintained even after the abolishment of the khan's power. In the 1920s–1960s, pristavs served under sultan governors of the Eastern, Western and Middle parts of the Junior Zhuz. Often pristavs had confidants at their command whom they sent to the Steppe to gather information. One famous pristav [representative] under the sultan governor of the Eastern part of the Junior Zhuz, Colonel A. Dzhantyurin, was cavalry staff captain M.S. Aitov¹⁴. In 1844 six protectorships were created. Interpreter M.S. Aitov

¹² A confidant is a secret agent, an authorised representative.

¹³ This experience of the Tatar mullahs has its origins in the 18th century, when the act of taking an oath of allegiance amongst the Kazakh elite (1738, 1740, 1742) and official receptions of the Kazakh khans and sultans by the regional authorities would be carried out strictly in the presence of a Tatar mullah.

¹⁴ A pristav was an official representative of the Russian government, an advisor to the ruler-sultan and an observer.

in 1849 was appointed to the position of protector of the Kazakhs at the Orenburg division (he served in this position over 7 years) [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 167, inv. 1, file 24, s. 25].

The next step Russia took to subdue the Kazakhs of the Junior Zhuz was the introduction in 1831 of more subdivided territorial and administrative structures, namely, the border and steppe divisions (administrative areas between two fortresses) headed by 'division chiefs' from among influential Kazakhs [Nacional'ny'e okrainy', 1997, pp. 210–215]. The position of correspondence clerks under division chiefs was usually given to Bashkirs living at the border with Kazakh nomadic camps.

The 'Regulation on the Governance of the Orenburg Kirghizes' of 1844 defined for the first time the necessary number of correspondence clerks under sultan governors and division chiefs and the amount of their salary. Every sultan governor was to have a correspondence clerk at his command with a salary of 300 rubles a year. The salary of correspondence clerks under division chiefs depended upon the rank of the division.

Therefore, in connection with the expansion of the government apparatus and the gradual political and administrative integration of the Junior Zhuz into the Russian Empire, the role of Tatar mullahs and correspondence clerks in the Steppe increased.

Tatars in the governance of the Kazakhs of the Middle Zhuz. In the Middle Zhuz, after the death of Khans Bukey (1817) and Vali (1819), the imperial authorities considered the election of new khans undesirable. In 1822 a new administrative governance system and a new administrative and territorial principle for subdividing the Kazakh nomadic population into districts in accordance with the 'Statute on the Siberian Kirghizes' was introduced; these districts, in turn, were divided into volosts (10–12 auls) and auls (50–70 nomad tents). The implementation of these important measures contributed to the advance of the border lines deeper into the steppe, the spread of the

influence of Russian power over all Kazakh clans and, finally, the organisation of a stable administration, which enabled the preparation of conditions for completing the annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia.

The Statute was translated into the Tatar¹⁵ language and sent to the most influential individuals of the auls. According to documents, Tatars took an active part in creating the districts and explaining the articles of the new Regulation to the Kazakh population.

In 1822 Usman Mavlyutov (from the Tobolsk guberniya) was sent on a mission with Russian civil servants to Kazakh nomadic camps to explain the content of the 'Statute' [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 338, inv. 1, file 834, s. 1–3]. In 1824 mullah Muhammad-Sharif Abdrakhimov visited the Kazakh steppe in order to announce the 'Statute' to the public,¹⁶ and so on [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 338, inv. 1, file 436, s. 24, 56, 111–112 reverse].

The district administration was made up of the senior sultan (the chairman), two Russian representatives, and two representatives from the 'honoured Kazakhs', as well as the secretariat and interpreters. The oath ceremony at district administrations was held in the presence of Tatar mullahs.

Officers sent on a mission to open external districts in the Steppe were given instructions requiring them to invite mullahs to the created district administrations 'to conduct prayers for the Kazakhs and teach them the rules of goodness'. Mullahs' salary was set at 100 rubles per annum and was paid from the amount designated for charitable purposes. They were supposed to rent a yurt which would be the place of the mullahs' residence and at the same time served as a prayer house [Central State Ar-

¹⁵ The Old Tatar language was 'Turki,' which was used in diplomatic correspondence with the Kazakh steppes and was taught at educational institutions of this region in the 8th–19th centuries [see: Khisamova, 1999].

¹⁶ He was a native of the village of Tashka in the Menzelinsk Uyezd.

chive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 338, inv. 1, file 184, s. 6–7].

However, it was difficult to supply district administrations with mullahs. By 1835 it was clear that the taking of the oath among representatives of the Kazakh nobility and the population was in many cases conducted not by edict mullahs, but by 'Asians, Tatars and even Russian dragomen'. This likely can be explained by the fact that the salary of edict mullahs at district administrations was below the subsistence line. Another reason lay in the fact that those Tatars who wanted to occupy this position did not have an edict of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 338, inv. 1, file 184, s. 22–23, 41].

Archives still retain petitions of Tatar edict mullahs for transfer to the position of correspondence clerks with volost sultans for the reading and sending of correspondence. This is explained by the amount of the salary, which came to 300 rubles per annum [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 338, inv. 1, file 767, s. 93].

It is noteworthy that often one and the same person bore the functions of a correspondence clerk and a mullah. Tatars who worked as mullahs were not paid a separate salary. In this case, everything depended on the sultan's material capabilities. At the same time, the Russian administration was not financially able to supply representatives of the Kazakh nobility with correspondence clerks and mullahs. On the other hand, the Russian authorities did not see the need for the 'separate appointment of correspondence clerks' [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 6, inv. 10, file 105, s. 1 reverse]. In the minds of the Kazakh elite, a mullah was needed not only as a clergyman, but also for 'reading orders on various matters sent from the border administration and writing responses to them', and, moreover, for teaching their children 'Tatar literacy and Mohammedan law'.

Constant communication between the Tatars and the representatives of the Kazakh nobility contributed to the establishment of close, trusting relations between them. This was fa-

cilitated by the long terms of their stay in the service of the same sultan families, and often after the death of their original employers, they did not return home, but served their heirs, and even became members of their family.

Correspondence clerks or mullahs were appointed to serve under volost governors mostly at the request of sultans. However, a negative verdict usually awaited petitions directed by Tatars themselves for appointment as clerks or mullahs in the Steppe. Here lay the contradiction in the regional administration's policy. Governor of the Omsk Oblast S. Bronevsky (1786–1858) allowed sultans to accept Tatars into their service, but at the same time in letters marked as 'Confidential Information', he wrote to Russian representatives of the Karakalinsk district administration that, if possible, they should remove Tatars from service in the Steppe and 'politely' decline Kazakhs' requests to appoint mullahs and teachers for them and, if possible, fill the deficit of translators and scribes with Russians and not give Tatars the right to settle in the Steppe [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 338, inv. 1, file 396, s. 86–87].

Officials reported that Tatars attempted to settle in the Kazakh steppe with only one aim—in order to 'be rid of state and public duties'. The most important thing, in their opinion, was to prohibit Tatars from engaging in trade of any kind (as salesmen, traders, etc.). So that the Tatars could not spread 'false views causing harm to the state', officials of the district administration must be required 'not to relax supervision over them' [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 338, inv. 1, file 396, s. 88–88 reverse.].

In 1838, the Omsk Oblast was abolished and its former internal districts were annexed to the neighbouring Siberian guberniyas: The Petropavlovsk district was annexed to the Ishimsk uyezd of the Tobolsk guberniya, while the Semipalatinsky and Ust-Kamenogorsky districts were annexed to the Biysk uyezd of the Tomsk guberniya. The outer districts were transferred to the competence of the special body for the administration of the Kazakhs of



A Kazakh Khan with his wife.
Photo from the middle of the 19th century

the Middle Zhuz—the Boundary Management of the Siberian Kirghizes.

In 1854, the Oblast of the Siberian Kirghizes and the Semipalatinsk Oblast were created on the basis of the outer districts and part of the inner districts of the neighbouring northern territories. In 1856, the Alatau district, headed by a district chief, was formed in the area of Semirechye, where the Kazakhs of the Senior Zhuz camped.

The Tatars' participation in the government of the Inner Horde. By the degree of influence and the role of Tatar mullahs,¹⁷ the

¹⁷ In 1853 Orenburg's General-Governor V. Perovsky wrote: 'The greatest harm to Russia was inflicted by Jahangir's policy on the spread of Mohammedanism. There is an entire phalanx of mullahs, the most zealous instigators of disobedience to the Russian authorities and the Russian law. These mullahs, numbering 127, were appointed by Jahangir's personal power.' Indeed, by the mid-19th century the number of the Tatars amounted to over 50% of the population of the Khan's main camp, Novaya Kazanka, and Talovka. In A. Alektorov's opinion, these were the 'unspoken mul-

lahs' who settled throughout the Inner Horde [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1294, inv. 84, file 5, s. 3–3 reverse; f. 1291, inv. 82, file 6, s. 2; Alektorov, 1890].

Inner Horde was distinguished among other regions.¹⁸ It was formed in 1801 when Bukey, the sultan of the Junior Zhuz, and a group of Kazakh families subject to him resettled from the Ural steppe to the right bank of the Ural. A decade later, in 1812, the Russian throne granted Sultan Bukey the status of khan. With the enthronement of Bukey's son Jahangir after the former's death, the process of the centralisation of power and the formation of a new governing structure began in the khanate. In 1827 Zhangir Khan (1824–1845)¹⁹ created a deliberative body, the Khan's council, which included one foreman from each large clan (12 people). They became the khan's advisors. Upon his initiative, the positions of kazyi [qadi] and akhun were created. The position of akhun was occupied by Zahir Khametov (1790–1875),²⁰ a peasant from the Kazan Province. Zhangir Khan wrote that qadi Zahir made a great contribution 'to softening of customs' of the Kazakh people and 'instilling obedience to the administration and loyalty to the Russian government'. In 1840, Z. Khametov²¹ was awarded a golden medal on St. Andrew's ribbon and was awarded the title of tarkhan [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 4, inv. 1, file 2126, s. 6–9]. Gradu-

lahs' who settled throughout the Inner Horde [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1294, inv. 84, file 5, s. 3–3 reverse; f. 1291, inv. 82, file 6, s. 2; Alektorov, 1890].

¹⁸ The term 'Bukey Horde' was used in official documentation for the first time in 1819, and five years later the term 'Inner Horde' appeared. In the first decade of the 19th century the term 'the Kazakhs subordinate to Sultan Bukey' was in use.

¹⁹ In 1824 Zhangir Khan married Fatima, the daughter of Orenburg's Mufti M. Khusainov [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 6, inv. 10, file 3717, s. 1].

²⁰ In 1805 he started serving in the Steppes as a mullah to the Junior Zhuz's khan Jantore.

²¹ Akhun received a salary of 1,650 roubles in assignats from charitable donations of zakāt and sogum, which he collected from the Tyulengut tribe [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, fund 4, inv. 1, file 2703, sheets 7–10 reverse], took advantage of gifts from the khan amounting to 4 thousand roubles and fertile lands, which brought in an income of up to 3 thousand roubles per annum [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 4, inv. 1, file 5440, s. 51].

ally the akhun turned into a major landowner in the Inner Horde²².

In order to introduce document management, Zhangir Khan created a special secretariat consisting of Tatar and Russian departments. The former was responsible for correspondence between the khan and his subordinate sultans and foremen within the clan, while the latter was responsible for correspondence—with the Russian administration. Ensign Muhammadkarim Galikeev (a Meshcheriak from the Orenburg guberniya), Abdusattar Iskhakov (from the Kazan guberniya) and Shiratdin Mansurov (from the Sterlitamak uyezd) served as correspondence clerks under the khan at the Tatar secretariat [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 4, inv. 1, file 5450, s. 10–11].

Correspondence clerks under sultans who governed clans in the khanate were mostly Meshcheriaks of the 2nd Meshcheriak canton [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 4, inv. 1, file 5450, s. 10–11; 56–57].

After the death of Zhangir Khan, the Inner Horde was governed by the so-called Temporary Council headed by sultan Adil Bukeikhanov (Jahangir's elder brother, 1804–1876). Between 1854 and 1860, the system of political governance in the Inner Horde underwent an essential re-organisation, as a result of which it was included in the administrative and territorial structure of the Russian Empire.

Thus, in the first half of the 19th century, the foundation for the further strengthening of Russian power and the system of administration of the Kazakhs of the Western Siberian and Orenburg departments was laid. This allowed the Russian government to stabilise its economic and political position in this region and pursue a more active Central Asian policy. The creation of a system of fortifications in the depths of the Kazakh steppe (Uralskoe, Oren-

burgskoe and Fort Karabutak) and the introduction of a military and administrative unit called the 'Syr Darya line' contributed to the fact that in the 1840s, the border between Russia and Central Asia went not along the Ural, as it used to in the 18th century, but along the 'Syr and Ustyurt'.

On the territory of the Junior Zhuz the role of mullahs and correspondence clerks was played mainly by trading Tatars from Seitov Posad and the Kazan Province and Bashkirs of the 7th, 9th and 12th Bashkir cantons located in zones bordering on the camping grounds of the Kazakh Tabyn, Zhagalbaily, Zhappas and Tama clans. In the Inner Horde, document management was mostly carried out by Tatars of different classes and Meshcheriaks; there were also isolated cases of the hiring of Bashkirs as correspondence clerks. On the territory of the Middle Zhuz, a certain role in the administration of the Kazakh people was played by the Tatars from Tobolsk and Simbirsk guberniyas and the Cossacks of the Tatar regiment of the Siberian Cossack army. Tatars from Kazan and Orenburg guberniyas were rarely hired here.

The Russian administration in the 18– and 19th centuries used such notions as 'Tatar mullah', 'teacher of Tatar literacy', 'translator of the Tatar language', 'Tatar correspondence clerk', and 'Tatar trader' in official correspondence. In this regard, questions about the ethnonym 'Tatars' naturally arise, because along with Volga Tatars, Meshcheriaks, Bashkirs and Teptyars were also assigned to the Kazakh steppe, but they were defined as 'Tatar' mullahs anyway, despite their different ethnic origin. As we see, the terminology of that period equated such notions as class, ethnicity and confession. Therefore, the Russian authorities used the term 'Tatars' as an ethnonym to denote a bearer of an alien faith, language, traditions and mentality, which appeared to be a real reflection of the Russian government's perception of Islamic nations.

The Russian authorities promised Tatar mullahs and correspondence clerks a system of benefits and privileges 'in accordance with their loyalty and diligence'. In general, it was

²² In 1842 Zhangir Khan granted Z. Khametov 12 thousand dessiatins [tithes] of land close to the khan's main camp for his lifetime use. Moreover, Z. Khametov was the owner of a postal station by Lake Elton and a hamlet located in these lands [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 4, inv. 1, file 5440, s. 54–55].



The interior of a Kazakh yurt.
Photo from the early
19th century

a mutually beneficial process, because the Tatars' interest in service in the Kazakh steppe was dictated by their domestic political situation: they could not hope for a successful and rapid career and wealth in the central guberniyas of the Russian Empire.

The activities of Tatar mullahs and correspondence clerks in the Kazakh steppe in the first half of the 19th century enables us to identify interesting peculiarities and trace a pattern which is consistent with the theory of 'mobile diasporas'. The essence of this theory is that governments of almost all polyethnic empires showed an inclination to collaborate with ethnic communities that focused on carrying out necessary and important functions for these states in their territories. The presence of communicative ties and knowledge of the Kazakh language allowed representatives of the Tatar nation to fulfill the role of intermediaries

when introducing various innovations in the Steppe, as well as in the spheres where the dominant ethnic group could not prove itself. No wonder A. Dobrosmyslov wrote that the Tatars and mosques were the bridge 'across which the Kirghizes (Kazakhs—G.S.) were to cross in order to come closer to the Russians'.

Later, when evaluating the results of this policy, he noted that the Tatars did in the Kazakh steppe what the Russians had not been able to do [Dobrosmyslov, 1912, p. 173]. Tatar dragomans and translators emphasised in their petitions that they had repeatedly 'put their lives in danger' when rescuing captives from the Kazakh steppe and during negotiations with rebellious Kazakhs and representatives of the Kazakh elite. On the other hand, because of their service, Tatar translators presented the image in the consciousness of their brothers-in-faith—the Kazakhs—of an official of the Russian government who wields influence and respect both among their tribesmen and with the authorities. Being in constant and close interaction with the Kazakhs, the Tatars helped to gradually change some value orientations and behavioral stereotypes the Kazakh elite adhered to.

§ 2. The Tatars' influence on the development of agriculture among the Kazakh population and the policy of the Russian authorities

Gulmira Sultangalieva

The Kazakhs' nomadic lifestyle contradicted the Russian authorities' idea of 'civilisation'; therefore, their transition to a settled lifestyle was aimed at accomplishing two tasks: keeping order and developing an agrarian culture

among the nomads. The government's enactments and regulations from the first half of the 19th century reflect the continued policy of encouraging the transition of the Kazakhs of the Junior and Middle Zhuzes to a settled life-

style. Starting in the mid-1830s, the policy of the central and local authorities aimed at transitioning nomads to a settled agricultural lifestyle changed, which was reflected in the transformation of the Orenburg administration's perception of the Kazakhs as future sedentary citizens of the Empire. The line of 'slowing down the Kazakhs' settlement' was suggested by Orenburg military governor P. Sukhtelen (1830–1833), while his successor, V. Perovsky (1833–1842 and 1851–1857), started to implement it [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 6, inv. 6, file 14017/1, s. 8–8 reverse].

Let us note that the policy of limiting agricultural development only concerned the Kazakhs of the Junior Zhuz. At that time, the Siberian administration encouraged Kazakhs of the Middle Zhuz involved in arable farming (awarded them caftans, golden rings, medals, etc). In the opinion of historian N. Appolova, this was linked not only to the internal state of the Zhuzes, but also to the fact that the government's main measures aimed at advancing into Central Asia were carried out along the Orenburg line; therefore, it was important to develop the region of the Kazakh steppe which was adjacent to this part of the borderline [Appolova, 1960, pp. 210–211].

Of special interest are petitions preserved in the collections of the central archives of Kazakhstan addressed to the regional administration from Kazakh sultans and foremen of the Middle Zhuz 'to invite Tatars' as representatives of a settled agricultural culture. They were to teach the Kazakh nomadic population the skills of arable farming and settled life. [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 338, inv. 1, file 396, s. 155–156].

In essence, the Tatars were to show the Kazakhs a demonstrative example of peaceful inclusion into settled life. No wonder missionary N. Ilminsky noted that if a Kazakh 'decides to adopt the convenience of the settled lifestyle, he always adopts the lifestyle not of the Russians, but of the Tatars, or, more rarely, of the Central Asians' [Ilminsky, 1891, p. 166]. Thus, correspondence clerk A. Baykeev, who served under the administrator of the Kete clan, wrote in his report to the Orenburg border commit-

tee dated 1832 that 'apart from records management' he attempted to 'contribute to the improvement of the nomadic population's lifestyle'; to be more precise, he 'taught them to harvest hay in large amounts for the winter' and taught the Kazakhs benefits of a settled lifestyle by 'building a house of sun-dried brick with all household premises on the shore of the Caspian sea, 120 km from Astrakhan, near the Kenevskaya River', the result of which was that '135 houses of the same type were built'. Apart from household matters, he attempted to 'bring them closer to the Russians through persuasion and advice' and by acquainting them with the laws of the Russian Empire [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1291, inv. 82, file 4, s. 1–3].

Despite the 1826 decision of the administration prohibiting the Tatars to settle on the territory of the outer districts of the Omsk Oblast, the Kazakh population raised the question of the 'usefulness' of the cohabitation of the Tatar and Kazakh peoples [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 338, inv. 1, file 834, s. 1–58].

It is worth noting that a group of Tatars of the middle and peasant classes from the Kazan Province, invited by the Cossacks, lived in the Karaul volost of the Kokchetavsky outer district near Lake Imantaevsky starting in 1833; they built houses and set up farms there, and showed the Kazakhs examples of arable farming and everything necessary for settled agriculture. In 1840, these families (89 people of both genders) filed a petition for legal settlement in this area, believing that their activities are consistent with the government's objectives of accustoming the Kazakhs to agriculture and teaching them to read and write in Tatar [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 374, inv. 1, file 688, s. 2–3].

When collecting data about Asians inhabiting the Steppe in 1840, the regional administration encountered the phenomenon of 'Tatar children' or Chala-Kazakhs²³, i.e., those born

²³ The Chala-Kazakhs (Shalakazakhs) also included children born from marriages between Kazakh men and Kirghiz or Kalmyk women or between Sart merchants and Kazakh women [see: Zhanayev, 2010, pp. 272–305].

from a Tatar man and a Kazakh woman or from a Tatar woman and a Kazakh man. Most of them were descendants of the first Tatar immigrants who had settled in the Steppe. Even before the creation of the outer districts, they, with the permission of the sultans or khans, lived in the Steppe, where they lived to a ripe old age, gave their daughters in marriage and created new families and dynasties. Now the Russian authorities were faced with the question: should they send them back to the Russian guberniyas or let them live in the Steppe?

The problem of 'Tatar children' was discussed at the meeting of the Council of the Omsk Border Administration in 1846. There were over 465 families of chala-Kazakhs who had been born in the Steppe. Of these, 155 families lived in the Ayagoz District, 167 in the Kokbektinsk District, 7 in the Bayanaul District, 40 in the Karakalinsk District, 9 in the Akmolinsk District, 3 in the Kokchetaksk District and 166 in the Kokbetinsk District. Their main occupations were trading Asian goods and agriculture. All of them wished to be counted among the Kazakhs in their districts, i.e., carry out all duties of the Kazakh people, namely, to pay the yasak to the State Treasury [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 374, inv. 1, file 613, s. 190–192].

In the Ayagoz District in the mid- 19th century, the chala-Kazakhs founded the villages of Mechet and Bukon, which at the beginning of the 20th century were part of the Kuluzhensk Volost of the Ust-Kamenogorsky uyezd. According to the evidence of contemporaries, at the beginning of the 20th century, they, despite frequent marriages with Kazakhs, had '... preserved their Tatar appearance. Their houses, interior, clothes, customs and language are all Tatar' [Konshin, 1898, pp. 45–46; Zhanaev, 2010, p. 293].

One of the proofs of the Tatars' influence on the Kazakhs in the process of their transition to a settled lifestyle is the letter written by Zhangir Khan in 1842 in which he abolished the ban on marriages between Kazakh men and Bashkir and Tatar women. He explained this

by the fact that the decree dated 17 May 1747 [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1291, inv. 81, file 178, s. 1] prohibiting the Bashkirs and Tatars, from both Kazan and Orenburg, from marrying Kazakhs had been issued when 'the majority of the Kazakhs were independent and camped far from the Russian borders'. Zhangir Khan emphasised that in spite of this, the inertia of marital relationships was not interrupted. This, in his opinion, was shown by the Kazakhs' repeated petitions to abolish the 1747 decree, and by the actions of Bukey Khan, who 'patronised marital unions between the Kazakhs and settled inhabitants adhering to Mohammedan law, in particular the Kundrovo Tatars living in Astrakhan guberniya, because of which some sultans and most honourable Kazakhs are in such unions.' Zhangir Khan believed that permitting marriages between the Kazakhs and settled brothers-in-faith would reinforce 'the former's ties with the Russians' and strengthen the Kazakhs' attachment to their lands, because every Kazakh who had a Tatar wife accustomed to a settled life 'will himself arrange a permanent winter camp and build a house for it in which his wife can run the household' [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 4, inv. 1, file 2236, s. 2–3].

However, in 1842 the Orenburg border committee reapproved the 1747 decree, explaining this by the fact that the Tatars 'could easily hide from mobilisation among their relatives in the steppe, who, in attempting to hide them, will bear responsibility for it along with their chiefs' [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 4, inv. 1, file 2236, s. 4 reverse]. The decree was in effect for a century and was abolished only in 1846 as 'a measure which is no longer necessary' [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 6, inv. 10, file 5280, s. 1].

Therefore, despite the view existing in the historical literature that the Kazakh population was introduced to arable farming through the Russian peasantry, archive documents dated from the first half of the 19th century are evidence of the Tatars' important role in this field.

In light of this, it is important to clearly define two important points. First of all, the Volga Tatars, as representatives of a settled agrarian culture, were the first to demonstrate to the Kazakhs the possibility of gradually becoming accustomed to the settled life and arable farming by providing a demonstrative example. This was the path of peaceful intercommunication between two nations who belonged to the same ethno-linguistic group (the Kipchak subgroup of the Turkic languages) and the same confessional system (Sunni Islam). At the same time, the mass resettlement of Russian peasants to

Kazakhstan (late 19–early 20th century) was associated with the seizure and plunder of the Kazakh lands. Second, the Tatars of the Volga-Ural region in the first half of the 19th century were in demand as an ethnos fulfilling intermediary functions in the course of the political integration of the Kazakh lands into the Russian Empire. The regional and central authorities believed that the Tatars could facilitate the introduction of the nomadic Kazakhs to what they considered to be a higher culture, i.e., a settled culture, which would make them 'more peaceful and manageable'.

§ 3. The contribution of Tatar public servants to the study of the history and culture of the peoples of Kazakhstan and Central Asia

Vil Galiev, Gulmira Sultangalieva

Tatar public servants, while serving as officials at regional administrations (the Orenburg border committee, Orenburg Province secretariat and, starting in the 1820s, the Omsk Oblast administration and the Western Siberian Province secretariat), kept official diaries and 'travel journals', and wrote reports in which they described features of the history and culture of the Kazakh people. Their knowledge of the Kazakh language, culture and lifestyle and lengthy missions (a year or more) contributed to higher-quality and more accurate gathering of various data about the Kazakh steppe, including the names and genealogy of representatives of the Kazakh elite, trade routes, locations of summer and winter nomadic camps, their customary law, peculiarities of intercommunication between the Kazakhs and neighbouring peoples, etc. These data are valuable because they were compiled by witnesses of events which occurred in the Kazakh steppe in the 18–19th centuries. Moreover, personal relations established between Tatar public servants and representatives of the Kazakh elite (khans, sultans, beys, foremen) and their personal observations increase the significance of the above-mentioned materials. These documents made a definite contribution to the accumulation of historical and ethnographic ma-

terial on the history of the Kazakh nation in the 18–and 19th centuries. On the other hand, based on their reports and recommendations, the regional authorities developed subsequent policy vectors aimed at expanding transit trade, developing administrative and political measures and changing the social life of the nomadic Kazakh society, etc.

While travelling across the Steppe, Tatar public servants gathered ethnographic materials about the nomads' way of life and questioned beys and foremen about the norms of customary law regulating the property and family and marital relationships of the Kazakhs. Their status as officials of the regional administration also required this. Thus, paragraph 64 of the 'Decree on Administration of the Orenburg Kirghizes' dated 14 July 1844 says that an official must 'gather and organise Kirghiz (Kazakh.—*V.G., G.S.*) customs which bear the force of law in the Horde'. The information presented by Tatar public servants were of great significance for the Russian authorities: with their help, it was possible to find out how the adaptation of new administrative reforms and the Russian justice system was proceeding in the Steppe in the 1820s–1840s and understand to what degree the norms of customary law influenced the life of the Kazakh nomadic society.



Ahmed Yesevi Mosque: General view. Photo by F. Orde, 1880

Based on the reports prepared by officials, a 'special code for the processing of cases which are to be heard and judged based on these customary laws' was developed [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 19, No.17988]. The materials presented by Tatar translators reflected their understanding of the legal principles which regulated the lives of nomadic Kazakhs. The most valuable information about the norms of the customary law of the Kazakhs was contained in the materials gathered by Tatar dragomans of the Orenburg border committee M.S. Aitov and Salikh Biglov.

Aitov was of the view that crimes 'which by law should be heard and judged in the steppe according to customary law cannot be defined', because there is a fine line between the cases which 'would fall within the general laws of the empire or folk customs'. In his opinion, barymta was an example of this²⁴. He considered it 'useful to intercede for softening of punishment for barymta, which is not stopped by the severity of the punishment, but rather is strengthened by the collection of blood money for convicts and exiles' [Materialy, 1998, pp. 97–104]. M.S. Aitov's opinion about

the norms of the customary law of the Kazakhs in many ways coincided with the views expressed by Kazakh scholar C. Valikhanov (1835–1865) [Valikhanov, 1985, pp. 77–104].

The explanation of the term 'barymta' and the mechanism of its functioning in nomadic society must have been significant for the Russian authorities, who were not aware of this attribute of nomadic life.

In 1846, a detailed note about the norms of the Kazakhs' customary law was presented by collegiate secretary of the Orenburg border committee S. Biglov. It presented data about the court of beys and a sheet of punishments imposed by the beys. The value of his work lies in the fact that it contains the names of the Kazakh beys who were the best known 'for their intellect and experience', from the clans of Shomekey, Tortkara and Shekta, indicating their summer and winter camps. Moreover, he described the family customs and rituals of the Kazakhs who camped in the area of the Ural fortification [Materialy po kazaxskomu, 1998, pp. 107–112].

The work of Tatar translator of the Turkestan Governorate General Shagomardan Ibragimov (1841–1892) devoted to the barymta echoes the views expressed by M.S. Aitov and C. Valikhanov about this phenomenon of the nomadic life. In his works about the norms of the Kazakhs' customary law he gave an explanation of the term 'barymta'. In his opinion, this word does not denote a 'robbery', but is derived from the word 'bar', meaning 'there is', 'barym', meaning 'there is my/mine', and 'barymta', meaning 'there is something which belongs to me', i.e., a prefix which forms a noun, for example: balmakta, turmakta, yurmakta, etc.' [Ibragimov, 1873, p. 167]. For S. Ibragimov, the ethnography of the Kazakhs was a matter of constant interest, which was reflected in his numerous articles [Ibragimov,

²⁴ The barymta was the forced seizure of livestock, which was usually carried out on the order of the Beys' court for the purpose of compensating for losses or as a penalty for robbery, murder, or other crimes.

1876, Vol.III, pp. 51–63; 1878, pp. 233–257; 1872, pp. 120–152].

The next phenomenon that aroused the interest of the Russian administration was the *ushur*. Information about how it spread throughout Kazakh society was provided in 1848 by translator of the Orenburg Boundary Commission Abdulkadyr Subkhankulov. He defined the term '*ushur*' (a tax equivalent to one-tenth of the harvest) and noted that the *ushur* was only in use amongst the nomadic Kazakhs along the mainstream of the Syrdarya River [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 4, inv. 1, file 3516, s. 2–3 reverse].

Tatar public servants gathered various kinds of ethnographic materials about the Kazakhs, in particular about rituals of marriage brokerage, burials, funeral feasts, etc. Thus, M. Aitov's extensive knowledge of the Kazakhs' customs and possibly a certain idealisation of the nomadic society were reflected in his collected materials on the rituals practised by the Kazakhs in their migrations and the burials of their deceased [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 167, inv. 1, file 24, s. 27 reverse].

Translator Mendiya Bekchurin (1780–1821) was an expert in the material and spiritual culture of the Kazakh people [Masanov, 1966, pp. 77–78; *Bibliograficheskij slovar'*, 1974, p. 120]. The Kazakh legend 'Barsa-Kelmes' is well known in his records (1817) [Sankt-Peterburgskije Vedomosti, 1839, No. 17].

The gathering of materials about the Kazakhs by the Tatar public servants was also helped by their cooperation with scientific communities, in particular the Russian Geographical Society (RGS). In 1850 Iskander Batyrshin (born 1819), a correspondent of the RGS, wrote the article 'Remarks on the Characteristic Differences of the Turkic Dialects in the Orenburg Krai,' which was reviewed by A. Kazembek. The RGS sent him an ethnographic programme and offered to gather information about the culture and way of life of the Kazakh and Bashkir peoples [Masanov, 1966, p. 136]. It is symbolic that one of the founders of the Orenburg section of the RGS (1867) was his brother Suleyman Batyrshin

(born 1821). In 1870 S. Batyrshin edited and corrected at the Orenburg section of the RGS I. Pokrovsky's work 'A Collection of Bashkir and Tatar Songs Presented in the Original to the Section by Full Member I. Pokrovsky.' Orientalist V. Grigoryev, who was sparing with his praise, wrote that he 'belongs to the best experts on the Eastern languages in this krai' [cited from: Veselovsky, 1887, p. 35].

Fayzulla Nogaev, who served on the Syr Darya line, collaborated with historian V. Velyaminov-Zernov [Yudin, 1912, pp. 78–79] and escorted P. Semenov-Tyan-Shansky and Ch. Valikhanov during expeditions to Semirechye.

Interpreters and translators visited the Chinese border, obtained information about the situation in neighbouring regions, and presented this to their chiefs [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 374, inv. 1, file 166, s. 9–9 reverse]. An example of this is Musagat Muminov's (Syuk Ablaikhanov's correspondence clerk) message from 1825 about the situation in China [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 338, inv. 1, file 637, s. 1–24].

The Tatar public servants made an important contribution to the historico-cultural study not only of the Kazakh steppes but also the adjacent Central Asian khanates [Galiev, 1994, pp. 24–25]. In 1780–1781 Mendiya Bekchurin made a journey from Orenburg to Bukhara as a member of the first Russian embassy to pass through the Kyzylkum. He described the results of the journey in his work 'A Journal Containing a Description of the Travel Notes made by Collegiate Registrar and Translator Mendiya Bekchurin during his Secret Expedition to Bukharia up to his Return to Orenburg' [Bekchurin, 1916]. He was the first to report that 'there is no outflow along the Zhanadarye' (a branch of the Syr Darya), 'and its estuary is sand-logged.' M. Bekchurin's merit was that he was the first to attempt to classify forms of sand relief in Russian publications.

The Tatar public servants made an important contribution to the study of routes linking Orenburg with the Central Asian khanates. The Tatar translator Mirsalikh Bekchurin (1820–1903) is famous for his work 'On the

Condition of Our Central Asian Trade,' in which he notes in particular: 'With the establishment of tighter and closer relations in Central Asia, we perceived it, with justification, as the most beneficial market for the sale of our products. Although the greatly elevated hopes for huge profits from trading campaigns in this country were not quite fulfilled at first, at least they were not disappointed, although we often received reports of price fluctuations.' He compiled a description of Ahmed Yesevi's mosque²⁵ [Bekchurin, 1866, pp. 209–217; 1872].

The 'Notes of the Junior Translator of the Orenburg Boundary Commission Iskander Batyrshin on the Khanate of Khiva and Khan of the Syr Darya Cossacks Yermuhamed (Ilikey) Kasymov,' compiled around March 1852, sheds some light upon the history of Kazakhstan and Central Asia. This document contains a whole host of historical facts: about the complex relationships between the Kazakh sultans and the Khivan Khan Muhammad Amin, about the possible transit route of the Russian regular forces from the Aral fortification to Khiva, about the toponymy of the Syr Darya Region, etc. [Istoriya Kazaxstana v russkix istochnikax, 2007, pp. 315–316].

An official of the Turkestan general-governorship Sh. Ibragimov was the founder of the first Turkic-language newspaper in Russia: 'Turkeston viloyatining gazetand' ('Newspaper of the Turkestan Region'), a supplement to the newspaper 'Turkestanskiye Vedomosti,' and was not replaced as its editor until 1878.²⁶ He used the newspaper to publish articles on the ethnography and folklore of the peoples of Middle Asia.

²⁵ In 1904 P. Akhmerov wrote the articles 'Description of Ahmed Yesevi's Seal' and 'Inscriptions of Ahmed Yesevi's Mosque' [Akhmerov, 1896, Ed. 16]. In 1899 one of owners of Tashkent's 'Trading House of the Yaushev Brothers' Muhammad-Sharif Yaushev spent 82 thousand roubles on the reparation of the mausoleum [Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 2006, 4 April].

²⁶ In 1881 Sh. Ibragimov assumed the leadership of the Russian Embassy in Bukhara. He left the office in 1882 [Lunin, 1966, p. 41].

An important part of the activity of the Tatar translators was the preparation and also the publication of study aids and dictionaries for the Turkic-speaking peoples of theregion. Mendiya Bekchurin was one of the first Tatar translators to compile a 'Russian-Kazakh-Persian-Bukharian-Tatar Dictionary and Phrasebook' (1774).

An official of the Orenburg Boundary commission Salikh Kuklyashev was the author of several study aids on the Tatar and Persian languages [Kuklyashev, 1861, p. 106; Bibliograficheskij slovar', 1974, p. 201]. Following the example of 'The Tatar Chrestomathy' (1859), I. Altynsarin, an inspector of Kazakh schools in the Turgay Region and a pedagogue, compiled 'The Kirghiz Chrestomathy.' Mirsalikh Bekchurin [Bibliograficheskij slovar', 1974, p. 121], a teacher of Persian and Arabic at the Asian faculty of the Neplyuev Cadet Corps, wrote 'The Initial Guide' to the study of the Arabic, Persian, and Tatar languages [Bekchurin, 1859].

Hence, apart from compiling reports of an official character (for the local administration), the Tatar translators actively gathered information about the everyday culture, traditions, and customs of the Kazakh people and popularised the historical knowledge of the Kazakh nomadic society and of Central Asia. They collaborated with scientific societies, in particular the Russian Geographical Society (the Orenburg, Western Siberian, and Turkestan sections), the Association of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the University of Kazan, the Free Economic Society, etc. It was these contacts with the representatives of the first generation of the Kazakh and Tatar intelligentsia that formed the basis for the development of the sociopolitical thought of related nations at the beginning of the 20th century.

§ 4. Participation of the Tatars of the Volga and Ural Regions in Military Campaigns

Ilshat Fayzrakhmanov

The Tatars' participation in Russian military campaigns was contingent on their class status and the national duty of military service imposed upon them. Since the epoch of Peter I and until 1874, the yasak and tax-paying groups of the Tatar population had been carrying out demanding conscription duties. From 1793 the period of military service was 25 years, and from 1834, 20 years. Conscription was implemented as and when necessary. At normal times 5–7 men per thousand were conscripted as recruits, while intensified recruitment increased the number of recruits to 7–10 men and emergency recruitment, up to 70 men per thousand. Intensified and emergency conscription was carried out on the eve of and during military campaigns. Thus, three conscriptions were carried out simultaneously in 1812: the 82nd (4 recruits per 1,000 registered men), the 83rd (20 per 1,000), and the 84th (16 per 1,000) [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 32, No. 25198], and during the Crimean war: up to 70 per 1,000 [Bol'shaya Sovetskaya E'nciklopediya, Vol. 78, 1941, pp. 561–562].

The confessional factor was taken into consideration in the formation of regiments. Thus, during the Caucasian war (from 1833) the prohibition to assign Islamic recruits to a Separate Caucasian Corps became a rule, while Tatar convicts from Kazan, Simbirsk, and Orenburg guberniyas, instead of being banished to a penal colony in Siberia, were sent to battalions of convicted bonded peasants located in Finland [Svod voenny'x, 1838, part 2, book 1, art. 271, 272, 288]. Prior to 1874 many Islamic recruits were assigned to artillery troops on account of their 'Tatar-Arabic education' [Rittikh, 1875, p. 64].

In the regular army the lower ranks of the Tatars practically dissolved into the mass of Russian soldiers. The statistical data of the War Ministry for the period 1868–1873 confirms that in general Islamic recruits constitut-

ed 2.4% on average, or 2.6 thousand men were recruited annually [Zagidullin, 2006, p. 16].

In 1869 among the lower ranks of the ground forces Muslims amounted to 1.64%, while 164 (0.8%) men served in the Navy [Voenno-statisticheskij sbornik, Ed. 4, pp. 88, 89, 206, 207]. In the period between 1875 and 1893 an average of 8,125 Tatars were called up for military service, which accounted for 3.7% of the total number of new conscripts. In 1904 around 30 thousand low-ranking Muslims carried out their military service, with over a half of them serving in western²⁷ guberniyas. There were 45 settlements, with over 100 low-ranking Muslims serving in their garrisons [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1064, s. 127, 129]. In these circumstances the Muslims' service in the Russian-Christian environment was undoubtedly made easier.

Amongst the Muslims the officers were mainly from amongst the Caucasian nationalities and Lithuanian-Polish Tatars. In 1869 Muslims constituted 1.13% of the Russian officer corps [Military-Statistical Collection, issue 4, pp. 86–87]. In 1904, 275 Muslim officers were in the service of the Russian Army [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1064, s. 127].

The Tatars from the Middle Volga Region and the Trans-Urals took an active and varied part in the Russo-French war of 1812–1814. They participated in all the major battles of the Patriotic War of 1812 and the foreign campaigns of 1813–1814 and made their own contribution to the all-Russian victory. The largest

²⁷ 150 Muslim servicemen served in each of the military districts of Saint Petersburg and Finland, around 1,000 served in the Odessa, Kazan, Siberian, and Amur Districts, 1.5 thousand served in the Turkestan and Caucasian military districts each, around 2 thousand served in the Moscow District, around 3 thousand served in the Kiev District, around 8 thousand served in the Vilna District, and around 9 thousand served in the Warsaw military district.

group of Tatars participated in combat actions in the lower military ranks as part of the Russian regular army.

In September 1812 the formation of a militia was begun in the Kazan Guberniya, the numbers of which were to be made up of bonded peasants assigned by landowners on the Emperor's instructions (4 men per 100). State peasants were not affected by this law. Therefore, the militia from the guberniyas of the Volga-Ural Region mainly consisted of Russian bonded peasants. Unlike in the other Russian regions, which were included among the districts of the militia, the vast majority of the peasants in Kazan and Vyatka guberniyas (758,998 men) were assigned to the Treasury and were exempt from conscription to the militia. The landowners' dominions contained the lowest number of bonded peasants: 89,929 and 10,811 men, respectively. Therefore, the Vyatka soldiers were enrolled into the Kazan militia [Narodnoe opolchenie, 1961, p. 18]. Apart from bonded peasants, the militia in these guberniyas consisted of representatives of the tax-paying urban classes (the petit bourgeois and craftsmen) of different nationalities, including²⁸Tatars.

A huge number of refugees poured into Kazan from Moscow and Smolensk, which by the autumn of 1812 reached thirty thousand people—more than the population of Kazan itself at that time. The Kazan monasteries and ordinary citizens took it upon themselves to provide accommodation for the refugees. The Kazan Governor B. Mansurov was completely right to observe in one of his reports on the people who had abandoned their native lands that they had all 'found the warmest welcome and perfect tranquility in Kazan.'

At the beginning of the war a collection of donations was started for the benefit of the army, militia, and victims of the war. For example, by 15 August 1812 the Bashkirs, Teptyars, and

Meshcheriaks had already donated 500,000 roubles to the army, without taking other donations and expenses into account [Matvievsky, 1962, p. 118]. This is far greater than the total amount in donations collected throughout the entire Kazan Guberniya (346,000 roubles). A lot of gold and silver jewellery was donated by private individuals, and in addition, among silver items were a large number of breast adornments of Tatar women. The fund-raising for the needs of the army was formally voluntary but in actual fact obligatory. 4,100 roubles had been collected from the Tatar community of Kazan 'for the arrangement' of the 2nd Kostroma Infantry Regiment by 3 July 1812. On 21 August 1812 an order was made for the collection of 8,360 roubles from the merchants of all three guilds under the jurisdiction of the Tatar town hall (of this amount, 635 roubles, 10 copecks was still outstanding by the autumn of 1813). This was a significant amount considering that all the Russian lower middle class had collected around 10,000 roubles in cash [Valiullin, 2009, pp. 10–12]. By the beginning of the war with France the major part of the guild merchantry had left for the Makaryev Fair on business. Fund-raising was in progress here in support of the Nizhny Novgorod militia. Merchants from all corners of the country left their signatures in thick volumes containing lists of benefactors: Russian as well as²⁹Tatar.

Some of the Tatars took part in military actions as part of irregular military formations. Regiments made up of class groups of Bashkirs, Meshcheriaks, Teptyars, and Tatar-

²⁸ Petite bourgeoisie Nigabidullina, having sent her son to serve in the militia, went to the Tatar Guildhall in Kazan to ask for her younger son to be accepted on a voluntary basis too as a gesture of 'good will.' [Gorodchaninov, 2002]

²⁹ For example, there are receipts signed by Kazan merchant of the 1st guild Musa Apanayev (520 roubles), Malmyzh merchant of the 1st guild Musa Abdulloev Utyamyshev (500 roubles), Arsk merchants of the 2nd guild Muhammad-Rakhim Mameshev, Murtaza Aburnaev, Abdulkarim Bakarov (100 roubles each), etc. On 8 August 1812 an amount of 5,690 roubles was collected from the Tatar Soap Market at the Makaryev Fair alone, managed by Kazan merchant of the 1st guild Musa Apanayev from Tatar as well as Russian merchants. A total of 72,746 roubles was raised during the course of trading at the Makaryev Fair. By comparison, the total sum raised in the Nizhny Novgorod Guberniya during the war amounted to over 875 thousand roubles [Senyutkina, 2006, p. 30].

Medals for participation
in the Patriotic War of 1812
and the capture of Paris in 1814.
1812–1826. Silver, embossed.



Cossacks engaged in hostilities against the French as part of several armies (of generals P. Bagration, A. Tormasov, M. Barclay de Tolly). Three groups of military formations were distinguished here: the Bashkir-Meshcheriak troops, the Orenburg Cossack troops, and Teptyar Cossack regiments [Rakhimov, 2008, pp. 51–52].

By the beginning of the war the 1st and 2nd Bashkir Cavalry Regiments, the 1st Teptyar, the 1st and 2nd Ural Cossack Regiments, and the 1st and 2nd Orenburg Cossack Regiments had advanced as far as the western border.

Following an order made 25 July 1812, the 3rd, 4th, and 5th Bashkir Regiments were formed. In July of the same year an army ataman of the Orenburg Cossack Troops Colonel V. Ugletsky presented a proposal to organise additional cavalry regiments. In his opinion, there were 129,209 Bashkirs and 19,800 Meshcheriaks (males) living in the Orenburg krai (Region) in 1811. These peoples, apart from serving as cordon guards on the Orenburg border, were not on any other state duties, were perfectly capable of serving in the Cossack forces, and would have no trouble deploying from 10 to 30 and more cavalry regiments. V. Ugletsky's proposals were approved by Alexander I, and he was commissioned with the formation of the new regiments. In August–September of 1812 the 1st and 2nd Meshcheriak and 15 Bashkir Regiments (6–20th) were formed. The staff of each regiment consisted of 530 men (500 rank-and-file officers, a regiment commander, a sergeant major, 5 yesauls, 5 captains, 5 ensigns, 10 lieutenants, a quartermaster, a scribe, and a mullah) [Usmanov, 1964, p. 56].

Significant numbers of the contemporary Tatars' ancestors served with the Bashkir troops. Thus, the 5th Bashkir Regiment was formed from Muslims of the 10–12th cantons

(of the Menzelinsk, Bugulma, Birs, Belebey, Buguruslan uyezds), the 6–11th cantons (the Menzelinsk Uyezd), the 12th Regiment: the 7th and 12th cantons (the Sterlitamak and Belebey uyezds), the 13–12th cantons (the Bugulma Uyezd), etc. [Usmanov, 1964, pp. 74–76; Tagirova, 2011, pp. 71–73].

Between 1812 and 1814 the Bashkir and Meshcheriak Regiments did not have a specified military uniform. Soldiers were allowed to wear the uniform assigned the Cossack troops. However, the majority of the contingent wore their national dress, which consisted of a kافتan and trousers of thick fabric. Felt-pad chekmens [a male over-cloth somewhere between a kافتan and a gown], fur coats, and sheepskin coats served as winter outfits. The armaments consisted of a pike, sabres of random types, a bow and a quiver with twenty arrows. Only a small number of Bashkirs and Meshcheriaks had rifles and pistols.

The 1st, 2nd, 4th, and 5th Bashkir Regiments were involved in the military campaign of 1812 and in foreign campaigns. The 7th, 8th, 9th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th Bashkir Regiments and the 2nd Meshcheriak Regiment, made up some time later, took part in foreign campaigns. The 8th, 12th, and 16th Bashkir Regiments and the 2nd Meshcheriak Regiment fought alongside the troops besieging the well-fortified stronghold of Głogów. The Bashkirs and Tatars participated in the famous 'Battle of the Nations' near Leipzig, which took place on 4–7th October 1813 [Bekmakhanova, 2002, p. 5]. On 15 August 1812 the 5th Bashkir Regi-

ment marched through the cities of Chistopol, Kazan, Sviyazhsk, and Cheboksary to Nizhny Novgorod and then proceeded to the city of Polotsk as part of the detachment of Adjutant-General Prince P. Volkonsky under the covering force of Toropets, Bely, and Sychovka. In November 1812 soldiers from this regiment took part in the military operation at Berezino as part of Count Wittgenstein's corps. In 1812 the 6th Bashkir Regiment secured the route from Saint Petersburg to Vologda and provided a guard service in the cities of Vitebsk (1813) and Borisov (1814). Between 1812–1814 the 1st Meshcheriak Regiment carried out their duty at the Moscow garrison.

The composition of the Orenburg Cossack troop was multinational. Along with the Tatar-Muslims, the Nağaybäks, a group of baptised Tatars, also took part in the military actions against the French army on the territory of Russia alongside the Orenburg Cossack regiments. On returning to their motherland, the Nağaybäks named their newly founded settlements after the glorious battles—of Parizh [Paris], Berlin, Fershampenuaz [Fère-Champenoise], Arsi [Arcis], and Kassel.

Since their creation at the end of the 18th century the Teptyar regiments, in terms of their status, came somewhere between the regular and irregular cavalry of the Russian Army. The presence of military equipment, unified weaponry, and a definite period of service (15 years) made them closer to the former. However, the irregular nature of the service was reflected in the composition of the regiment and its formation from the class of the Teptyar and landless peasants, the uniform, ranks, and the very process of its formation [Rakhimov, 2008, p. 188].

In the initial stage of the war the 1st Teptyar Regiment took part in the Battles of Vilno and Borodino as part of the 1st Western Army commanded by General M. Barclay de Tolly [Rakhimov, 2008, p. 54]. During the period when Napoleon's troops were expelled from the country, the 1st Teptyar Regiment formed part of the militia of District I, and the 2nd Teptyar Regiment was part of District III. In September 1812 it carried out offensives against the adver-

sary alongside the partisan troops led by Denis Davydov on the outskirts of the city of Vyazma and along the New Smolensk road. D. Davydov reported to his command on the feat of Tatar cavalymen: 'On the 18th day (of September) Major Timirov, whom I had sent to the detachment, along with the 1st Teptyar Regiment with whom he had been entrusted, attacked the enemy, capturing 125 men and one van with artillery shells' [Akhmetshin, 2006, p. 169]. The regiment then fought as part of a special corps consisting of militia men and irregular troops. Its task was to strike at the enemy's army in the Smolensk Guberniya. A large number of soldiers received the praise of their army commanders. For example, Yesaul of the 1st Teptyar Regiment Sagit Khalitov distinguished himself in the battles for Vyazma. He was awarded the Order of St. Anna of the 3rd degree [Bekmakhanova, 2002, p. 5]. For his bravery at Roslavl, the regiment's commander Major Timirov was awarded the order of St. Vladimir of the 4th degree, Praporshchik [junior officer rank] Munasypov, the order of St. Anna of the 3rd degree, and warrant officer Ibragimov was promoted to the position of ensign [Narodnoe opolchenie, 1962, pp. 161, 162].

In January–May 1813 the 1st Teptyar Cossack Regiment formed part of the Cossack detachment led by General of the Infantry M. Miloradovich, who fought on the territory of the Duchy of Warsaw and the Kingdom of Saxony. The regiment participated: on 27 January in the conquest of Warsaw; on 20 April in the battle of Grossgörschen; on 8–9 May in the battle of Bautzen; on 10 May in the battle of Reichenbach, on 4–7 October in the battle of Leipzig, on 10 October in the battle of Weimar, on 15 October in the battle of Ramsdorf, on 16 October of Fulda [Poxod russkoj armii, 1964, pp. 287, 305–306, 400, 408]. On 16 October 1812 the 2nd Teptyar Regiment arrived in Nizhny Novgorod from the Orenburg Guberniya and from December 1812 to March 1813 was on duty in the garrison of the city of Polotsk. From April to December 1813 it took part in the siege and storm of Danzig [Otechestvennyaya vojna, 2004, p. 698].

On 18 March 1814 the 4th and 5th Bashkir and the 1st and 2nd Teptyar Regiments, fighting alongside the Russian Army, victoriously entered Paris. Their achievements and feats were honoured. The soldiers in these regiments were awarded silver medals 'For conquering Paris on 19 March 1814' and other honours. The 1st Teptyar Regiment was taken under the command of Cavalry General Count M. Platov in May 1814, marched out of France back to Russia, and at the end of the year arrived in the Orenburg Guberniya.

Their command rightly evaluated the military potential of the Teptyar Regiments, which were hugely experienced in border service. They were widely invited to serve in guard forces, military patrols, and horse patrols. The Teptyars were equally good at participating in gun battles and cavalry attacks. All of this revealed the excellent combat skills of the Teptyar Regiments as a light cavalry, similar to mounted hunters.

Four mounted regiments of the Crimean Tatars also contributed to the victory over Napoleon's France: the Simferopol, Perekop, Yevpatoria, and Feodosia regiments (the staff of each regiment constituted 560 lower ranks: 10 non-commissioned officers and 550 Cossacks). Just before the war began the Simferopol and Perekop cavalry regiments had advanced as far as the Prussian border and actively participated in all battles as part of the corps led by military ataman Count M. Platov at Mir, Romanov, Dorogobuzh, Porechye, Dukhovshchina, Ruz, Mozhaysk, in the great Battle of Borodino, at the Borovitsk crossing [Mutizade, 1899, p. 10], etc. In the field of Borodino the Tatar cavalry troops took part in the raid by the corps of M. Platov and F. Uvarov from the enemy's rear, which prevented the French imperial guard from committing to action and predicted the battle's outcome [Masaev, 1998, p. 4]. The Crimean Tatar regiments also distinguished themselves in the foreign campaigns of the Russian Army in 1813–1814.³⁰

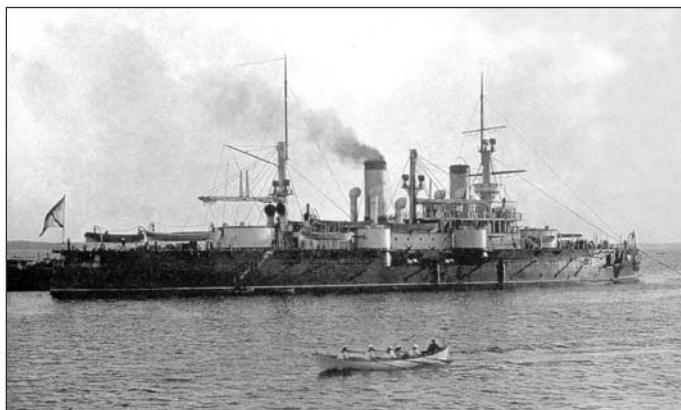
³⁰ Thus, the Simferopol Tatar Cavalry Regiment, forming part of the cavalry of Duke Alexander Vir-



A Cossack from the First Teptyar Mounted Cossack Regiment on a Foreign Campaign. 1813.
S. Petrov. Paper, pen. 2008.

In 1812 the Tatar Uhlan Regiment, which was made up of Polish-Lithuanian Muslims, fought on the side of the Russian regular army

tembergsy (Württemberg), fought at Tilsit, Rognid, Brandenburg, etc., and gained especial distinction during the siege of Danzig, for which the commander of the Kay Bey regiment Balatukov was promoted to the position of major-general (7 December 1813). At the beginning of 1812 the Eupatorian Tatar Cavalry Regiment advanced to the Vilna Guberniya, where it became part of the Western Army, led by General of the Infantry P. Bagration. To start with, the regiment occupied cordons along the Neman River and was then attached to the 3rd Army, commanded by General A. Tormasov. The regiment engaged in battles with the adversary's vanguard troops at Zhytomyr, at Lublin, in the expulsion of the French from Brest-Litovsk, at Kobryn (15 July), Gorodeczna (31 July), Pruzhany, Białystok, Zabłudów, Nesvizh, Minsk, the village of Gredino and Kaidanov, etc. Overseas, the Eupatorian Regiment participated in many battles, in particular, at Lucieñ, Kulma, Bautzen, Lichtenberg, Dresden, and Paris [Mutizade, 1899, p. 11].



Battleship 'Sevastopol', 1900s.

Lieutenant Iskhak Islyamov, Senior Navigator of Battleship 'Sevastopol'. Awarded the Order of Saint Vladimir, Forth Degree. Photo from the early 20th century.



(since 1807 it was called Uhlan). At the beginning of the war the Tatar Uhlan Regiment was in the vanguard of the 3rd Reserve Army of General A. Tormasov under the command of Colonel von Knorring. In the summer of 1812 the regiment participated in the battles of Kobrin, near the village of Horodecka in Lithuania. The Tatar Uhlan Regiment clashed with Napoleon's main forces in the Minsk Guberniya near the locality of Berezino, when the French were cutting across the Berezina River. The light and elusive Uhlans of the Tatar Regiment engaged in close-range combat with the adversary's flanks and then immediately pulled back. The Tatar Uhlan Regiment also took part in the foreign campaigns of the Russian Army, remaining in the vanguard of the Russian Army's right column led by Adjutant-General Wintzingerode. The regiment's military route passed through the cities of Kalisz and Bautzen. In the battle near the village of Kulm on 18 August 1813 nearly half of the regiment were taken out of action, after which it remained in reserve for the remaining battles [Akhmetshin, 2006, pp. 140–151].

Mention should also be made of the Lithuanian Tatars, who fought on Napoleon's side. In 1812 there were attempts in Lithuania to create a cavalry regiment of Lithuanian Tatars, but it was only possible to form one Tatar

squadron, which formed part of Napoleon's Army (the staff of which included one major, 4 captains, 7 lieutenants and second lieutenants, and 110 low-ranking officers). Its commander was Colonel Mustafa Akhmatovich. The commenced retreat from Moscow led to a sharp decrease in the number of volunteers joining the regiment. On 10 December 1812, during the defence of Vilno, the squadron suffered great losses (10 officers and 50 rank-and-file servicemen). As part of the French guard's regiment, the squadron fought near Budzishgin (on 5 May), Peterwald (6 July), Leipzig (30 October), and in spring 1814 in France on several occasions. In 1815 the squadron, consisting of Samuel Ulan, I. Yanushevsky, A. Assanovich, and 60 rank-and-file officers with weapons and standards, returned to their native country, where it was disbanded in March [Grishin, 2005, pp. 74–75].

Hence, 20 Bashkir (13 of which were involved in military actions), two Teptyar, and the 2nd Meshcheriak regiments (the 1st Meshcheriak Regiment served in the Moscow garrison between 1812–1814) participated in the foreign campaigns of 1813–1814. Together with the Ural and Orenburg Cossacks and the Stavropol (baptised) Kalmyks, they made up a considerable number of cavalrymen in the ranks of the Russian Army. Islamic clergymen

served in these regiments and provided worship services, inspiring soldiers of the same religion to perform heroic deeds. In the battles for the Fatherland the friendship between the nations of Russia was reinforced.

The exploits of the Tatar soldiers in the war against Napoleon's France are described in the Tatar folk songs 'Lyubizar' and 'Golubets, Molodets' [Tatar Folk Arts, 1988, pp. 44, 45]. The contribution of the Tatars of the Ural-Volga Region to the victory of the Russian Army is also reflected in the beits 'Rus-Frantsuz Sugişi Bāete' ['The Beits of the Russo-French War'], which is suffused with ideas of patriotism. Here is a fragment of one beit (word-for-word translation) [Tatar Folk Arts, 1983, pp. 39, 40]:

*[...] The French entered the city of Moscow,
When our troops advanced, they retreated
to the steppes [...]*

*The French horses do not obey their masters,
The French are defeated by the Bashkirs
and the Teptyars [...]*

*Napoleon's hat is bloodied,
When we returned home, the whole country
rejoiced [...].*

In the following decades the military command used the national irregular forces for carrying out military and punishment campaigns. Several regiments of the Bashkir-Meshcheriaks participated in the Russo-Turkish war of 1828–1829. In 1831 the 2nd Teptyar Cossack Regiment was sent to stifle a rebellion in Poland, it also carried out sentry and police duties in the guberniyas of Vilna and Minsk. The reorganised Teptyar regiments—that is, the 1st Orenburg Regular Cossack Regiment (1835–1841) and the Ufa Regular Cossack Regiment (1841–1845)—participated in battles with insurgent militia units led by Kenesara Kasyimov and Iset Kutebarov in the Kazakh steppes between 1840 and 1842. From 14 November 1839 to 22 February 1840 a division of the regiment participated in the Khivan campaign and in 1843 suppressed peasant disturbances in the Troitsk Uyezd of the Orenburg Guberniya. Forces of the Uraland Orenburg Cossack troops, the Bashkir-Meshcheriak troop, and part of the artillery troops also fought in the Khivan campaign [Rakhimov, 2008, p. 113].

Regimental mullahs, especially during the course of Russia's military campaigns against the Islamic countries, had to carry out active agitation work, to smash the idea of the brotherhood of all Islamic countries, and to issue reminders of the oath of loyalty to the Russian monarch and the Fatherland. In particular, during the Khivan campaign of 1839 and the military expedition against the State of Kokand, which took place in 1853, the irregular Islamic troops included around 10 mullahs [Azamatov, 2002, pp. 744–745].

By the efforts of the Cossacks, Bashkirs, and Meshcheriaks the authorities organised 15 punishment campaigns in the Kazakh steppes between 1825 and 1840. In the first half of the 19th century the irregular forces were enlisted to suppress mass unrest in the Trans-Urals. They also kept guard at the Makaryev and Nizhny Novgorod Fairs.

During the Crimean war of 1853–1856, 1% of males of military age were annually recruited from the Kazan Guberniya.

After the suppression of the Polish rebellion of 1864, 300 Muslims of low ranks served in Warsaw and elected the public mullah and the muezzin. At the request of the participants in the military events of 1863, the position of the military mullah was introduced at the army headquarters of the Duchy of Poland in 1865 [Naganava, 2011, p. 202].

After the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–1878 a participant of the military campaign A. Kuropatkin wrote the following about soldiers of non-Orthodox confessions: '...both the Tatars and the Jews have been able and will continue to be able to fight and die just as heroically as other Russian soldiers' [Akhun, 1929, p. 44].

At the very beginning of the Russo-Japanese war the Orenburg Mufti M. Sultanov approached to the War Ministry with the suggestion to send clerics serving in the active forces to those hospitals, ambulance detachments, and military units in which there would be large numbers of Islamic soldiers to enable them to express farewell words to the wounded and bury the deceased in accordance with the rules of Islam. For example, there were 4 hospitals in the city of Nikolsk-Ussuriysk, to

which wounded Muslim soldiers were brought every day, and where 2 or 3 who had died of injuries were buried every month [Naganava, 2011, p. 203].

In spring 1904 the command allowed two soldiers to be appointed to every military hospital so that they could give spiritual 'services' to the wounded Muslims. The next move in this cooperation between the clergy and military authorities was the creation of staff positions of mullahs at the headquarters of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Manchurian Armies and in the Amur River military district [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1064, s. 71, 75, 100, 108–110]. Thanks to the influence of the military mullahs, Muslim soldiers did not take part in the disturbances organised by the troops, which occurred in Vladivostok in 1905 [Naganava, 2011, p. 205].

Of interest is the operational record of the senior navigation officer of the battleship 'Sevastopol' Iskhak Islyamov, who in 1904 participated in seven military campaigns, in the

defence of Port Arthur, and in the battle with the Japanese Navy in the Yellow Sea on 28 July 1904. In the second half of 1904 he was appointed as a staffnavigator,—the staff officer of the chief of the Pacific Ocean Squadron [Akhmetshin, 2005].

During the Russo-Japanese war of 1904–1905 the following approximate number of awards were granted to Muslims: 194 officers were awarded orders, 2,390 low-ranking officers were awarded distinctions of the war order and medals [Imperatorskaya, 2006, p. 439].

Hence, the Tatar troops, remaining loyal to their oath, did everything in their power to contribute to the victories of the Russian Army and took part in almost every military campaign. Their experience of military service was of benefit to them in their civil life: the former low ranks could speak Russian well, and a number of them had literacy skills in the language and thus, as a rule, they successfully found jobs, and some of them became traders.

Section V

Religious Traditions and Institutions



CHAPTER 1

Sufism as a Sociocultural Phenomenon

§ 1. Sufi Traditions in the First Half of the 19th Century.

Michael Kemper

Sufism is a mystical path within Islam; it involves bringing oneself closer to Allah by means of meditation, asceticism, and spiritual exercises. Thus, Sufism is an 'inner' aspect of Islam in which God, His oneness, might, and mercy are comprehended not only through the rational study of theological texts written by theologians and scholars of Muslim law but also through personal belief in his presence in this world. However, there is a widespread impression of Sufism as a solitary attempt to find the way to God, following only one's inner feelings without recognising the authority and laws of the Sharia. In the case of Tatarstan, this idea would be quite misleading for a number of reasons.

Firstly, Sufism is a complex Islamic discipline in which a *murid* (follower) is obliged to carefully follow the instructions of his sheikh or *murshid* (teacher) and in which the sheikh must theoretically possess absolute control over the actions and exercises of his pupil. Thus, Sufism is a strict school of thought and practice which first and foremost instills obedience to a teacher's guidelines. The sheikh decides when his pupil is ready to enter into *tariqa* (the Sufi path). Each Sufi school has a clear conception of this path, its phases, the tools one must use to move forward on the path, and benchmarks to establish whether a pupil has reached one level or another (often done by analysing his dreams and visions). The teacher also evaluates his *murid*'s level of development and his readiness to advance further along the path. Only the teacher can say whether the pupil has completed his education or not. After the course is completed, the sheikh gives his pupil a certificate called an *ijazah* which permits him to be a *khalifa* (dep-

uty) of the teacher and a full-fledged sheikh as well as to educate *murids* himself. This is the most important document in a Sufi's life; when a *khalifa* receives his powers, he becomes a part of the *silsilah* (spiritual chain) which links him up with his sheikh and all his other teachers and forebears, all the way down to the Prophet Muhammad. It is true that some Sufis were known to assert that they had received their visions directly from God or Muhammad or fallen sheikhs and saints. But Sufis who did not have an *ijazah* were highly vulnerable to criticism from official sheikhs.

Secondly, many Sufis did indeed cross swords with scholars of Islamic law and authorities. The most known example is Mansur al-Hallaj, who was executed in public in 922 in Baghdad for proclaiming, 'I am Truth' (that is, 'I am God'), which reflected Hallaj's belief that he had achieved full unity with Allah. As a result, Hallaj was accused of heresy and of not recognising God's supremacy over His creation and His distance from it. The concept of the 'unity of being' (*wahdat al-wujud*) in Sufism relates to the idea that a Sufi may become one with God at the final stage of his path. But this is only an extreme form of the monistic branch of Sufism. The majority of Sufis would characterise the final stage as the 'unity of evidence' (*wahdat al-shuhud*), meaning that the main purpose of a Sufi is to become a *witness* to God's oneness at the highest stage of meditation and not to actually become one with Him. The majority of Tatar Sufis in the 19th century adhered to this moderate trend in Sufism, which was not considered to exceed the limits of the Sharia.

Thirdly, the majority of Tatar Sufis in the 19th century did not see any discrepancy be-

tween Sufism and Islamic law. In fact, among their ranks was a number of imams from the mosques of the Volga-Ural region; they worked simultaneously as teachers in maktabas and madrasas, where students immersed themselves in Islamic law and theology for years and sometimes even decades. Sufism was offered as a complementary subject at madrasas; the classes were mainly home-based and outside of the curriculum. At the same time, stories about the classical Islamic saints and Sufis (without any discussion of the details of the Sufi doctrine) were used as materials for teaching Islamic ethics (*akhlak*) and morality more generally (*adab*) and were popular among schoolchildren, students, and the entire population. These stories instilled in pupils a devotion to God, acceptance of the fate allotted to them by the Creator as well as modesty, honesty, mercy, respect to brethren Muslims, and many other human values. All of the aforementioned moral principles were considered within the context of well-known Sufis, and the Muslim community did not see in them any conflict with the Islamic doctrine.

Fourthly, the dominant *tariqa* (Sufi order) among Tatar Sufis in the first half of the 19th century was the *Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya*. This order, which was prevalent throughout the Turkic world, was distinguished by the fact that its followers were especially devoted to following the canons of Sharia and participating in Muslim community life. As far as we know, the brotherhoods whose ecstatic behaviour drew the criticism of Islamic scholars (for example, the 'dervish beggars' who belonged to the *Qalandariyya* order in medieval Central Asia or the eccentric members of the *Bektashi* order in Anatolia and on the Balkan Peninsula) had no Tatar or Bashkir adherents in the 19th century. As a rule, the Tatar Sufis did not recite the *Dhikr* out loud, a practice which could be criticised for its ecstatic nature; the majority of them did not dance or play music, unlike, for example, the representatives of the *Meveviyya* order ('whirling dervishes') in the Ottoman Empire, for example, and did not swallow serpents and swords like *Rifa'i sheikhs* in Arabic countries. On the contrary, the majority of Tatar sheikhs

taught their murids the less impressive 'quiet' *Dhikr*, in which the name of God and certain formulae are repeated to oneself silently. They practiced *rabita*—intense but silent internal contact between a sheikh and his murids. It was believed that such a form of prayer was completely in line with the Sharia and, therefore, Tatar Naqshbandis were not criticised by Islamic legal scholars, with few exceptions. Nevertheless, there were many disputes among the Sufis, mainly concerning rituals and moral behaviour.

Finally, Tatar Sufi literature does not focus specifically on miracles, which distinguishes it from the Ottoman *Bektashi* order, whose saints, according to descriptions in their hagiographies, constantly turn into animals, climb into flaming ovens in order to prove their holiness or strike down their enemies with lightning bolts. There was a number of village sheikhs among the Tatar Sufis (some dynasties did not stop for decades) who were known as messengers who passed on God's blessing (*barakah*) and healers. In particular, infertile women asked the Sufi saints to bless them so that they could conceive children. Nevertheless, as a rule, the miracles described in 19th-century Tatar Sufi literature stand out from the hagiographies of other Sufi orders for their modesty.

A few words on the social or public aspect of the *tariqa* as well as the proliferation of the Naqshbandiyya in a broader context. A *tariqa* is not a clear hierarchical organisation; rather, it brings together all of the sheikhs and their pupils, as well as the methods of spiritual development that trace back to the order's founding father. A pupil follows the *tariqa* of his teacher, and when he receives his *ijazah* (certificate), he becomes a full-fledged link in the chain of the spread of this idea. For this reason, a *tariqa* has the tendency of branching off like a tree: After they receive their *ijazah*, the pupils form new local branches. This phenomenon leads to the result that the orders take on a great number of additional names over many centuries. The viability of a new branch depends on its approval by other sheikhs and the number of the pupils who join it. For example, the Naqshbandiyya takes its name from that of sheikh Bahaaddin Naqshbandi (d. 1389 in Bukhara).

Another great Naqshbandi teacher, sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi (d. 1624) from India, is known as the reformer of the Naqshbandiyya and as the '*mujaddid*' ('reformer') of the second Islamic millennium; from then on, the branch of the Naqshbandiyya modelled after his idea is known as the 'reformed' Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya. Sirhindi's multivolumed *Maktubat* (treatises) were very popular among the Tatar population, and the majority of Tatar Naqshbandi in the 19th century joined the Mujaddidiyya branch (the old orders continued developing in other territories). Many sheikhs were considered to be members of several branches or even several different orders.

In all branches of the Naqshbandiyya, special emphasis is placed on the life of the community: members of the Naqshbandiyya taught at the *maktabs* and *madrassahs*, served as imams, built *khanqahs* (Sufi community centres) where they met with their pupils and where travellers could spend the night and be fed. Many people assert that the Naqshbandiyya cultivates a spirit of labour that supports trade (indeed, there were many wealthy merchants among the Naqshbandiyya) and social and political activity, a description which refers to Sufism in the Volga region as well.

The Tatar Sufis, mullahs, and legal scholars, who often belonged to the same circles, as was noted above, took up leading positions in the traditional Muslim community, whether it was in the slobodas of Kazan and Orenburg or in the countryside. Whenever the Muslim rulers (khan or caliph) were absent, the Sufis and teachers served as the main guarantors of the integrity of the Islamic character within society. As defenders of the Muslim Tatar identity, they commanded great respect and prestige. They built mosques, schools, and Sufi dwellings with assistance from merchants, reaffirming thereby that the Volga-Ural region remained a part of the Islamic territory (*Dar al-islam*). As a result of geographical isolation from the rest of the Muslim world, Tatar society (which was overall characteristically conservative) directed its efforts primarily towards the protection of 'purely' Islamic traditions from pernicious influence, especially from the encroachment of

Russian culture. Integration with Russia took on an Islamic form.

In the 19th century, this self-isolation of the Tatar Sufis from Russian society did not lead to jihad. The situation was significantly different in Dagestan and Chechnya, where the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya-Khalidiyya order became an important partner in the jihad against Russia to three well-known imams: Ghazi-Muhammad, Hamzat-beg, and Shamil (around 1828–1859). Jihad as a movement appeared in Dagestan and Chechnya in about 1828 owing to young Muslim preachers' efforts to destroy the traditional moral principles of rural Dagestani communities and replace their customary law with Islamic laws. Some leaders of the Naqshbandiyya supported this struggle, which hints at a close connection between the ideas of Naqshbandi Sufism and the pursuit of the supremacy of the Sharia. Although the aforementioned imams were not full-fledged Sufi sheikhs, the Islamic movement in the Northern Caucasus was known in Russian literature as 'muridism' owing to its connection with the Naqshbandiyya. The situation in the Caucasus did, of course, differ from the situation in the Middle Volga region, where integration into imperial structures had been occurring for several centuries and where the Russians constituted a significant part of the population. Nevertheless, the following fact is noteworthy: as far as we can tell, the Tatar Sufis from the Mujaddidiyya did not participate in the jihad even at the height of the war in the Caucasus in the early 1840s. Likewise, during the Russian-Turkish war of 1877–1878, they again did not attempt to join their Naqshbandi brothers in the Caucasus in their armed struggle against the Russians. It is quite probable that they were not even aware of the ties between the northern Caucasian imams and the Naqshbandiyya. Tatar literature written in Arabic and Tatar contains almost no record of the jihad. This leads us to the conclusion that in the first half of the 19th century, the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Northern Caucasus took on a militant revolutionary stance (through its Khalidiyya branch) towards the Russian Empire, while in the Volga-Ural region the same order was proving itself conservative

and rather peaceful. The Orenburg Moham-medan Spiritual Assembly (OMSA) was the organisation that contributed most to the integration of Tatar mullahs and Sufis into Russia's administrative system. Sufi muftis (for example, the first mufti, Muhammadzhan Khusainov—d. 1824) were among the assembly's heads. The designated mullahs were officially subordinate to the OMSA. American historian Robert Crews proposed the idea that the Muslim Tatars of the Russian Empire even regarded the tsar as a formal defender of Islam. I would not go so far, but looking at the past, despite all of the anti-Islamic utterances of Russian journalists and politicians of that time, I will note that the Tatar mullahs, among whom there were many Naqshbandis, cooperated with the Russian state rather than posing a threat to it.

Another important issue concerns our sources. Almost all of the information about the members of the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya has been taken from three well-known papers from the 19th century: "Mustafad al-akhbar" (Kazan, 1880) by Shigabuddin Marjani (d. 1889); a similar work by Murad Muhammad al-Manzilavi al-Ramzi (d. 1934): "Talfik al-akhbar" (Orenburg, 1908); and 15 brochures from the biographical encyclopaedia "Asar" (Kazan 1900, Orenburg 1901–1908) by Rizaeddin Fakhreddin (d. 1936). All of these authors were members of the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya.

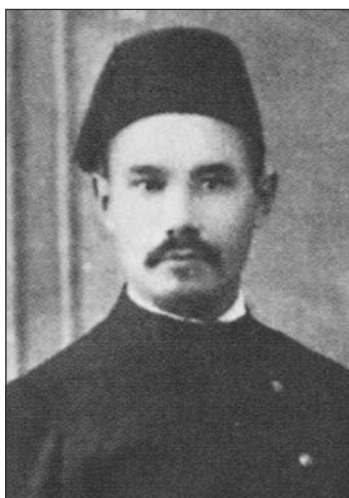
We know from the papers of the aforementioned scholars that the 19th-century Tatar Naqshbandiyya order can be traced back to two distinguished Sufi teachers from Bukhara and Kabul: Niyazkuli al-Turkmani (d. 1821) and Faizkhan bin Khizyrkhan al-Kabuli (d. 1802). Throughout the 19th century, Central Asian *madrasahs* were the primary Islamic centres for Tatar students, especially in Bukhara and Samarkand; it is thus not surprising that young Tatar students became members of the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya specifically in these cities. As we know from the writings of Marjani, Ramzi, and Fakhreddin, Niyazkuli and Faizkhan attended to the education of many Sufis from Kazan, Orenburg/Kargaly and many Tatar and Bashkir villages. Returning home after many years studying in Central

Asia, these students brought their Sufi *silsilah*. Serving as imams and teachers in Tatar and Bashkir villages, they disseminated the ideas of the Naqshbandiyya among their pupils. One of Niyazkuli's many *murids* in the Volga-Ural region was Nigmatulla bin Biktimer al-Sterlibashi, the director of a large madrasah and Sufi centre in Sterlibashevo (in the Ural region), which was later taken over by his sons Kharis (d. 1870/1871) and Kharras (d. 1871/1872). Let us name a couple of them: Ghabdennasir Qursawi (d. 1812), a renowned Tatar scholar, imam and teacher from the village of Korsá; Davletshakh bin Gadelshakh Al-Chabanly (d. 1832 or 1833), who gave lessons in several mosques of the region; and perhaps the poet Abulmanikh Kargaly (d. after 1833). There were two opponents of the muftiate among the pupils of Faizkhan al-Kabuli: sheikh Dzhangfar bin Abdi (nicknamed 'Ishan the accordionist', most likely because he played music, d. 1823 or 1824) from the village Chishma near Ufa, and the well-known Gabdrakhim al-Bulgari (Utyz Imyani, d. 1834), who wrote a great number of Sufi verses, moralistic and legal treatises. In addition, Valid bin Muhammad al-Amin (Vali Muhammad ishan, d. 1802 or 1803) from Kargaly, who had the reputation of a saint, also received his *ijazah* from Faizkhan al-Kabuli. In his turn, Gubajdulla bin dzhangfar al-Kizlavi (d. 1822 or 1823), a pupil of Vali Muhammad ishan, was the founder of the Kizlavi Sufi dynasty in Kizlau/Kurmanaevó, Simbirsk guberniya. These examples illustrate that the idea of the Naqshbandiyya, first adopted by the pupils of a few sheikhs of Central Asia, later spread all over the lands of the Tatars and Bashkirs, embodied in the form of local Sufi centres with ages-old traditions.

However, relying entirely on sources such as Marjani, Ramzy, and Fakhreddin, one may develop a biased perception of the situation: they were writing in the late 19th century, when the ideas of the Mujaddidiyya order had already been widely promulgated across the territories of modern Tatarstan and Bashkortostan. Thus, Marjani, Ramzy, and Fakhreddin talk little about Sufis from other *tariqas*, in particular, the Sufi orders that existed before the 19th



Sh. Marjani.



R. Fakhretdin. Ufa. 1892.

century, some of which penetrated into Central Asia. As a matter of fact, one can conclude that in the first half of the 19th century there were Tatar sheikhs belonging to other Sufi branches as well (to the Naqshbandiyya and likely various other brotherhoods) who received their *ijazahs* not in Bukhara and Samarkand, but in Anatolia, Dagestan and the Arabic countries. We do not know much about these early interactions, as they were completely displaced or absorbed by the Mujaddidiyya of Central Asia.

One more shortcoming of the works of Marjani, Ramzy and Fakhreddin is that these authors tended to underestimate 'nonconformist' Sufis and scholars, even those that belonged to the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiya order. This is especially noticeable when it comes to such outstanding figures as Nigmatulla al-Utari (d. 1816/1817), Gabdrakhim Utyz Imyani and Bagautdin Vaisov (d. 1893), whose style of Sufism did not belong to the "restrained" doctrine of mainstream Naqshbandiyya and who did not support quietism (political neutrality) or the integrative views of Marjani, Ramzy, and Fakhreddin and the devout bourgeoisie of Kazan and Orenburg. For a more profound analysis of these Sufis, one must turn to other sources—in particular, those written by the Sufis themselves.

The bulk of Sufi literature was written primarily in Arabic. The majority of these works were not printed. Over the first five decades

after their establishment in 1801, the famous printing houses of Kazan published only a handful of books by Tatar authors, and there were almost no modern writers, including Sufi ones. A few examples of Tatar Sufi compositions are preserved to this day in the form of manuscripts. Some of these manuscripts are unique: Tatar and Arabic translations, Arabic commentaries on Persian Sufi and ethical texts—in particular, '*Maktubat*' by Ahmad Sirhindi, the works of

al-Ghazalī (d. 1111) and Mehmed Birgevi (d. 1573) as well as original scholarly studies on the concept of Sufism and Sufi rites written by Tatar and Bashkir authors. The latter include two works on Sufism written in Arabic: '*In-ayat al-Subkhani*' ('Care of the Almighty') by Tadzheddin bin Yalchygul (d. 1837) in which a vision of the Sufi way is vividly described, and '*Risalay madiniya*' ('Book from Medina', a defence of Monism and Sufi oneness with God) by Nigmatulla bin Umar al-Utari (d. 1816 or 1817). Just as the Sufi literature in the Turkic languages of the Ural and Volga regions (that is, in the various local dialects preceding contemporary Tatar and Bashkir), Sufi literature in Arabic includes poetry and prose (including epics as well as *silsilah*, preserved in scrolls several meters long). The majority of what has reached us testifies to the influence of Central Asia, but as it will be shown below, the Tatar writers also followed some Ottoman models.

We seek to rethink the status of Sufism in Tatarstan from the 1800s to the 1860s. Additionally, we will discuss the most outstanding scholars who worked prodigiously in the field of Islamic law and theology; their activity will be highlighted in detail below. Since Islamic students and Sufis travelled a lot, their individual routes and locations of work crossed and covered the territories of modern Tatarstan and Bashkortostan, as well as the region in general. We are avoiding statements on the nationali-

ties of one Sufi or another, which, in any case, would be an unhelpful endeavour.

Instead, legends and shrines act as indicators of Islamic identity within the Russian Empire. Sufi teachers since the late 18th century have been making lists of Sufi shrines and mausoleums with relevant descriptions for pilgrims. Allen Frank calls these works 'catalogues of mausoleums (mazars)'. According to him, these shrines served as signs of Islamic identity in the topographic map of the Russian Empire. This is evident in the narratives on the Islamisation of Central Asia—for example, in stories on Babaa Tuklese (researched by Devin DeWeese), the catalogues of sacred mazars of the Volga-Ural region connect the emergence of Islam with the activity of Islamic Sufi miracle-workers. The veneration of dead sheikhs (as well as their descendants) reflected an early and original Islamic identity of the Volga-Ural region. The territory of this region, in general, coincided with the territory of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly (OMSA), which came into existence at approximately the same time.

And catalogues of mazars of different places have been preserved. In them, the ruins of Bulgar are usually referred to as the spiritual centre of the united Muslim region. It was thought that Islam came to Tatar lands through Bulgar, and the graves of many Islamic saints and heroes were located there. According to one legend, Muhammad the Prophet sent his three companions to Bulgar, where they worked a miracle and by this miracle persuaded the khan to adopt Islam. There are several versions of this story, including a Bashkir genealogy story (*Tarikh-name*) by Tadzheddin bin Yalchygul (died in 1837/1838) and the famous '*Tavarikhi Bulgaria*' (History of the Bulgars). The latter is written in Turkic and is especially noteworthy.

Dozens of manuscripts and a number of printed publications of '*Tavarikhi Bulgaria*' have been preserved up to this day, a testament to its great popularity during the entire 19th century. A man by the name of Khisameddin bin Sharafeddin Al-Muslimi, who, as is reported, completed this work in 958 or 992 according to Hegira (1551 or 1584), is mentioned in the text itself as the author. Nevertheless, the

names of some scholars who apparently lived in the late 18th century are also mentioned in the text. And so it is reasonable to suppose that '*Tavarikhi Bulgaria*' reached us in the form it had been written in from the early 19th century (the earliest existing manuscripts date back to 1827). The contents of '*Tavarikhi Bulgaria*' represent a compilation of various chapters: along the legend on the Islamisation of the region and list of Sufi shrines in the region, it also contains information on the early history of Islam, geography of Eastern Europe, and Muslim calendar. The final chapter 'Conclusion' (*khatima*) contains several stories on the military campaigns of Aksak Timur (Tamerlane). Getting instructions from Allah and the legendary Central Asian saint Ahmed Yesevi, Timur (died in 1405) inflicts defeat upon Chinggis Khan (died in 1227), struggles against Persian ruler Nadir Shah (died in 1747), dispossesses Istanbul of an Ottoman caliph named al-Mahdi (fictitious), and finally, conquers and destroys Bulgar. In the 19th century, a number of Tatar scholars criticised the obvious historical distortions in these stories; in 1880 S. Marjani harshly criticised '*Tavarikhi Bulgaria*', asserting that it was completely useless because of its numerous anachronisms. As is known, Marjani was an opponent of a Bulgarian identity of the Volga Muslims, and urged the people to call themselves Tatars. This point of view of Marjani found support amongst scholars of TASSR, who believed that '*Tavarikhi Bulgaria*' was simply a fanciful conception of Islamic fanatics. M. Usmanov also paid serious attention to this work, indicating that '*Tavarikhi Bulgaria*' contains elements from earlier sources, including '*Daftari Chinggis-name*'.

The huge popularity of '*Tavarikhi Bulgaria*' in the 19th century meant the Tatar Islamic reader was not simply reading this collection of hagiographies and historical belles-lettres as a historiographical work. In the genre of hagiography, historical events are usually 'placed' into the sacred history of a certain tribe or community, and their function is not to transmit accurate historical evidence, but to affirm the continuous commitment of the population to Islam as well as declare the proper values and ethics of

society. In this specific case, the sheikhs represent Islam and some of the fictitious historical facts in *'Tavarikhi Bulgaria'* symbolically represent several fundamental topics within Sufism, theology, and sharia. Topics that caused arguments amongst the Volga-Ural Muslims in the 19th century. In particular, carefully considered tales on Timur's campaigns are very informative in this former respect; evidently they were intended to impart a moderate Sufi interpretation of Islamic ethics. Timur plays the role of defender of Islam. He protects Islam not only against the pagan Chinggis Khan, but also against the corrupted Muslim rulers of Istanbul and Bulgar. Ultimately, it is Allah, by means of miracles, who leads Timur to victory. In the story, Timur decides to conquer Istanbul after he learns that the elite of the city have not been praying at the proper time and have been practicing sodomy, and also that the men have even been killing their wives. And some time later, the genitals of all offenders become infected in an unknown manner, a fact that is offered as evidence of their guilt. When Timur finally begins governing the city, he executes the sultan and all the scholars who pandered to his disgusting habits. Later, Timur destroys Bulgar, as its residents were engaged in criminal activity and debauchery. Their Muslim theologians were justifying the drinking of alcohol and the omission of Friday prayers and the fifth daily prayer (the night prayer—*'isha'*). This is problematic in northern districts of the country, where it is bright at night in the summer. And lastly, scholars in both Istanbul and Bulgar were engaged in theological speculation (*kalam*) and disregarded the study of the Koran and the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad.

In general, this story carries a strong moralistic meaning, and, therefore, is connected to other Sufi stories, such as Tadzheddin Bin Yalchygul's *'Risalai Gazize'* ('Aziza's book'). *'Risalai Gazize'* itself recounts similar events as from a work of the famous Naqshbandiyya sheikh, Sufi Allahyar of Bukhara (died in 1723). As was mentioned above, the moralistic message of *'Tavarikhi Bulgaria'* is connected with the criticism of speculative theology as well as the appeal to return to the fundamental

foundations of Islam. In particular, *'Tavarikhi'* addresses the necessity of Friday prayers (even if only a few people came to Friday gatherings, as such was the case in small villages of the Volga-Ural region) and *'isha'* when it was still light outside. It is interesting that the aforementioned concerns and criticisms are the arguments we find in the theological and legal papers of Ghabdennasir Qursawi (died in 1812). Since *'Tavarikhi Bulgaria'* clearly lays out Qursawi's position on questions of Islamic law and theology, there is a high probability that at least 'Conclusion', in the version that came to us, was prepared by a key follower of Qursawi, perhaps Muhammadamin Bin Saifulla Al-Nalasavi (died somewhere between 1831–1833).

Thus, *'Tavarikhi Bulgaria'*, characterised by an original combination of historical, Sufi, and theological-legal issues, vividly illustrates a methodical component to the teachings of Tatar Naqshbandiyya, or, as a matter of fact, the 'moderate' nature of Tatar Sufism. A similar connection can be traced back in a small treatise called *'Qursawi's Life'* (*'Manakibi Abu Nasr Ghabdennasir al-Qursawi'*) [Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint-Petersburg, manuscript. A1241], which apparently was written around 1820. Here, Qursawi is described as a Sufi who was guided by God's inspiration. From this perspective, it becomes clear that the main purpose of the authors of *'Tavarikhi Bulgaria'*, was the integration of religious regional history (including both the Islamisation legend as well as the catalogue of holy places) with religious edification, in addition to the popularisation of Qursawi's detailed theological interpretations from within the Sufi framework.

Isolationism: Gabdrakhim al-Bulgari. It is evident from a story on Timur in *'Tavarikhi Bulgaria'*, that Istanbul was the second source of inspiration of moral righteousness and Sufi thought, after Central Asia. In the 17th century, the Kadizadeli movement appeared in the Ottoman empire. Mehmed Kadizade (died in 1635) and his followers were popular preachers in large mosques of Istanbul, including Hagia Sophia and Sultan Ahmed. Their sermons focused on moral purification. They concentrated

particularly on abstinence from consuming tobacco and coffee as well as adapting political and economic policies to follow Sharia law. The movement was mainly directed against military officers (who were accused of having sex with 'beardless' boys during military campaigns), eminent Ottoman scholars who were enriching themselves through charity funds (*vakuf*), and against Sufi brotherhoods, especially those of the *alvatiy* order, with their ceremony of *Dhikr* and the corresponding extravagant behaviour of its members. Sometimes these conflicts led to open clashes in the streets. A composition by Turkish scholar Mehmed Birgevi (died 1572) was the primary source of inspiration for members of the Kadizadeli movement. In Birgevi's ethical collection, 'At-Tariqa al-Muhammadiya va as-sira al-ahmadiya' ('The path and biography of the Prophet Muhammad'), the good and evil moral qualities of a person were studied and classified. In this piece, he criticised certain types of activity in the Ottoman Empire (for example, the creation of charity funds that were given loans in the form of credit in exchange for a percent of income). In Birgevi's opinion, such types of activity were *Bid'ah*, that is, an illegal innovation which went beyond the framework of Sharia law.

Within the Ottoman Empire, the supporters of the strict ethics of Birgevi and Kadizadeli were characterised as opponents of Sufism, but in the context of the Tatars, their struggle for strict observance to the principles of Sharia and Islamic morals fit in with the spirit of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi brotherhood, which was to equal extent defending Sharia and the interests of Tatar traders. Birgevi's doctrine was of great importance for Tatars, and so one of the most published works in the Kazan printing house was '*Pirkuli kitaby*' (Birgevi's book'), a brief statement, drafted by an unknown author in the Ottoman language, of Birgevi's ethics (there were six editions from only 1801 to 1808). There are several versions of this work, a rhymed edition being the most popular one. Birgevi's beliefs on trade and the economy can be found in '*Risalei Muhammad Efendi*' ('The Book of Mehmed Efendi [Birgevi]'), published first in 1808 in Kazan. Birgevi condemned fraud and corruption,

insisted on investing in charity in the name of Islam, and called for abstention from dubious economic undertakings. In the framework of his doctrine, trade was considered pious and not conflicting with Islamic laws, a fact that was taken by Tatar merchants as a guide to action. In other words, the doctrines of Birgevi and Kadizadeli gave Tatar traders an Islamic consciousness when they began integrating into the Russian economy. Moreover, the second Orenburg mufti, G. Gabdrakhimov, in his fatwas, quoted Birgevi and later commentators. These fatwas urged for the integration of the Tatars into various institutions of the Russian Empire (for example, in one letter he condemns the practice of self-mutilation to avoid service in the army as running counter to Islamic laws).

Nevertheless, Birgevi also had great influence on the Naqshbandiyya sheikh and scholar Gabdrakhim Al-Bulgari, later known as Utyz Imyani. Gabdrakhim Al-Bulgari (1754–1835) was against the integration of the Tatars into Russian Empire institutions. He had studied in Bukhara and Samarkand under the direction of well-known Naqshbandiyya sheikhs as well as in Kabul under Faizkhan Al-Kabuli. He first came to Central Asia when he was, perhaps, seeking to avoid prosecution in Russia. And as some sources note, he took part in Volga-Ural revolts in the late 18th century. His first jobs had been philological translations (from Turkic into Arabic) and commentaries, in Turkic, on two ethics papers of the above-mentioned Sufi Allahyar of Bukhara. Gabdrakhim also studied '*Maktubat*' ('Writings'), written by the Indian Naqshbandiyya sheikh Ahmad Sirkhindi (died in 1624), the founding father of the Mujhaddidiya branch of Naqshbandiyya. Gabdrakhim not only put together a dictionary of difficult terms of the '*Maktubat*', but also created a tiny copy of all relevant manuscripts and, as he wrote in one of his papers, constantly carried this copy around.

Gabdrakhim furthermore wrote poems. His series of poems, the '*Tukhfat al-guraba*' ('Gift of Foreigners'; we will return later on to the significance of the 'foreigner'), firmly criticised Sufi sheikhs of Bukhara for their poor work with students from the Volga-Ural region, dis-

cussed the incompetence and greed of corrupt sheikhs who were only interested in money and donations, and reproached corrupt sheiks for their use of young men as sexual objects. These mocking verses ring clearly and probably reflect the experience of Gabdrakhim. And while living in Bukhara, Gabdrakhim also expressed his disagreement with Qursawi. Gabdrakhim was resolutely against Kursavi's insistent demands to revive *ijtihad* (new interpretations of holy Islamic texts).

When Gabdrakhim returned from Central Asia, he became poor and an 'illegal' wandering preacher. As a matter of fact, Gabdrakhim was an ardent 'oppositionist'. He bitterly criticised muftiyat and the emerging Tatar bourgeoisie. Their rise provided the primary impetus for Gabdrakhim's turn to Mehmed Birgevi's works, whose main ideas Gabdrakhim sought to 'reconcile' with several aspects of Naqshbandiyya teachings. The names of several books, written by Gabdrakhim in Arabic after he had returned from Central Asia, remind us of Birgevi's works: *'Inkaz al-khalikin'* ('Salvation of victims') [Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 2387]; and *'As-saif as-sarim'* [Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, items 1204–1206]. Like Birgevi, Gabdrakhim attached a lot of importance to asceticism (*zukhd*) and morality (*akhlak*). But whereas Birgevi seems to have remained indifferent to some questions which were considered 'neutral' (*mubakh*, neither obligated nor prohibited by Muslim law), Gabdrakhim went much further. He asserted that any form of pleasure must be rejected as *kharam* (prohibited). Gabdrakhim followed the principle of *ikhtiyat* (great caution)—the concept that it would be better not to perform an action unless it was certainly pious. He wrote individual sermons rejecting wealth accumulation. They were directed against the Tatar merchants' predilection for acquiring luxury items. Gabdrakhim claimed that since the methods the merchants used to earn their money was questionable, even donations to charity could not be accepted. If Naqshbandiyya tariqa demanded complete devotion and asceticism only from

murids, Gabdrakhim asserted that each believer must live in poverty and that striving for wealth was a sin which corrupts and leads to death.

Considering himself a Naqshbandiyya sheikh Gabdrakhim effectively deprived the tariqa of its mystical aspects. He never mentioned mystical experience as a goal of the Sufi way in his works. The Sufi methods and means that he described never went beyond simple asceticism. Most likely Gabdrakhim was striving to understand Allah by strict adherence to His ethical and legal guidelines. Disregarding the mystical aspects of the tariqa, Gabdrakhim characterised the traditions of Naqshbandiyya as a path of extreme asceticism and perfect morality. In this way he united it with the Birgevi doctrine. At the same time, Gabdrakhim took the piety of the Birgevi to an extreme, turning it into a misanthropic refusal of the world.

The theme of the corruptibility of Muslim society was a dominant theme in Gabdrakhim's work. He believed that this moral decay occurred mainly through contact with the unfaithful. Thus, Gabdrakhim rejected all Russian cultural influences: tables, chairs, beds, windows (which he saw as resembling the Christian cross), leather tanned by non-Muslims, meat from the slaughterhouse of the unfaithful and, of course, tea and alcohol. The most pessimistic and isolationist of Gabdrakhim's writings were devoted to predictions that the apocalypse was coming. It is probable that he saw himself (in the tradition of prophets) in the role of someone warning that one day corruption will spread throughout the Muslim society to such a degree that people would see a Muslim still living according to the Islamic canons as being alien to them (*garib*). In the 19th century, similar apocalyptic expectations were evident in other parts of the Muslim world.

Gabdrakhim's fusion of the pious Ottoman Birgevi tradition and the Sirkhindi Naqshbandiyya concept, especially his criticism of Bukhara Sufis, can be seen as a step on the road towards liberating Tatar scholars from the influence of 'sacred' spiritual centres in Central Asia. By the end of the 19th century, their status was in decline. Gabdrakhim with his strict, uncompromising demands and refusal to recognise

official mullahs and muftis can be thought of as a forerunner of Bagautdin Vaisov (who died in 1893) and his passive resistance movement. Vaisov was also convinced that the Final Judgment was imminent. It is not surprising that Gabdrakhim's writings in Arabic were never published, nor that later historians, for example Marjani, had no liking for him.

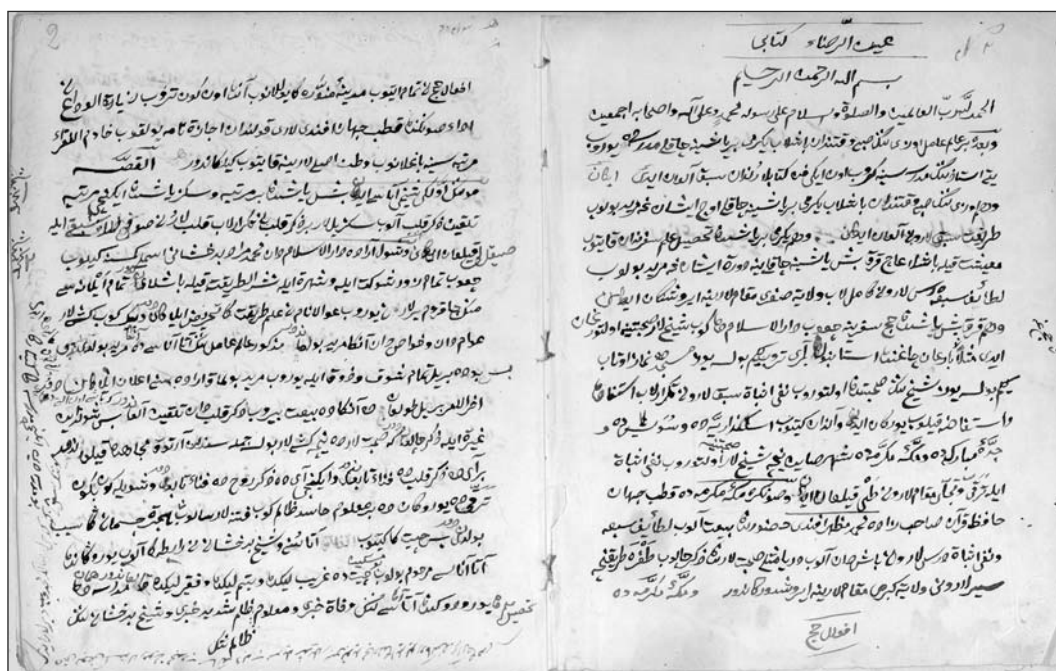
Integrationism: Ghaly Chokry. Muhammadgali Al-Chokry (1826–1889) was another famous Sufi in the Volga-Ural region in the 19th century. As part of the broad spectrum of Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiya views, Chokry was in favour of the Tatars integrating with Russia in a devout way. He was the reverse of Gabdrakhim Al-Bulgari. A Turkic-language work by Chokry entitled '*Madkhi Kazan*' ('An ode to the city of Kazan' Kazan 1306/1889) pays tribute to Islamic scholars, followers of Sufism, and merchants of the city who led Muslim culture and education to new heights through charities and Islamic institutions. Chokry disliked '*Tavarikh Bulgaria*', (especially the positive image of Timur portrayed in this work) but with this exception he was an ardent supporter of the concept of a unified Bulgar (Tatar-Bashkir) Islamic territory. In his panegyric, Kazan is portrayed as the new Islamic centre on Bulgar land, integral to the Russian Empire. Thanks to the Kazan publishing house, 'rays of Islamic civilisation' penetrated into the neighbouring regions.

Chokry (who established his own noble origins, allegedly going back to one of Chinggis Khan's commanders, Maiky-Bey) wrote many panegyrics on Tatar and Bashkir sufis and scholars (partly published under the title 'Luminous candles' [*'Sham' ad-diya*] (Kazan, 1883): such as Dzhangfar bin Abdi Al-Bulgari (d. 1823/1824), Valid bin Muhammad al-Kargaly (d. 1802/1803), Habibullah Al-Oruvi from Ura (d. 1817/1818), Gubajdulla al-Kizlavi, Gabdulzhabbar Kari from Novo-Al'met'ievo village and Nigmatulla bin Biktimer Al-Sterlibashi (Tukayev, d. 1844/1845), Gabdulla Machkaravi (d. 1859), Ali al-Tuntari (d. 1875). Poems praising the fourth mufti, Salimgaray Tevkelev, reflect Chokry's positive attitude to Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly. Chokry devoted special praise to Haris, one of Al-Sterlibashi's

sons, who spent his fortune on building a large library, mosques, school and guest house for the Sufi Centre, which he opened in Sterlibashevo. Many of the aforementioned people followed the traditions of the Mujaddidiya of Faizkhan Al-Kabuli from Kabul. There were four people in Chokry's life who connected him with the Mujaddidiya: his father Gabdessalih (a follower of Al-Kabuli), Muhammad Murad al-Badakhshani (who was apparently from Tajikistan or Afghanistan), Haris from Sterlibashevo and Sheikh Muhammad Mazkhar Sahib-Zade, whom he met in Hejaz during a hajj. These relations show that although Chokry worked as a Mullah in Iskre Chokyr village (Birsik Uyezd), he was well integrated with a large international Naqshbandiyya network.

Less well known than his Turkic-language panegyrics, Chokry's Arabic treatises also give an idea of Sufi life in the 19th century. Chokry is likely to have written '*Fass al-akhiyar*' ('The engraved gem of the pious') [Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 2673] in the late 1850s. In this treatise, Chokry defends the Islamic practice of forming a circle (*khalka*) in a mosque to improve *Dhikr*. Many Muslims were against this practice, arguing that it did not correspond to Islamic traditions. Chokry called them 'exhausted frauds' which possibly indicates that these critics were ascetic vagrants such as Gabdrakhim Al-Bulgari, opponents to Muslim integration. In response to their attacks, Chokry claimed that all these actions were fully consistent with the Sunna because during the *khalka* no one sat in the centre of the circle and they were not carried out during Friday prayers.

A book by Chokry's son, Garifulla al-Chokry (al-Basravi, 1861–1918), covers other aspects of his life in the countryside. In '*Ain ar-rida kitaby*' ('Book on the source of satisfaction') [Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 680], Garifulla described his father's apiary as the place where Sufi exercises were conducted. The rich and the poor, scientists and sufis regularly came to *mejlis* (gatherings) to take part in conversations on morals or sufism, to read po-



The pages of a manuscript by Garifulla Chokry: 'Ayn ar-rida kitaby'. Late 19th century

etry, to pray and to perform Sufi rites, including *Dhikr* and (*khalka*). Women were also allowed to form their own *khalka* behind the trees. In this way, the garden is presented as a bucolic place for meetings. Travel was also part of Islamic culture in Russia. Chokry describes his Hajj pilgrimage in detail at a time when Russian infrastructure (including railways and steamships which made his journey via Odessa less arduous) was advancing. His assessment of Russian institutions in general was also

positive, compared to what he had seen in the Ottoman Empire. Chokry advocates the adoption of a positive attitude towards the Russian Empire as a place for 'Bulgar' Islam. He also argues in favour of Kazan's new role as an Islamic centre and for Sufism to be spread to the countryside. In general, his work is reflective of the tendencies towards integration adopted by Naqshbandiyya Sufism in the middle to the end of the 19th century, when so-called sheikh-'oppositionists' still existed.

§ 2. Sufism in the Volga-Ural Region in the Latter Half of 19th to the Beginning of the 20th Centuries.

Alfina Sibgatullina

In the second half of the 19th century, key aspects of Russian Muslims' spiritual lives underwent considerable change: having rejected the example set by Central Asia, which was going through a serious crisis in its education and Islamic belief system, they started to visit Istanbul, Beirut, and Cairo. These became the new centres of progressive Muslim thought. Ottoman Turkey, where various religious and

Sufi schools of thought developed, was also a place where representatives of Naqshbandiyya tariqa, to which the Tatars historically adhered, were concentrated. Mujaddidiya, which came to Anatolia at the turn of the 7–8th centuries [Şimşek, 2004, s. 100] from India and Hejaz, had a great number of followers in the Naqshbandiyya monasteries (*tekke*). There were also Central Asian monasteries ('Uzbek', 'Bukha-

ra'), to which Volga Muslims who arrived in Istanbul were usually affiliated [Sibgatullina, 2010a, pp. 89–94]. In relation to this a 'Kazan' tekke was founded as part of the Nur-Osmania mosque.

There were also Mujaddid sheikhs in Mecca and Medina who 'specialised' in dealing with non-murids, including pilgrims from the Volga region, Dagestan, and Central Asia [Algar, 2007, p. 414].

However, when the followers of the Indian Naqshbandiyya movement led by Sheikh Mevlana Khalid-i Baghdadi (Abul-Bakha Ziya'etdin Khalid Ash-Shahrezori (1776/1780–1827), who founded the khalid branch, gained influence of historical proportions, this gave the Naqshbandiyya order a powerful impetus and its popularity rose once again. Following Sheikh Imam Rabbani—Ahmad al-Faruqi Sirhindi (1564–1624), the Kurdish Sheikh Khalid-i Baghdadi, who was a supporter of *vakhdat ash-shukhud* (a stance advocating the absolute transcendence of God), believed that spiritual revelations from on high are available to mankind only if Sharia law is adhered to. Promoting perfect adherence to Sharia law and the Sunnah, he supported the Ummah's desire to promote education and encouraged them to use this to withstand European attacks against Islam. There are no fundamental differences between Mujaddidiya and Khalidiyya,¹ Mevlana Khalid-i Baghdadi's innovation could be described as an enhanced *rabita*—the mental connection between a praying Sufi and the image of the Sheikh. The Prophet remained the ideal of mankind, while his companion Abu Bakr (Siddiq) headed the spiritual genealogy of the tariqa also named *siddiqiya*.

Khalid-i Baghdadi refused the apolitical nature of Sufism and proclaimed the following principle: 'Engage in wordly affairs for the sake of religion'. On being asked what his dying wish would be, he replied: 'My dying wish is for religion, and to realise religion in all its

power and perfection, I require earthly experiences' [Yilmaz, 2009, p. 197]. At the same time, he believed that a Muslim must strictly follow Shariah law not only in everyday life but also in public affairs, and that the triumph of law was achieved through the administration of the State. Mevlana Khalid-i considered the Ottoman Empire a pillar of Islam, and so urged his murids to pray diligently for the welfare of the Ottoman Empire and its Sultan-Caliph. The Sultan was acknowledged as the leader and protector of all Muslims.

Khalid-i Baghdadi's followers differed from the leaders of other Sufi Brotherhoods in by their enlightenment, special righteousness, and piety. They also demanded scholarship and moral purity from their students. This was what primarily distinguished the Khalidiyya from the Bukhara Naqshbandiyya tradition.

Thanks to the khalidiyya branch, the Naqshbandiyya tariqa became the most important brotherhood in Turkey at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. It also had the closest links to power.

Khalidiyya was widespread in Kurdistan, Syria, and Iraq. In the 1820s it became dominant in Dagestan (where a new branch—Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiya Khalidiyya Mahmudiya, named after Sheikh Mahmud Al-Almaliya, who died in 1877, was soon formed).

Volga Muslims probably first encountered this new branch of Naqshbandiyya during pilgrimages, which became significantly more popular in the latter half of 19th century. Volga Muslims had the opportunity to meet Khalidiyya sheikhs on their way to Mecca and Medina in cities such as Istanbul, Baghdad and Damascus [Abu-Manneh, 2005, p. 296–304]. While on a pilgrimage in 1826, Khalid-i Baghdai realised the vital importance of Mecca in spreading his teachings, and appointed Sheikh Abdullah al-Makkah Erzinjani to be his chief caliph in Mecca. It is thought that Khalidiyya spread in the Volga and the Urals through him acting as an intermediary.

Volga Muslims who actively acquired real estate in Mecca and Medina in the second half of the 19th century contributed to the consolidation of the Kazan community in these holy

¹ If we take into consideration the fact that Khalid b. Ahmad became the second after Jalāl ad-Dīn Muhammad Rūmī in the whole Islamic world, who got the title of 'Mavlan' (our lord, our victor), it becomes obvious how great his influence and authority was.

places. In addition to shakirds coming to Hijaz to study, there were also Tatar mudzhavirs: they lived in the Sufi monasteries, served pilgrims who arrived from the homeland during Hajj and provided mentoring in their free time. Murad Ramzi (1854–1934) was the most important Naqshbandiyya Sheikh in Mecca and a mudzhavir at the same time².

The Khalidiyya caliph, sheikh Yunus ibn JDzhagfar ash-Shirvani al-Khanafi (d. 1850) became the spiritual mentor of the Northern Azerbaijan Mahmud Daghestani ash-Shirvani (Mahmoud ibn Sadyk ibn Mustafa ibn Ghali ibn Sadik Ash-Shirvani Al-Shafi Al-Almaly (died in 1877)), who had been sent into exile to the Perm Krai by the Russian authorities. The exiled Sheikh actively contacted Muslims from the Ufa, Kazan and Astrakhan guberniyas and gathered many murids around him. The most famous of his followers were Muhammadzakir ishan Kamalov Al-Chistavi (1804–1893), Gabdulvahhab Al-Hadzhitarhani (d. 1899), Gabdulgali bin Gubajdulla al-Bajraqawi (d. 1901). A prominent expert and interpreter of the Karan was Ishan Kamalov who served as Imam-Khatib in Chistopol for half of century. It was home to the 'Kamaliya' madrasah which was very large for the time.³ He became the acknowledged leader of Naqshbandiyya-i-Khalidiyya in the central parts of the Russian Empire. Ishan fell out of favour with the authorities because of his opposition to the overt Russification policy of the Tsars. [Amirkhanov, 2001 pp. 74]. He resisted coercive measures to open Russian schools at madrasahs until his death, considering this move by the authorities as a threat to Tatar ethnic identity.

Shazilit Sheikh Sayfulla Qadi Bashlarov (1853–1919), a well-known figure in Dagestan, studied directly under Kamalov. In 1878,

Saifullah was exiled to Saratov guberniya on suspicion of having participated in the anti-Russian revolt of 1877. In this period, he received ijazat from Ishan Kamalov. After his death, Saifulla Kadi joined another Tatar-Bashkir khalidiyya Sheikh—Zaynulla Rasulev. This united two independent Khalidiyya movements in the Ural-Volga region.

M. Kamalov was related to prominent Tatar Sufi leader Ghali ibn Saifullah Al-Tunteri (d. 1874) who disseminated tasawwuf in the Malmyzh district of Vyatka guberniya. Ishan Ghali, a representative of Bukhara Sufism, was remarkable in the scope of his world view, his scholarship, and openness to innovation. He therefore adopted a positive approach to the Khalidiyya branch of tariqa and to the jadid reformers. S. Marjani said that he was 'the most knowledgeable, outstanding, eloquent and credible ishan in our country' [Fäxretidin, 2010, b. 16]. Imam-Khatib, mudarris Ishan Ghali, was the head of the madrasa in Tyunter village for a long time. His grandson, Muhammadnadhhib Shamsutdinov Tyunteri (d. in 1930), was also engaged in educational and mentoring activities. He later became Zakir ishan's son-in-law.

Another Khalidiyya sheikh who was well known in the Ottoman Empire was Ahmed Ziyaetdin Gumushkhanevi (1813–1893).⁴ Unlike in other Sufi teachings, he paid attention to social aspects of individuals' lives in his system for educating 'the perfect man'. His ideal was a true believer, industrious and morally pure. He rejected vagrancy, poverty, isolation and 'the avoidance of public activities'. At the same time, he always urged his followers not to be caught in the trap of the world of illusion; believing that one should always remember the Almighty, even when you are busy with worldly affairs. He was acutely aware of a regression and stagnation both in Sufi practice and philosophy, and in the Muslim world in general. The sheikh believed the reasons to be ignorance and

² Murad Ramzi (1855–1934), a theologian, was born in the Menzelinsk uyezd of Ufa guberniya. He studied in Medina from 1876 to 1880. Having performed the hajj in 1880, he moved to Mecca and stayed for a long time there.

³ Famous public figures and educators such as R. Fakhreddin, F. Karimi, G. Gafurov-Chygtay, Kh. Fayzi-Chistapuli, the revolutionary, journalist and teacher F. Tuktarov and others graduated from there [Amirkhanov, 2001].

⁴ Sheikh Ahmad Gumushkhanevli is considered to be of Caucasian origin. People from Dagestan and the Volga region were sheikhs in his residence at different times, for example, Omar Ziyaetdin Dagestani (1849–1920), Abdulaziz Bekkine al-Kazani (1895–1952) and others.

breaches of the rules of morality. As a theologian and practicing teacher, he had a positive attitude to jadidism and supported all initiatives which contributed to human progress. In this way, he proved that Naqshbandiyya-i-Khalidiyya is not a rigid, closed and weak doctrine, but rather a flexible philosophical system able to change and meet the modern requirements of society.

R. Fakhreddin's work 'Asar' contains an account of the Ottoman sheikh's Volga Muslim students. [Fäxretidin, 2009, b. 85–87, 233, etc., 262–263]. When Tatars visited Istanbul, they would visit the tombs of Sheikh Gumushkhanevi and his followers, where they would conduct memorial ceremonies [Mägazi, 1913, p. 51].

Z. Rasulev became one of the first and the most active disseminators of the khalidiyya branch of the Naqshbandiyya tariqa in the Volga-Ural region. He was a native of Bashkiri village, Sharip, in Zlatoust district, Orenburg guberniya. After studying in Troitsk, he was appointed as an imam in Akkuzha village, Verkhneuralsky uyezd, where he set up his own madrasah. In 1859, he joined the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiya tariqa headed by Sheikh Gadelkhkim bin Kurbangali Chardakly (d. 1872). He met Rasulev Gyumyushkhanevi (according to *the silsilah*—Zainullah al-Kazani) [Gündüz, 1984, s. 157] in Istanbul in 1869/1870 during a pilgrimage to Hejaz, and had long conversations with him (*khalvat*). During these conversations, he learnt the secrets of this Sufi movement and was authorised to disseminate the theory of Sufi tariqas such as Naqshbandiyya, Qadiriyya, and Shadhili, as well as Sukhraverdiyya, Kubrawiyya and Chishtiyya.

In September 1870, Z. Rasulev began to spread the Khalidiyya in Troitsk and he soon gathered many supporters throughout the Urals, the Volga region, Kazakhstan and the Caucasus. In the middle of 1872, he was arrested; at the beginning of 1873, as a result of administrative proceedings, he was indefinitely exiled under strict police control to the northern guberniyas (first Vologda, then Kostroma), where he stayed for nearly seven years [Farkhshatov, 2009, pp. 22–23]. The reasons

for his exile are uncertain, but it seemed that Rasulev was framed by his competitors—local Mujaddidi sheikhs—but it is also possible that the authorities could have had their own far-reaching objectives, including even the desire to take over the Bashkir land [Farkhshatov, 2009, pp. 42–43]. If we consider these reasons side-by-side, then it seems that by exiling a 'Turkish spy' who distributed books in the Ottoman language, a 'false sheikh', who organised a 'sect' and engaged in 'bidah', who maliciously took murids from his former spiritual guide Chardakla Hadrat Gabdelhakim Kurban-galiev, both the authorities and the competitors of Zainulla-ishan supposedly achieved their goals. But exile for a Sufi is something known as '*chilla*'—a test of loyalty to the chosen path and the spiritual mentor, as well as a way to strengthen the faith. It is not surprising that immediately after his release, Zainulla Rasulev went for *hajj badal* (a hired pilgrimage) once again to Istanbul, where he met with his sheikh Gyumyushkhanevi. After his return, he lived in Troitsk, served as an imam and founded a madrasa and called it 'Rasuliya', which became a major centre of education for Muslims in the Russian Empire and the base for the spread of the teachings of the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya. Zainulla-ishan adhered to an oral method of teaching and was not against the inclusion of secular subjects in his educational institution's curriculum, which focused on the study of the Quran and Sunnah. In this way, he combined kadimist and jadidist approaches in education⁵.

⁵ Z. Rasulev's works:

1. '*Al-fawa'id 'al-mukhimma li-l-muridina an-naqshbandiina wa al-awrad al-lisaniia wa as-salawat al-ma'sura*' ('The divine verities, which are necessary to conceive for the Murids of the Naqshbandiyah Sufi fraternity, doxologies to Allah and prayers—salavat') (St. Petersburg, 1989, 24b.). This work is written in the Arabic language and contains texts of prayers and Dhikrs of the Naqshbandiyah tariqah and the rules of their reading.

2. '*Әр-рисалә әл-Хыдырия*' ('Treatise about Prophet Xidra') (Troitsk, 1908, 33 b.). It consists of four articles about Khydra, Jesus Christ, Sufism (extracts from the book by Imam-a Ghazālī) and about the rules of how to read the letters of the Arabic alphabet. In the Tatar and Arabic languages. At the end of the work he cites passages from Al-Suyuti's book 'Khadis al-Abdal'.

In addition to classes at the madrasa and Sufi mentoring, Zainulla-ishan practiced medicine. The influence of his ideas was noticeable in Kazan, Simbirsk, Samara, Saratov, Orenburg, Astrakhan, Perm, Vyatka and the Urals, Semipalatinsk, Turgaysk, Akmola and other regions [Isxaqiy, 1906]. Noteworthy students of Zainulla-ishan: Riza Fahretdinov, Galimdzhan Barudi, mufti Sabirdzhan Hasani, father of famous scientist Akhmetzaki Validi Togan, Majid Gafuri, Ğabdulla Battal Taymas and the son of Gabdrakhman Rasulev, who became a mufti during the Soviet period.

An external factor in the clash between the Mujaddidiyya and the Khalidiyya among local ishans were such 'innovative' rituals as the out-loud recitation of the Dhikr (*dzhakhri*), the participation of women in the collective Dhikr, and the celebration of mawlid, which were allegedly led by Zainulla-ishan. M. Farkhshatov, on the basis on archival sources, also makes note of developments such as the introduction of the custom of wearing and using beads and decorating mosques and houses with shamails, as well as the use of 'healing' and fragrant oils during prayers and Dhikr [Farkhshatov, 2009, pp. 59–61].

It seems that the latter developments, even if they were innovations (most likely for the Bashkirs), had no fundamental significance.

3. '*Makalyate Zayniya*' ('Articles of sheikh Zainulakh bin Habibullakh ar-Rasuli an-Nakhshbandi'). (Kazan, 1908, 18 b.). These are the same articles that were indicated in 'Ar-Risale', except for the extracts from the works by Gazali and Suyuti.

4. '*Risale fi xayy al-Xidir*' ('About the life of Saint Xidr') (Kazan, 1908, 9 b.). An article about Prophet Khydra mentioned above.

5. '*Troitsk golāmasi vā usule jādid*' ('The scholars of Troitsk and a new method') (Orenburg, 1911, 11 b.). This booklet was aimed at opponents of the new teaching method, but it served as a blessing (fatwah) and for the proponents of the *usul-i dzhahid*. In early 1908, its text was published in the newspaper *Vakit*, and later printed separately.

6. '*ālīfba xakında*' ('On the Alphabet') (Orenburg, 1912, 13 b.). The article had been written for the *Vakit*, but the editorial board realised its importance and decided to publish it as a booklet titled 'Why Sound-Based and not Letter Name-based Approach is Essential in Teaching Arabic Alphabet to Children' [on: Maraş].

But the first three in fact could have led to 'confusion' among the local community, which had generally been brought up in the spirit of the Central Asian traditions of the Naqshbandiyya, in which the silent (*khafi*) Dhikr (silent litany) was essentially the most important attribute. Khalidiyya carried on the traditional commitment to the silent Dhikr, which one repeated quietly to oneself. And Zainulla-ishan certainly adhered to this daily ritual—he wrote about this in his book '*Al-fava'id al-mukhimma*'—however, during collective rituals (*khatm-i khadzhigan*), which took place on certain days of the week (Tuesday and Thursday) and in which outsiders, including women, were permitted to take part, he may have allowed the Dhikr to be recited out loud. A murid by the name of Gabdullatif reported in his memoirs that at *khatm*, they sometimes repeated several times in a loud voice the *Tahlil* (*Lā ilāha illā -llāh*) [Fäxretdin, 1917, p. 81]. It is questionable whether this can be considered a vocalised Dhikr. It is noteworthy that the vocalised Dhikr was not attributed to any other Khalidiyyan sheikhs of the Volga-Ural Region besides Z. Rasulev, which suggests that those strange cries which could be heard during collective rites at the 'Rasuliya' madrasa, about which Murad Ramzi and the witnesses of the spectacle wrote, could have been ecstatic cries brought on by a trance-like state during and after the Dhikr. Gabdullatif also reported that during the collective Dhikr, some murids fell into trances (*jezbe*) and during namaz they loudly exclaimed '*Hu wallah*' [Fäxretdin, 1917, p. 81].

As for the celebration of Mawlid (the Prophet's birthday, on the occasion of which the appropriate stories, also called 'Mawlid an-Nabi', are usually recited), this 'innovation' in Tatar society can not be associated only with the name of Z. Rasulev. The question of the permissibility of celebrating the birth of the Prophet, who did not allow such a practice during his lifetime, was being debated long before ishan Zainulla's time. The debates continued into the early 20th century [Barudi, 1906; 1914; 1916]. In the Ottoman Empire, Mawlid an-Nabi was declared an official holiday at the turn of the 16–17th centuries.

The Khalidiyya doctrine highly valued the Prophet, with whom the murid should be mentally bonded during the Dhikr via his sheikh [Gümüshanevi, p. 422]. In order to imagine the Prophet vividly, the adepts needed to be familiar with his life, temperament, the miracles he performed, and so on; thus, even poetry not devoted to his birthday, *Mawlid an-Nabi*, became relevant during this time. The printing houses of Kazan, Orenburg, Ufa and Astrakhan annually published numerous works devoted to the Prophet: *na'ts*, *qasidas* (panegyric odes), *Sirat-un-Nabi* (biographies), *Qisas Al-Anbiya* (prophets' life stories), *shamails and hilyas* (descriptions of internal and external features), *Miraj Nameh* (a description of the Prophet's Ascension), *Mujizat Nameh* (a description of his wonders), etc. Their authors were both foreign and local Muslims. After the Dhikr and evening namaz, they read *siras* and *shamails*, [Fäxretdin, 1917, p. 81].

Among the special literature on the history of Sufism in the Volga region during this period, in addition to the studies of Sh. Marjani and R. Fakhreddin, we may note the following works:

1. The book of Abu Gabdurrakhman Gabdulla bin Muhammad Garif al-Maghazi, who was educated in Tatar madrasas and in Bukhara, who served as an imam in the 3rd parish of the city of Orsk and was a follower of Z. Rasulev 'Öl-katra min bixar'il-xakaik tärjemäti äxvali mäşaixi ät-taraik' ('A drop from the sea of truth in the life biographies of tariqa sheikhs') (Orenburg, year unspecified). Maghazi-ishan mentions his grandfather Magaz bin Bey Muhammad (d. 1832), who, having received an ijazah in Bukhara from the students of Faizkhan Kabuli, served as a sheikh in Orenburg; the author also refers to the names of the followers of the sheikh in Kazan and Saratov.

Maghazi-ishan also tells of another of his books—'*Tarikhi Magazi*'. In addition, in Orenburg in 1908, his work '*Tarikh al-Bukhara vä tärjemät al-goläma*' was published ('The History of Bukhara and the biographies of its scholars').

2. *Holyasät əl-bayan fi vurud əl-ishan al-i bəldəi Kazan...* ('A brief description of the wirts of the ishans of Kazan') (Kazan, 1888).



Zainulla Rasulev.
A photo from the early 20th century.

A poetic silsila of the Naqshbandiyya tariqa indicating the 'local' Tatar sheikhs is given here:

Prophet Muhammad (s. a. s.)
 Abu Bakr Syddyk (r. a.)
 Salman Farisi (r. a.)
 Qasim bin Muhammad (r. a.)
 Jafar Sadiq (r. a.)
 Bayazid Bistami (kuddisa sirruhu)
 Abu Al Hasan Harakani (q. s.)
 Abu Ali Farmadi (q. s.)
 Abu Yusuf Hamadani (q. s.)
 Gabdulhalik Gidzhuvani (q. s.)
 Ghariph Rivegjari (k. s.)
 Mahmud Injir Fagnavi (q. s.)
 Ghali Ramitani (q. s.)
 Muhammad Baba Sammasi (q. s.)
 Syed Amir Kuljal (q. s.)
 Khoja Bahavetdin Nakshbandi (q. s.)
 Galjautdin Attar (q. s.)
 Khoja Jakub Cherhi (q. s.)
 Khoja 'Ubaydallah Ahrar (q. s.)
 Khwaja Muhammad Zahid (q. s.)
 Khoja Dervish Muhammad Samarkandi (q. s.)
 Khwaja Muhammad Imkjanagi (q. s.)
 Khoja Mohammad Baqi Billah (q. s.)
 Imam Rabbani Ahmad Al-Faruqi Sirhindi (q. s.)

Khoja Muhammad Sagid (q. s.)
 Khoja Mijan Gabder (q. s.)
 Khoja Musa Khan (q. s.)
 Khoja Muhammad Sadiq (q. s.)
 Khalifa Muhammad Hussein (q. s.)
 Khoja Khan Tour (q. s.)
 Khoja Siradzhedin Bulgari (q. s.)
 Khoja Kasym Khan (q. s.)

A) The lineage of Akhrariya after hadrat Imam Rabbani

Shakh Muhammad Ma'sum (q. s.)
 Khoja Ahmad Mecci (q. s.)
 Khoja Khabibullah Bukhari (q. s.)
 Khoja Khoda Culi (q. s.)
 Khoja Gaid Muhammad (q. s.)
 Khoja Idris Muhammad (q. s.)
 Khoja Niyazkuli Tyurkmani (q. s.)
 Khazhi Gabdelkhalik Kursavi (q. s.)
 Khoja Khassan bin Hamid Qursawi (q. s.)
 Gataulla bin Muhammadi al-Kursavi (q. s.)

B) The lineage of Tunteri after Khoja

Muhammad Ma'suma

Khoja Khudzatulla Muhammad

Naqshbandi (k. s.)

Khoja Gabidulla Marvadj al-Shari'a (k. s.)
 Khoja Muhammad Parsa (k. s.)
 Khoja Muhammad Rasa (k. s.)
 Khoja Fazil Akhmad Ma'sumi (k. s.)
 Khoja Gallyam Kadir Ma'sumi (k. s.)
 Khoja Muhammad Ghali Tyunteri (k. s.)
 Khoja Shamsutdin Muhammad Tyunteri

(k. s.)

C) The third lineage after Khoja

Muhammad Ma'suma

Khoja Saifutdin Mukhsin (k. s.)
 Khoja Saednur Muhammad Badavani (k. s.)
 Khoja Muhammad Sagid (k. s.)
 Khoja Gabdelakhad Khabibrakhman (k. s.)
 Khodja Shamsutdin Khabibullah (k. s.)
 Khoja Gabdulla al-Dekhlevi (k. s.)
 Khoja Ziyaeddin al-Baghdadi (k. s.)

D) The lineage after Ziyaeddin Khalidi

(k. s.)

Khoja Ahmad bin Sulejman Traboulsi

(k. s.)

Khoja Ahmad Ziyaetdin Istanbuli (k. s.)
 Khoja Zaynulla Rasulev Troitsky (k. s.)
 Khoja Mahmud Al-Figal (k. s.)
 Khoja Mohammad Zakir Chistai (k. s.)

E) The fourth line after Khoja Muhammad Ma'suma (k. s.)

Khoja Miyan Sibgatulla Hajji (k. s.)
 Khoja Sungatulla Kabuli (k. s.)
 Hassan Gata zhij Kabuli (k. s.)
 Khoja Faizkhan Kabuli (k. s.)
 Khoja Arif Billah (k. s.)
 Khoja Shihabetdin Isnay (k. s.)

F) The second lineage after Faekhan Kabuli (k. s.)

Khoja Mirza Gabdulla jay Kabuli (k. s.)
 Khoja Abdush ishan Bulgari (k. s.)
 Khoja Gobaydulla Sardavi (k. s.)

G) The third lineage after Faekhan Kabuli (k. s.)

Khoja Vali Muhammad Kargali (k. s.)
 Khoja Hamid hadrat Yurtyshi (k. s.)
 Khoja Ahmad-i Kazani (k. s.)
 Khoja Muhammad Ghali Ishan Kazani (k. s.)

H) The lineage after Wali Muhammad Kargali (k. s.)

Khoja Gubaydulla Kizlyavi (k. s.)
 Khoja Nigmatulla Almeti (k. s.)
 Khoja Gabdeldzhabbat al-Paravi (k. s.)
 Khoja Makhdum Muhammad Qizlawi (k. s.)
 Khoja mella Khairulla Al'meti (k. s.)

3. '*Kitab al-mənakyb*' (The Life (menakyb/munakybname) of A. Z. Gyumyushkhanevi) (Kazan, 1900), written by Mustafa Fevzi-efendi (1871–1924), a murid of Khasan Hil'mi (died in 1911). The book contains several panegyrics *Qasīdah* (*kasida*) and elegies (*marsiya*s) dedicated to the founder of the Gumushanevi Dargah, a poetic silsilyaname of the Naqshbandiyya tariqa, where the thirtieth person in the golden chain (*altyn silsilah*) is Khalid-i Baghdadi and the 32nd is Ahmad Z. Gyumyushkhanevi. Dozens of his followers are mentioned, including Zainulla Rasuli, Ismail al-Krymi and other caliphs from Russia. In the khalidiyyan silsilah, Sheikh Hasan Hilmi is in the 33rd place; he was also well-known and revered by Sufis of the Volga Region [see: Mäğazi, 1913, p. 51].

4. '*Zhavakhire khikmet dervishan*' ('Pearls of the wisdom of dervishes') (Kazan, 1907). The author is a dervish called Darmend Bakhavetdin Naqshbandi Bulgari Vaiszade (1810/18–1893), a religious reformer of his time, who

aspired to resolve not only religious, but also social and economic problems that afflicted Tatar society [Usmanova, 2009].

The tariqa silsilah is given at the beginning of the book. Various Bid'ah that were prevalent in society are criticised in its verses; an increasing number of pseudo-scholars and pseudo-Sufis is noted and Khatm-khadzhigan is promoted. There are other compositions by Bakhavetdin Vaisov as well: *'Tarike xocagan'* ('The way of khojas', 1874), *'Sharigatel iman'* ('Dogmata of faith', Kazan, 1880). The first book consists of two parts: *'Tarike khojagan'*, (60 pages, by Bakhavetdin Vaisov) and *Divane shakhi nekishbendi* (87 pages, composed by his teacher Dzhangfar Salikhov). The content is primarily devoted to religion and morality. It sheds light on the sins of the representatives of Tatar society, mainly the priesthood and the local administration. The second source, which B. Vaisov compiled in order to train his murids, contains a variety of ritual prayers.

Criticism of Sufism and Sufis. In the latter half of 19th to the beginning of the 20th century, criticism of the representatives of Sufism intensified in Tatar society; the moral decadence, greed and ignorance of the ishans were revealed; they were accused of incompetence in the elementary rules of fiqh. This criticism was related to a certain extent to the confrontation between the kadimists and jadidists. The latter opposed ishanism, , 'which represents- a form of folk Sufism, one in which the pastor, instead of guiding the spiritual quests of his disciples, transforms into a faith-healer, magician and patron of pilgrims before the saint whose tomb he looks after' [Zarkone, 1997, pp. 119]. At the same time, Sufism drew the attention of a significant number of reformists, and many of them joined the tariqa. Ishanism was mainly practiced in the countryside, so it may fairly be called 'rural Sufism' [Demidov, 1978, pp. 112]. It had a primarily dynastic nature, and among the most significant ishan family names one can mention the Kurbanalievs (Medyak), the Tukaevs (Sterlibashevo), the Rasulevs (Troitsk), the Gubaydullins (Kizlau), the Galikeevs (Kargaly), and others. Tatar-Bashkir ishans generally did not take up the complex

theoretical problems of Sufi philosophy, devoting more attention to the practices and rituals. Ishanism had a 'communal' or 'spiritually organised form' [Zarkone, 1997, p. 119], murids from several villages came to the place where the ishan lived, and they remained with him until they received *'irshad'*—permission for them to educate their pupils themselves. The training period could last anywhere from a few years to 10–15 years, depending on the devotion and desire of the murid. Ishans were particularly respected by lay brothers. The authority of the founder of the ishan dynasty extended to his descendants as well.

Sheikhs and ishans, who as of the 19th century made up a rather influential part of the clergy, were largely themselves to blame for the degeneration of Sufism and its loss of progressive and democratic elements. Among the clergy, there were impostor Sufis, who connived to acquire the authority enjoyed by pious men among the laypeople, but they did not know and did not understand the intricacies of the religious and philosophical doctrine. Many of these pseudo-Sufis, who preyed on the religious sentiments of the faithful, used the teachings of Islamic mysticism as a convenient form of extortion. G. Tukay, N. Dumavi, F. Tuykin denounced such ishans in their poems. In the fiction and nonfiction works of Z. Khadi, G. Chygtay, G. Chykali, Ya. Muradi, G. Biktimirova and others, 'Sufi' is identified with such concepts as 'stupidity', 'fanaticism', and 'ignorance'.

The criticism of jadidists was not aimed at the study of Sufism as a whole. Only Zyia Kamali (1873–1942), in his philosophical work *'Dini tädbirlär'* ('Religious dispensation', 1913) harshly criticised Tasawwuf as not based on the Koran and Sunnah—that is, he viewed it as Bid'ah, which is contrary to Islam. Z. Kamali offered up the idea of the modernisation of Islam and reconciliation of its teachings with modern science and culture, emphasising that Muslims do not need any sort of intermediary to communicate with Allah. This implies that phenomena such as monasticism—and namely muridism, ishanism, and Sufism in general—are inherently alien to the spirit of Islam and are nothing more than the inventions of 'impious'



Zyya Kamali. Photo from the early 20th century.

mullahs. Apparently, the views of Zyya Kamali originated from Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani, with whom he studied in Cairo. Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani (1839–1897) considered it necessary to purge from the Islamic doctrine the later innovations introduced by various sects. To this end, he proposed to return to the original purity of the religion and carefully study the Prophet's life and his early companions.

Musa Bigiev in his work *'Böek mävsularda ufak fikerlär'* ('Simple thoughts on complicated issues', Saint Petersburg. 1914) makes a distinction between Sufism 'as a philosophical doctrine or personal religious practice and Sufism in its communal or organised religious form (ishanism)', dividing ishans into 'good' and 'bad' and into 'white' ('Ak Ishan'), and 'black' ('kara ishan'). At the same time, Bigiev 'disliked Sufism and did not belong to any brotherhood, but still defended Sufism and the system of religious communes' [Zarkone, 1997, p. 117].

In the scholarly literature, there was for a long time a quite rough division of Sufism in the Volga-Ural region into two variations: so-called 'politicised peasant-plebeian fundamentalism' and 'liberal and educational reformism'. B. Vaisov and the imam from the Kurbangaliev dynasty were noteworthy representatives of the first variation. They were considered to be the guardians of kadimism. The second variation, which was connected with jadidism, was alleged to be headed by Z. Rasulev [Yunusova, 1999, p. 72]. At the same time, there was the view that mujaddids were kadimists, and that the khalidiyyan ishans were jadidists.

Modern researchers have abandoned these categorical divisions of ishans and mullahs from the 18th and 19th centuries into kadimists and jadidists, calling to attention the fact that without kadimism, which is the foundation of the religious ideology, there would be no jadidism—that is, reformism—as such. Making such a sharp distinction between these two interrelated phenomena can lead to a distortion of historical facts. In this connection, it is appropriate to reconsider the attitudes towards those who were relegated to the ranks of 'kadimists' and reactionaries.

Thus, Sufism continued to occupy an important role in Tatar society at the close of the 19th and the turn of the 20th. Sufi leaders from this period mostly conducted educational activity, which was incompatible with the main directions of domestic government policy. Representatives of this 'brand new' branch of the Naqshbandi Khalidiyya tariqa managed on the whole to find a common language with the reformists, and thus made a contribution to the cultural revival of the Tatar people. On the other hand, society began to develop a critical outlook on pseudo-Sufis and pseudo-ishans and gradually turned toward anti-clericalism, which was especially noticeable in journalism and literature.

CHAPTER 2

Debates on Theology and Islamic Studies

Michael Kemper

According to Islamic tradition, theological reflections on God and religious dogma are known as *kalam* (discourse). Of central importance in the discourse of *kalam* (in its form which developed over the course of many centuries in several countries, including modern Tatarstan) is the question of how the human mind is capable of perceiving the teachings of the Islamic revelations (*the Quran*) and the Islamic tradition of the Prophet (*the Sunnah*), as well as how the arguments and reflections can support the dogmas of Islam, defend them from sectarians and be used during confrontations with representatives of other religions. *Kalam* has in large part incorporated many features of classical Greek logic and philosophy, using the classical disciplines of argument and rhetoric as auxiliary sciences. Islamic theologians saw a clear-cut division between *kalam* and philosophy (*falsafa* in Arabic) because Greek philosophers, such as Aristotle, were nonbelievers and were not guided by revelations and religion in their theories, basing them exclusively on human rationality. Philosophy had always been under suspicion and was not a part of the traditional curriculum of *madrasahs*. In the Volga and Urals regions, the works of prominent Islamic philosophers such as Ibn Sina (died in 1037) and Ibn Rushd (died in 1198) were if not rejected, then essentially ignored before they were again reviewed by Jadids at the end of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries.

Theological reasoning in *kalam* is deductive: the speculative construction begins from the premise of the existence of God, as logically, the world must have a creator. God is perceived as a ‘necessary being’, the universal beginning, existing eternally. The next question in *kalam* is how a believer can imagine Allah for himself

on the basis of the known ‘names’, which are mentioned in the Quran and are understood as God’s ‘attributes’—his specific properties, by which he can be called and through which he influences his creation. The main point here is to avoid anthropomorphism, so as not to compromise the uniqueness and supremacy of God by attributing human traits to him. Another controversy among *mutakallimūn* (*kalam* scholars) has been about the origin of the Quran, understood as the word of God and, hence, as one of his attributes. The essence of this dispute was whether the Quran was eternal as God himself or ‘contingent’ (*mumkin* in Arabic), that is created by God. And, finally, the last main theme of debate in *kalam* concerns God’s attitude to his creation, and in particular to which degree a man is free to define and follow his will (this assumes that the man bears full responsibility for his deeds). Besides the above, theology also deals with matters of bodily resurrection (the basic principle of Islam), life after death (Heaven / Hell), the existence and role of angels and saints, etc.

A serious problem in the 7th century was that the Quran and the Prophet’s traditions (the *Sunnah*, the collection of *hadiths* about the words and actions of the Prophet) gave only vague and metaphorical answers to these fundamental questions. Only later, in the 8–10th centuries, Islamic scholars undertook the task of formulating a systemic doctrine of Islamic theological thought. During this classical period of Islam, there emerged numerous competing interpretations and theological schools, starting with the *Mu’tazilites*, who adamantly defended the idea that a man himself is responsible for his deeds, and ending with the literalist school of the *Hanbaliyya*, whose representatives believed in absolute predestination.

In between these extremes of Sunni theology were the *Ash'ari* and *Maturidi* schools, which tried to occupy a moderate position. Historically most Turkic peoples (including the Tatars) adhered to the Maturidi theological concept (formulated in Central Asia by scholar Abu Mansur al-Maturidi, who died in 944). Tatars and Bashkirs were also exposed to the ideas of Abu al-Hasan al-Ash'ari (died in 935). These two schools together represented the so-called 'Sunni basis' of Kalam in the region. The commentary is the main textual genre of kalam: scholars studied the works of earlier theologians, making commentaries upon them, which further on were commented by other scholars (in the form of a gloss), etc. Thanks to such a commentarial tradition, the texts of earlier scholars were preserved and the identity of the school was consolidated.

We do not know for sure when the first theological works by Tatar (Bulgarian) authors appeared. Central Asian scholars were apparently the main driving force, as was the case with Sufism and Islamic law. As reported, the first work *al-'Aqa'id al-bulghariyya* ('Bulghar Creed'), which has not survived to the present day, was written by Ishniyaz bin Shirniyaz al-Khwarezmi (died in 1205 / 1790–1791), a scholar from Urgench, who settled in Kargaly, the Muslim suburb of Orenburg. Most theological works were written in the first half of the 19th century, and the speculative discipline of kalam also became a field for disputes among Tatars.

Ghabdennasir Qursawi and Gabdrakhim al-Bulgari on speculative theology. The idea of a point-blank rejection of speculative theology initially belonged to Gabdrakhim al-Bulgari (Utyz Imyani). In his work *'Inqadh al-halikin min al-mutakallimin'* ("The Rescue of the Drowning from the [Errors of the] Scholars of kalam", partly reproducing the ideas of al-Ghazali (died in 1111), set forth in *'Thya Ulum Al-Din'*. Gabdrakhim charges the mutakallims with useless philosophising and empty rhetoric. He believed that the kalam scholars were discussing issues which had nothing to do with the Islamic faith—issues, which were not mentioned in the Quran and the Prophet's Sunnah and which, therefore, could not be considered

in the context of Islamic dogma. In Gabdrakhim al-Bulgari's opinion, the senseless debates of kalam scholars (represented, first of all, in the popular work by Umar an-Nasafi [who died in 1142] 'Aqida' ("Dogma") and the commentary, written by Sa'ad al-Din Al-Taftazani [who died in 1389]) brought no benefit, and only unnecessary doubts, to the believers. Al-Bulgari contended that God's revelations do not need any logical interpretation. A Muslim should just follow the known books on the Islamic law in order to fulfill God's will, with all further discussions being useless or even destructive. Thus, Gabdrakhim criticised kalam from the legal point of view of a traditionalist, equaling the speculative theology with the Hellenistic philosophy and, hence, with heresy.

Ghabdennasir al-Qursawi (died in 1812) was another serious critic of Middle Asian kalam in the Volga-Ural Region. He was a dedicated proponent of the supremacy of Islamic revelation over the human mind. He also believed that kalam debates came in essence to idle talk and *juhl* ["ignorance"]. Unlike Gabdrakhim al-Bulgari, who was a Hanafi traditionalist, Qursawi followed only the Quran and Sunnah as 'pure' sources of Islam, which were to be protected from distortions of later interpretations by theological and law schools. If Gabdrakhim al-Bulgari totally rejected the kalam doctrine and did not enter into discussions with its partisans (*mutakallimūn*), Qursawi, on the contrary, often argued with the leading scholars of Bukhara and other localities, trying to undermine the speculative theology from within. Thus, Qursawi did not reject the principle of theological argumentation, as Gabdrakhim did, and instead made use of the intellectual methods of theologians (including their favorite commentary genre) in order to prove that many of the most esteemed medieval and present-day mutakallims had abandoned the method of the first generations of Muslims (*salafs*) and contradicted the Quran and Sunnah. As Qursawi considered all issues through the prism of the 'fundamental' texts of Islam, we can tentatively call his position Salafist, or 'fundamentalist' (which, naturally, has nothing to do with the modern version of this term as violent political

Islam). According to some notes by Gabdrakhim al-Bulgari (an unpublished manuscript in Arabic *'Thatat al-zat'*, the Tashkent Biruni Institute, B-3122, dated 1217 / 1802–1803), the first conflict between Qursawi and Bukhara's Mutakallimūns took place in approximately 1801 or 1802. Qursawi criticised traditional Ash'arite and Maturidi schools' interpretations on the issue of God's essence (the core of His existence, *dhat* in Arabic) and God's attributes (characteristics related to His essence, *sifat* in Arabic). As reported by Gabdrakhim al-Bulgari, opponents accused Qursawi of heresy, but he managed to enlist the support of influential *qadi* (judges) and return to his native village. Having returned home to Yughary Qursa village, Qursawi became an imam.

However, in 1223 (1808–1809) Qursawi again left for Bukhara to continue his studies. This time his provocative statements and disputes with powerful scholars nearly cost him his life. We obtained information about subsequent events mostly from an early work by S. Marjani in the Arabic language *'Tanbih abna' al-'asr 'ala tanzih anba' Abi n-Nasr'* ("The Admonition of the Contemporaries about the Cleansing of the Reports about Qursawi", edition by Kemper, 2000). The young Marjani supported Qursawi in his views on the supremacy of traditions over human reason, and in this narration he reproduced some of the accusations forwarded against Qursawi, as well as his answers in the debates.

The main point of argument was still the question of how one should perceive the connection between God's essence (*dhat* in Arabic) and the various names of God (or characteristics, *sifat* in Arabic), which accompany the description of God in the Quran. According to the teachings of major Islamic theological schools, such epithets as 'the Living', 'the All-Powerful', 'the Knowing' and 'the Creator' demonstrate that God possesses certain characteristics or attributes (first of all, 'life', 'power', 'knowledge', 'will', 'hearing', 'speech' and 'the ability to create'), which can also be viewed as abstract qualities. God, as 'the first cause', 'being necessarily existent', and the creator of the world, is to have a certain num-

ber of attributes. After such a speculative division between God's essence and His attributes, the question arose over whether God's attributes are eternal, as is the very essence of God, or if they emerged only at a specific moment in time. That was a very delicate and complex question; for if some of God's attributes were eternal, then it would have been possible to assume the existence of multiple eternal entities, which would have led to polytheism. Ash'ari and Maturidi themselves tried to avoid such a trap, just stating that a human was not able to perceive the true nature of the attributes; with the attributes being 'neither God, nor anything but God'. Later on, however, scholars of the Ash'ariyyah and Maturidiyyah schools went further in their speculations: they established that seven or eight of the above attributes held a special place in God's description as 'attributes of the essence', while many other names and characteristics of God in the Quran were just 'attributes of action', revealing themselves only in relation to the creations (for example, 'the Merciful'—'mercy', which is shown only in respect to the man already created). These attributes were assessed to be non-eternal and derivative of the above mentioned eternal 'attributes of the essence'. Qursawi regarded such speculative exercises as useless and even dangerous.

Qursawi's opponents in Bukhara summoned him to the court of emir Haydar (who reigned in the years 1800–1826), where he was questioned by a group of eminent scholars. Among them was a certain Fakhretdin al-Kazani (died in 1844), the son of Ibrahim bin Hudzyash, the influential imam of Kazan, who came to Bukhara to teach the art of Quranic reading (the emir himself was one of his students). Another serious opponent of Qursawi in this dispute was a certain Shamsaddin al-Balkhi (from Balkh in Afghanistan). Qursawi refused to answer Balkhi's question on whether God's attributes are 'essential' (that is everlasting as the essence of God) or just 'contingent' (that is temporary and created), arguing that such issues had never been discussed either by the Prophet Muhammad, or by his companions in the 7th century. In Qursawi's opinion,

it was possible to only say that God must not be identified with his creation. This allowed his opponents to accuse him of admitting the plurality of eternal entities, that is of the polytheism. Qursawi tried to escape the trap, stating that the attributes could not be viewed separately from God's essence and from each other. Thus, Qursawi spoke against the whole doctrine of the Maturidi and Ash'ari concerning the linkage between the essence and attributes, as well as the differences between the everlasting and 'created' attributes of God. He asserted that the holy texts of Islam, the Quran and Sunnah of the Prophet, had nothing in common with the questions of kalam, and accused the mutakallims of deviating from the true way of Islam.

Apparently, Qursawi could have indeed faced the death penalty, and in order to save his life he had to backtrack publicly on his words. Some sources insist that Qursawi escaped the sentence thanks to the help of his Sufi mentor, the influential Niyazkuli at-Turkmani (died in 1821). Upon coming back home, Qursawi became the headmaster of the madrasah in his native village, where he started teaching his interpretations of the Islamic law and theology, which he had been forced to officially repudiate in Bukhara. Qursawi expounded his theological views in his treatise '*Sharh al-'aqa'id*' ("Commentary on the Dogma"), which he finalised after coming back from Bukhara. This book represents a thoroughly elaborated super-commentary (gloss) on the above-mentioned commentary by Taftazani (died in 1389) on '*Aqida*' ("Dogma") by Umar an-Nasafi (died in 1142). Apparently, '*Aqida*' by an-Nasafi in the original version, and especially in the interpretation of Taftazani, was the most popular textbook at the lessons of Sunni kalam in the Ash'arite and Maturidi schools. Criticising Taftazani and Nasafi, Qursawi always maintained that his sharp criticism of kalam was not directed against the founders of the Ash'ariyyah and Maturidiyyah schools, who had never engaged in pernicious arguments similar to those exercised by modern mutakallims, who claimed the legacy and authority of al-Ash'ari and Al Maturidi.

However that may be, Qursawi happened to initiate a serious provocation, which resulted in him also encountering problems at home. The scholars of Bukhara continued to send letters to their colleagues in the Volga-Ural Region, alleging that Qursawi committed an apostasy and should therefore be punished. Some local scholars, including Davletshakh bin Gadelshakh Al-Chabanly, took the side of Qursawi, while the powerful imams Fatkhulla al-Uruwi (died in 1259 / 1834) and Beymurad bin Muharram al-Mangari al-Kazani (died in 1265/ 1848) continued to defend kalam against Qursawi's criticism. Being tired of this pressure, Qursawi embarked on a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1812, but on his way, he died in Üsküdar (a suburb of Istanbul). Despite his notorious fame in Tatar society, Qursawi did not leave a school after himself. Only years later, in the 1860s, his theological views, as well as his position on the Islamic law, were supported by S. Marjani. It was S. Marjani who played the leading role in popularising Qursawi's works in the fields of theology and jurisprudence.

Discussion on Islamic legal methods: *ijtihād* and *taqlid*. Like most Turkic-speaking peoples of the Russian Empire, the Tatars and Bashkirs adhered to the Hanafi *madhhab*, one of the four Sunni law schools, demonstrating a mutual respect for each other. In the 19th century, the debates on Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh* in Arabic) among the Tatars touched upon the theory of law (*uṣūl al-fiqh* in Arabic, 'principles' of jurisprudence), as well as legal customs. The main theoretic question was about the possibility or impossibility of *ijtihād*, that is whether it was still allowed for an Islamic jurist (*Faqih*) to appeal to the Quran and Sunnah of the Prophet in order to form his own opinion (*zann* in Arabic) about contemporary legal issues. *Ijtihad* has its antipode in *taqlid*—'imitation' of some expert of the present-day or earlier period, who is considered a competent source of knowledge. Thus, *ijtihād* stands for a 'fundamentalist' approach, resorting to the revelation and sayings of the God-inspired Prophet, while *taqlid* is 'traditionalist', following the way adopted by scholars of a given law school. Sunni legal thought regards Islamic jurists of the early pe-

riod as 'independent' *mujtahids* (scholars qualified to exercise *ijtihād* in all aspects of human activity), especially the founders of the major *madhhabs* (Islamic law schools), while scholars of the later period could be limited in *ijtihād* or were to perform *taqlid* only. Thus, there appeared to be a generally accepted idea that after the classical period of Islam, 'the gates of *ijtihād* became closed'. At a certain period (perhaps, in the 11th or 12th century), it was decided that answers had been found to practically all legal questions and in the future there would be no need (actually it would be prohibited) to appeal directly to the holy texts of the Quran and Sunnah to seek solutions for new legal issues. Instead, jurists were only to follow the opinions of the early teachers in their *madhhabs*. Abū Ḥanīfa (died in 767), Abu Yusuf (died in 798), and Muhammad al-Shaybani (died in 805) were great renowned masters of the Hanafi school of jurisprudence. Their knowledge was followed by many generations of Hanafi scholars, including many Bukhara and Samarkand theologians, who wrote commentaries, glosses, and summaries of their predecessors' works. The works of the Hanafi scholars represent a gigantic collection of literature on jurisprudence. Though most scholars of the Middle Ages and the early modern period considered themselves *muqallids* (performing *taqlid*), the *ijtihād* practice, in fact, had never ceased to exist. Even in the 18th and 19th centuries, outstanding scholars from every corner of the Islamic world continued to exercise *ijtihād* and assisted its further development, often acting contrary to the principles of their traditional *madhhabs*. Besides that, *taqlid* also is not just 'blind imitation', and indeed a *muqallid*, resorting to the works of the early theologians of his school, has at his disposal a wide spectrum of possible solutions, from among which he can choose the appropriate version. As a result, both the *mujtahids* and the *muqallids* have substantial possibilities for individual choice, as well as for contributing to the development of new legal thought (including such important spheres as economy and politics), meeting the interests of this or that social group. Consequently, the widespread belief that Islamic law does not develop and is not capable

of adapting to changing political and economic conditions is not entirely correct. The difference between *mujtahids* and *muqallids* was only in their method of finding legal decisions: the former appealed directly to the Quran (the fundamentalist approach of *ijtihād*), the latter followed the opinions of earlier scholars (the traditionalism of *taqlid*). The Tatar model of this phenomenon, represented by Ghabdennasir Qursawi and Gabdrakhim al-Bulgari, serves as an example of this.

In his book in Arabic '*Al-irshad lil-ibad*', ('Guidance for the religious'. Kazan, 1904; translation into Russian by G. Idiyatullina, 2005) Qursawi states that there are several levels of *ijtihād* and every believer must exercise it to the best of his abilities. Here, the writer does not exclude absolute or 'independent' *ijtihād* (*ijtihād mutlaq*), which goes beyond the frame of any of the existing Islamic law schools. Eventually, these assertions lead to the conclusion that outstanding scholars theoretically still have the possibility to establish new law schools. This naturally caused some concern among the clergy, as new schools could entail an even greater split of the Muslim community, forming new groupings. Qursawi himself had never repudiated the Hanafi tenets. Another argument often put forward against *ijtihād*, was that some *mujtahids* could be mistaken in their judgments, thereby going astray from the path of Islam and risking accusations of heresy and losing their place in paradise. However, Qursawi writes that there is no need to be afraid of this and that there are no grounds to renounce *ijtihād*, for, according to the Prophet's words, a *mujtahid* gets a reward from Allah even if he has made a mistake in his decision; but if he has been right, he gets a double reward. This stand taken by Qursawi forced a fresh look at the foundational texts of Islam. He even thought that a *muqallid* (a person who cannot perform *ijtihād*) also has to reflect at least a little and make sure that the person he imitates is pious and competent in Islamic law.

In this way, Qursawi openly declares his opposition to the generally accepted view that '*ijtihād* ceased to exist long ago' and that the only thing that contemporary Muslims can do

is to blindly imitate the earliest jurists and theologians. As stated above, Qursawi did insist on the primacy of the Quran and the Sunnah over the mutakallimūn's speculations. In the case of ijtihad, he also puts the Quran and the Sunnah above the traditional madhhabs. It is not surprising that Qursawi's appeals to perform ijtihad caused quite a few recriminations. For example, Fatkhulla al-Oruvi (died in 1843) from the village of Sluzhilaya Ura, sent a letter in 1810 to M. Khusainov, the official Mufti of Orenburg, laying blame on Qursawi; also Gabdrakhim al-Bulgari, in his *'Risala-i dibagha'* ("Treatise on the Tanning of Leather") [Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, column 2400, sheets 79–87], claims (without mentioning his name) that Qursawi was implementing unlawful innovations (*bid'as*). In his other work, referring to the famous book by Mekhmed Birgevi (died in 1573) *'at-Tariqa al-muhammadiyya'* ("The Muhammadan Way"; see above, the section on Sufism), Gabdrakhim proves that ijtihad stopped being practiced centuries ago, and since then scholars have confined themselves to the opinions of previous mujtahids. Therefore, Gabdrakhim al-Bulgari saw himself as a muqallid, a true follower of the great masters of the Hanafi school of law.

Debates on night prayers. The most controversial question for both taqlid, and ijtihad was the issue of the fifth daily prayer (the so-called *'isha* or *yastu namazy* in the northern regions of Russia. According to the Prophet's sayings (*hadiths*), the fifth prayer is recited when it gets completely dark, namely, when not only the afterglow but also the very last ray of the sun disappears. The problem is that 'White Nights' can occur in Russia, which is a period when it does not get completely dark in the summer. What can Muslims living in the north do in regards to their commitment to reciting the night prayer in the summer? Today the issue may seem to be trivial, but in the 18–19th centuries and even in the early 20th century, it was of great significance for all believers. They were afraid that their prayers would not be accepted by God if they said them at the wrong time. For the first time, this

dispute arose in the 11th century when Hanafi scholars in Central Asia began to write treatises about the night prayer during the 'White Nights'. According to S. Marjani (*'Nazurat al-haqq'*, "The Binocular of the Truth". Kazan, 1870), the first scholar in the Volga-Ural area to raise the question was Amka Mullah (Mullah Agzam bin Gabdrakhman at-Tanaki al-Bulgari). In 1870 or 1871, in his treatise (which has not survived to the present day) he said that the night prayer was not obligatory if the night does not occur. Later, however, Amka Mullah reconsidered his position, saying that this namaz should not be skipped. As is reported, in the late 18th century, Ishniyaz bin Shirniyaz, who had moved from Khorezm to Kargaly, spoke against the namaz yastu/isha in his work. As before, Volga Muslims in the early 19th century could not reach a consensus on the issue. As Gabdrakhim al-Bulgari noted in *'Risala shafaqiyya'* ("Treaty on the Dawn" [Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, items 1204–1206]) one part of the Muslim community in the Volga-Ural region (which he places among, *ahl al-Bulghar*, 'Bulgar people') do not ever read the night prayer out of fear of committing a sin, while others perform the namaz immediately after the fourth prayer when the sun's glow has disappeared but it is not entirely dark. Drawing on the writings of Abū Ḥanīfah and some later Hanafi authors from Central Asia, Gabdrakhim presented his views on the matter. As a mukallid, he was sure that by reading the night prayer at the wrong time, a Muslim committed a greater sin than if he did not do it. In this way, Gabdrakhim speaks against reading the fifth prayer in the period in which the night doesn't occur. In this case, taking the literalist position, he insists on the exact wording of the Prophet's teachings, according to which the night is a crucial component (*sabab* in Arabic as well as 'the sense' or 'the cause') of the fifth daily prayer. In the absence of night, observing the night namaz is not obligatory. Moreover, doing this is an act of disobedience to God. Gabdrakhim calls this stance extremely 'cautious' (*ihhtiyat*) or a warning against all potential wrongdoings.

Qursawi claimed the opposite. According to him, the general commitment to observe the five daily prayers has priority over the less important conditions for their completion. He believed that the established time limits for praying, which the Prophet mentioned, were only a 'hint' for believers that would help them fulfill the general commitments. That is, they were not meant to be 'the cause', without which the general requirement for the prayer loses its meaning. Therefore, the commitment to prayer ranks higher than the precondition for it to be night-time. The question of what should be done in geographical areas where the night doesn't fall is an issue of *ijtihād*, according to Qursawi, therefore, in the end, it is left to the discretion of each believer. The author himself leaned towards saying the night prayer immediately after the fourth *namāz* (*aksham*), at the same time, he did not rule out other possible resolutions of the issue. Qursawi was a person of rational (and as always, of fundamentalist) views, which meant that for him, the commitment to prayer had priority over secondary elements and that the Prophet's sayings in the Quran and the Sunnah were taken to be more significant than the fatwas of later theologians and even the scholars of the Hanafi madhhab. Qursawi thought that in such cases, *ijtihād* is not only possible but is even mandatory.

Relations with the unbelievers and the status of Islam in Russia. As Tatars lived in the Russian (Christian) empire, one of the most important topics of debate was the relations between Muslims and Christians. The Tatar legal discourse focused on whether the Russians were really 'people of the Scripture', that is, those Christians who are regarded as monotheistic brothers with whom relations are possible in Islam. Here the problem was that the veneration of icons, which is practised by the Russian Orthodox church, creates an impression that Russians pray to idols in the manner of polytheists (*mushrikun* in Arabic).

This theme was first examined by the Tatar scholar Murtada bin Qutlugush as-Simiti in the early 1720s. According to Marjani (*Mustafad al-akhbar*, part two), Murtada expressed the opinion that Muslims are absolutely forbidden

from eating the meat of animals slaughtered by Christians (that is without the corresponding Islamic rites) as well as from marrying Christian women. The opposite position was presented by an unknown author in *'Risala fi nikah al-kitabiyya'* ("Treatise on the Marriage of a Woman from the Book Religions") [Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 999, s. 132–135], written in 1857 or earlier. This author believed that Russians were 'people of the Scripture' even if they venerated icons and called Jesus God's son. According to the author, icons were not perceived as individual gods, but rather directed prayers (*qiblah* in Arabic) offered by a Christian when he turned to God.

Considering the issue of marriage, the author refers to the Hanafi scholars and concludes that, according to the Quran, Muslim men are recommended to marry pious women from communities which received their divine books before Islam, that is from among the Jews and Christians. They are not pagans. Besides, the meat of animals slaughtered by Christians is *halal* (ritually clean and allowed for consumption). Undoubtedly, this position facilitated the development of relations between the two religious communities as well as the integration of Tatar Muslims into Russian society in general; namely, it supported cooperation between Tatar and Russian merchants.

Another question relating to this was whether the Volga region still belonged to the Islamic world (*Dar al-islam*) or Russia's domination meant that Tatars now lived in 'The House of War' (*Dar al-Harb* in Arabic), where it is impossible to live according to Islam. The earliest statement on the issue traces back to the Tatar scholar Yunus Akhund bin Ivanay, supposedly one of the first Volga region Muslims, who, after the Russians conquered Kazan in 1552, arrived in Bukhara and made a pilgrimage to Mekka. In the *a Fatwa* (an expert opinion of a jurist) written in Persian, he states that the Volga region belongs to the Muslim world: he considers Kazan to be the successor of Bulgar, that is, the Muslim state which voluntarily converted to Islam many centuries ago. In this way,

as previously, Kazan should be governed by sharia and Islamic taxation.

A similar position was expressed by a certain Mullah Murtada bin Husseyn al-Burali, the author of another manuscript written in Arabic called *'Risala fi bayan Dar al-Harb'* ("Treatise on the Land of War") [Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 2400, s. 63–68]. He reasoned as follows: Abu Hanifa, the founding father of the Hanafi school of jurisprudence, stated specific criteria for establishing the status of 'Dar al-Harb' in a Muslim country 'when the country is dominated by the laws of the unfaithful and when its territory directly borders non-Muslim countries. Later, however, the views of Hanafi scholars became less stringent. According to a certain Nasyradin as-Samarkandi (died in 1258), the author of the book of Hanafi law *'al-Multaqit'*, lands governed by non-Muslims do not automatically become 'lands of war' as long as Muslim communities manage to retain their own laws. If Muslims submit to the unfaithful, it does not mean that they renounce Islam, but their obedience should rather be understood as a kind of an armistice or even as outright deception of the infidel. Here, he is likely referring to the curious 'dual power', when a Muslim leader stays in power while subordinate to non-Muslims. Thus, in his work, Murtada describes and 'legalises' the position of the Volga-Ural Muslims, who in 1788 got their official Mufti (and *qadi*) within the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly.

The question of whether or not Friday prayers should be conducted in the Volga-Ural region also became a subject for debate. It is said that the first fatwa in support of the need for Friday prayers traces back to Mavlyud bin Mustafa bin Yunus (died in 1820/1821) from the village of Kaltay (at Ufa), where in 1778 he was appointed *akhund*. According to him, the Friday prayer is lawful only in the presence of an imam and at least forty worshipers.

But the debate was not only about the necessary number of believers present at the ceremony. According to the Islamic tradition, the Friday prayer is accompanied by a sermon

(*khutba* in Arabic) in which a preacher (*khatib* in Arabic) mentions the name of the lawful Muslim ruler of the country. Therefore, the *khutbah* is also a political institute which urges Muslims to obey the Sultan or Caliph. The OMSA instructed mullahs to bless the Tsar and his family during the Friday sermon in their mosques and also to urge the community to pay taxes and obey the orders of the authorities. Conducting the Friday prayer in such a manner was an explicit adjustment to Russian rule in which the Russian authorities were regarded as a regime which did not prevent Muslims from complying with Islamic laws.

The opposite stand was taken by mullahs and scholars who opposed the muftiate and Muslim community's subordination to the Russian authorities. They openly refused to conduct Friday prayers, arguing that one of the conditions was to have a Muslim ruler and Muslim kadis in the region. According to them, these conditions were not met. The most outspoken opponent was Gabdrakhim al-Bulgari. He expressed his criticism of the Russian influence and ties with Christians not only in treatises written in Arabic but also in verses written in the Tatar language, which enjoyed popularity among a wide Muslim audience. In his satirical poem *'Awarif az-zaman'* ("Signs of the Time", edited by Sharipov, 1986), Gabdrakhim explains that Muslims of his time often drink alcohol and accept the customs of the unfaithful: they build houses the way Russians do, they sit at tables and eat like Russians and celebrate non-Muslim holidays during which men and women are together. According to him, this imitation of Russian customs results in the betrayal of Islam, as a Muslim who accepts the ways of the unfaithful becomes a *kafir*. In one of his treatises written in Arabic, entitled *'as-Sayf as-sarim'* ("The Sharp Sword") [Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, items 1204–1206], Gabdrakhim accuses the Muslim brothers of ignoring prayers and traditional Muslim clothing. In his "Treatise on the Tanning of Leather", he calls on Muslims to not use the leather curried by Christians and animalists (Mari people) because of their

use of unclean ingredients; this also concerns fur processed by Russians. Finally in his work *'Risala fi dhamm shurb-chay'* ("Treatise on the Condemnation of Tea") [Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 1635, s. 3–6], Gabdrakhim criticises tea drinking: according to him, tea (especially taken with sugar or honey) is a thing of luxury, that is, a devil's tool; it is a waste of money, which results in the physiological addiction of humans and social inequality. Besides, tea drinkers are prone to miss daily prayers as they frequently have to urinate. Gabderhim's criticism of the samovar as an element of the tea drinking cult shows that he thought that this drink, in addition to alcohol, was a pernicious influence exerted by the Russian people on Muslims.

Gabdrakhim wrote a short treatise called *'Risala fi l-jum'a'* ("Treatise on the Friday Prayer") [Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 182, s. 1–5], in which he spoke against Friday prayers in the Volga-Ural region, thereby denying that the territory was completely Islamic. According to him, not only was the condition of having a Muslim ruler not met but also many members of Muslim communities in the villages did not know how to pray correctly. Therefore, despite the necessary number of forty worshippers, there was a danger that due to a great number of mistakes, it would not be accepted by God, even from those who prayed correctly. In this way, an imam became a sinner who mislead his congregation. This opinion of Gabdrakhim about the Friday prayer is similar to his position on the isha prayer. He thought it was better to give up praying rather than recite it incorrectly or at the wrong time. All Gabderhim's statements conceal a general sense of the fact that the Volga-Ural Region is not part of 'Dar al-Islam'. This suggests his open disagreement with the OMSA about the fact that the legislation of the Russian empire makes it possible to live according to Islam. In this case, Gabderhim again is guided by taqlid, and this time by the opinion of Abu Hanifa, who said that the presence of an Islamic ruler was an indispensable condition for reciting Friday prayers.

It is no wonder that Gabdelnasyr Qursawi proposed the opposite opinion, that the issue of the Friday prayer required an appeal to ijtihad. In his book *'Al-Irshad lil-ibad'* ["The Guide for the Servants of God"], he claimed that the Friday prayer is mandatory for all Muslims and that Abu Hanifa's insistence on the conditions for its recital should not be regarded as strictly necessary. As we mentioned above, Qursawi places general commitments higher than all the secondary requirements. Interestingly, Qursawi does not see his contradiction with Abu Hanifa's opinion as a deviation from the Hanafi madhhab. As he explains it, a school of law (*madhhab* in Arabic, literally, 'movement' [towards the goal]) is not a clearly defined code of legal opinions, but rather a method. Therefore, even such outstanding mujtahids of the Hanafi school as Abu Hanifa could have made a mistake in their legal thinking. This is not critical, as all mujtahids can be mistaken, but all the same, they will be rewarded by God for their efforts. Qursawi asserts that the knowledge of the methodology used by the former teachers of the school is more important than carefully following their individual judgments. Thus, it is possible to assume that Qursawi regarded himself as a mujtahid, who followed Abu Hanifa's traditions, that is, who was committed to the Hanafi madhhab (but not those who wanted to establish their own independent madhhab).

In conclusion, it should be noted that Tatar discourse on Islamic law and theology shows that both ijtihad, and taklid can be used to form opinions on Islamic issues which became significant due to the status of Muslims in the Russian empire. Qursawi and Gabdrakhim al-Bulgari are considered outspoken opponents. They differed in the social interests that either of them represented. The wandering Mullah Gabdrakhim upheld the 'negativist views', opposing official muftis and rich Tatar merchants and any cooperation of the faithful with Russians. On the contrary, Qursawi supported co-existence with Christians: according to him, Islam and Muslims of the Russian empire are protected by law and are not in danger. There is every reason to think that Qursawi's interpretation was supported by representatives of

the Tatar bourgeoisie, both during his lifetime and at the end of the 19th century, when his works were considered as the prelude to the bourgeois movement '*usul-i jadid*', fighting for the reform of the Muslim system of education. Unlike him, Gabdrakhim has much more in common with a similar negativistic movement of civil disobedience led by Bagautdin Vaisov, functioning during the last decades of the century.

However, there is something that Qursawi and Gabdrakhim have in common. In stating their sharp criticism of the Islamic establishment of their time—the Bukhara and Kazan mullahs of authority—they both use tools of Islamic discourse. It should be noted that these thinkers made use of different methods and referred to different Islamic sources. As a muqallid, Gabdrakhim turned to the traditions of the Hanafi school of law, and Qursawi, as a mujtahid, addressed the sacred writings of Islam, the Quran and the Sunnah. But they both viewed their aspiration for 'true Islam' as a process of

'reform' (*the islah* in Arabic), namely, the restoration of pure, primordial and authentic Islam, from which the scholars of the last generations departed. Accordingly, they both looked at the Muslim life style of the good old days as an ideal model for the contemporary generation. The only question was which historical texts gave a better picture of the ideal time of Islam: the Quran's revelations and the traditions of the 7th century or the scholarly works of the subsequent period. Thus, Gabdrakhim and Qursawi represent two opposite views, sharply criticising the modern Islamic establishment from different positions. Despite the fact that their polemic works were often aimed at each other, their main target was the scholars of Bukhara and the followers of Bukhara traditions in Kazan, Ufa, and Orenburg. Therefore, the emergence of critical discourse in the field of Islamic law among Tatars was also the beginning of a scientific and intellectual movement aimed at liberating Islam from the domination of Central Asian scientific traditions.

CHAPTER 3

The Islamic Institutions of the Traditional Islamic Community and the Application of the Sharia Norms

§ 1. Traditional Muslim Communities

Ildus Zagidullin

The Russian empire had several historical and cultural regions where the adjustment of Islam to local conditions by the peoples who converted to Islam was asynchronous and influenced by different internal (the level of development of public relations and economy) and external factors (the policy of the autocracy and geopolitics). The convergence and coalescence of 'normative Islam' with the spiritual substratum of the peculiar cultures of the local communities contributed to the formation of specific features in Islam and its special regional forms.

In a preindustrial agrarian society, religion played a most important role in the formation of the social consciousness of the masses. In the empire, Islam played a key role in the preservation of ethnic and religious identity and in the development and revival of Muslim national identity. During the Russian period of history, the main and crucial problem for Muslim peoples was the harmonisation of 'public needs with the domestic and religious needs of Muslims' [Tärceman, 1894, 12 June].

The religious and cultural autonomy of Tatar and Bashkir people. In the inner gubernias of Russia, the mahalla was the main form of cultural and social organisation for Muslims. During its registration in accordance with the law, it was officially called a Muslim parish, within the framework of which the religious and ritual life of Muslims was organised and the norms of their everyday conduct were regulated. Tatar and Bashkir people preserved their religious and cultural autonomy, whose main units were traditional religious communities—

Muslim parishes—and the main institute was the OMSA. The legal basis for their operation were, on the one hand, the laws and regulations of the Russian state, which recognised Islam as one of the 'tolerated' religions and enabled the Muslims of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly to perform their religious rites, while, on the other hand, there were the rules of Sharia whose boundaries were determined by folk customs and secular authorities.

Establishing a parish, recognised by the Imperial authorities as a basic religious unit of Muslims based on the rules of Sharia, took place at a general meeting of senior householders, whereupon Russian laws were observed, aimed towards ensuring fair elections. The issues of the election (or removal) of clergymen, construction (repairs, reconstruction, relocation) of a building of worship or study, the funding Islamic institutes, etc. were addressed democratically. These decisions made within the framework of procedures established by the legislation were coordinated with the secular authorities.

Despite the authorities' claim that Muslim parishes did not have the right to be a legal person, actually, they enjoyed this right in many respects. They had the right to defend their religious interests, to hand in petitions on behalf of congregations or rural communities in accordance with the law; the authorities allowed the donation (re-registration) of real estate or movable property to mosques and Muslim schools, which were run by the parishioners.

Despite the efforts made by the government to exercise control over the Islamic system of

religious training, Muslim communities, as before, dealt themselves with the issues of training and educating the next generation.

Traditional religious Tatar communities were divided into rural and urban types.

Most Muslim parishes were located in the countryside. There were three social institutions in Muslim villages: 1) the land community; 2) the rural society, and 3) the Muslim parish, whose territories did not always coincide.

The community was an economic union of rural class representatives connected by a common land allotment. Since 1838, an economic peasant union started to be officially called a 'land community' and received the status of a legal entity [Mironov, 1999, pp. 429, 430]; it represented the interests of ploughmen and their members before governmental, judicial and public institutions, as well as private persons. That is why the economic basis of rural parishes consisted of the common use of land, with leveling land used by peasants united by common economic interests and obligations to the state, as well as the peasant households of parishioners.

The economic life of land communities and the mentality of ploughmen played a role in shaping the lifeblood of religious institutions. It is important to note that community members themselves regulated the community's daily life within the period of seasonal agricultural work and did not depend on external factors such as officials. At the same time, the community as an administrative institution 'absorbed the peasant's individuality [and] did not give space for the civil independence of its members' [Vorobyeva, 2002, p. 22].

The rural society based on common residence and management of the peasant class was a settled association [Mariskin, 2004, pp. 104]. In the 19th century, the state used the peasant community as an administrative tax-paying unit without interfering in its internal life. As a result of the implementation of P. Kiselev's reforms in state villages, the peasant community was recognised as a 'rural society' and a self-managing administrative and economic unit for the first time. As a rule, Tatar land communities covered the entire village (a simple commu-

nity), so Tatar villages were characterised by the superimposition of the functions of these two institutions. Since 1866, in former state Tatar villages, the rules of conducting rural assemblies were largely similar to the procedure for holding a parish assembly: the assembly included all households owners and not only chosen delegates from every ten households [Druzhinin, Vol. 2, p. 562].

The autonomy of the rural society and the peasant community in solving social problems significantly complemented and simplified the organisation of religious and ritual life and the provision of religious institutions with sources of subsistence within a unified religious and cultural space in a monolingual environment.

There were three legal spheres in Tatar settlements from a judicial point of view: the norms of sharia, secular laws, and traditional law.

1. Sharia law regulated the life of Islamic institutions, the religious way of life of local residents, family and marriage relationships, as well as the partition of inheritance and property between family members. In the absence of a punishment institution under the Sharia law, observance of religious prescriptions was based on the authority of the clergy, the religious zeal of parishioners, and the opinions of the community. The 'Sharia sphere' often extended to villagers according to the circumstances by which the mullah learned about the event and his reaction.

2. Until the end of the 18th century, the self-administration of peasants was conducted under the customary law, which existed in the form of oral traditions. In 1797, the state administration, and in 1798, the apanage administration, worked out specific statutes governing the public organisation in villages and established volosts. However, even after the reform of 1861 and up to the fall of the autocracy, minor offences continued to be considered by volost courts on the basis of customary law. Decision-making was largely influenced by the personalities of volost elders as well as the ethnic and religious composition of the volost court. These questions were under the jurisdiction of Muslims in volosts where they were in the majority. There were 'extrajudicial punish-

ments' of guilty peasants, their expulsion from the community for various offenses as agreed with the administration, etc.

In regions, the spread of Islamic values was far from equal and depended on many factors. Therefore, at the end of the 19th century, even in areas with the official application of Sharia norms, customary law was traditionally applied, which often contained elements of Sharia and was syncretic in character [Steinfeld, 1893, pp. 235–236].

The daily life of the rural population and the relationships between the parishioners were greatly influenced by folk traditions and such holidays as Zhyen and Sabantuy. 3. Since 1866, the peasant community transformed into an institution of public law, an administrative cell in the state system of state control, and was transferred under the control of the government [Mironov, 1999, pp. 430, 462, 463]. Governmental control over the peasant (and religious) community received its substance after the introduction of the institution of zemstvo district heads under the Regulation dated 1889; they possessed broad authority to supervise the social life of the rural population and suppress offences. At the same time, Russian laws led to the transformation of some Islamic traditions in the district of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly.

The term *traditional Muslim urban communities* meant communities of permanent residents who usually had the basic attributes of a parish, including a prayer building, clergy, and a national school. In cities, they united representatives of various social classes, who normally didn't have an ethno-confessional makeup or urban class institutions. If several parishes existed, the boundaries between them and their parishioners were not clearly defined, which was related to the mobility of a certain number of temporary residents and the specific nature of religious institutions. The economic base of urban traditional communities was the capital of rich Muslims as well as waqfs in large and wealthy communities.

The ethnic and confessional community functioned in another cultural environment;



View of a village cathedral mosque.
The Kazan guberniya. Photo by V. Karrik.
2nd half of the 19th century.

there were great difficulties in compliance with the five-time daily prayers caused by the internal regulations of the institutions where Muslims worked, as well as a lack of total control of the community members over their daily lives, etc.

The term *non-traditional Muslim communities* meant temporary communities of entrepreneurs and Muslims who travelled to fairs, which were usually localised at fair mosques or rented prayer houses, in workers' settlements, and military units. They were characterised by the predominance of adults, who were mainly represented by men. For this reason, there were no maktabas in them, and public prayers were often read in rented rooms only on Fridays; there was no mosque; there was only one mullah, etc.

In addition to the family, the issue of sustaining the religious and ritual life in non-traditional communities was bolstered by local Tatar communities in work artels, compact groups in workers' barracks, rented apartments, or a house, etc., which contributed to the preservation of religious traditions and counteracted assimilation.

At the same time, non-traditional communities appeared in large urban settlements where there were registered Muslim parishes. In the 1880s, a contemporary described the microclimate in Muslim work artels in the capital as follows: Tatars in Petersburg live in artels numbering 10–30 people. An artel and seniorman monitor each other carefully. It is strictly prohibited to come to the apartment intoxicated, which is forbidden by the Quran, and even to smoke. If the artel noticed that one of its comrades had come drunk, at first a verbal reprimand would be made to him. For the second time, the guilty person was tied and made a more tangible instruction with the help of fists, and for the third time, the ‘lost sheep’ was excluded from the artel’ [Bakhtiyarov, 1994, p. 163].

In non-traditional communities, which usually existed in extreme conditions caused by a high turnover of parishioner-workers (merchants) or the temporal nature of their residency, the clergyman was temporarily sent there by the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly or elected for a specific term (several years) with a monthly salary specified in the verdict. In order to ensure the support of the imam, Muslim worker artels concluded a contract with the administration of their company, under which a certain (the same for all) percentage of the wages of each worker was transferred in his favour; the issue of housing was also solved by the company administration (as a rule, at his expense), and an equal amount of money was collected from all of them [Zagidullin, 2006b, pp. 71–100].

In our opinion, one of the main signs of the transformation of non-traditional religious communities into traditional ones consisted in the appearance of an elementary school, which meant, on the one hand, the presence of a permanent contingent of parishioners (and family persons), and on the other hand, a public religious institution and collective principles in the actions of local Muslims.

Unofficial unregistered religious communities which existed in towns and the countryside were an integral part of the religious-cultural autonomy of the Tatars. The main impediment

to their official registration was the small size of their congregation and (or) number of permanent residents. The Tatars were interested in registering their communities, as a community legally fixed the observance of their religious rights, eliminated many obstacles associated with the national education of the younger generation and public prayers, and made it possible to register births in a parish register, etc.

The appointment of an Orenburg mufti by the sovereign rather than by elections led to disapproval on the part of the clergy and essentially deprived the Muslim religious autonomous system of its wholeness. However, this system would not have been formed without the Mohammedan religious administration. The rejection of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly by certain Muslim groups sharply intensified at times when the imperial authorities initiated anti-Islamic measures and the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly supported the government. It should be emphasised that candidates for the position of mullah always had a chance to reject the religious path. The very fact of passing an exam in Ufa meant the subordination of the mullah to the OMSA.

The religious community as the main Muslim cultural and social medium and the basic unit of their religious and cultural autonomy was a key element in the organisation of self-government in the Muslim community, a self-sufficient social institution.

It was a miniature state with strong links between the parts and the whole, which had its own laws, customs, public order, institutions and traditions, maintained powerful and fresh with the spirit of Islam, its power in the face of elders and the entire parish did not need the highest recognition since this power was religiously and morally credible and was originated in the Quran [Gasprinsky, 1993, p. 39]. This definition of the Crimean Tatar educator I. Gasprinsky can be largely applied to Muslim parishes in the Volga-Ural region and Siberia in the period in question.

The legal fixation of the religious and cultural autonomies of Tatars in the Volga-Ural region began after the establishment of the Oren-

burg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, which made them systematic and complete, becoming the main institution representing their interests before the imperial power.

The most important condition for religious and cultural autonomies consisted in a single cultural and linguistic space in the territory of the settlement, which was not always limited to the mahallah. There were volosts in some guberniyas where Muslims prevailed or constituted all the population.

According to 'Tarzhaman' newspaper (1905), the Tatars were more religious than their co-religionists in the Caucasus and the Crimea, which was reflected in a great number of mosques, schools, and myurids. Unlike them, the Muslims of the Volga-Ural region were always cautious and suspicious about almost all measures taken by the administration [Iskhakov, 2007, pp. 87]. The isolation of the Tatars within traditional religious communities was mainly stipulated by their religious-national peculiarities [Materialy', 1936, p. 108]. Trying to preserve their traditional foundations, Tatars resisted the establishment of the volost administration in villages (rightly anticipating frequent visits by Russian officials), the opening of pubs, etc. The lack of Russian language knowledge among the majority of Tatar ploughmen and the lack of periodicals in their native language contributed to the isolation of the mahallahs. The informational vacuum was filled by information widely distributed in bazaars, Mejlis', prayer meetings, etc., and it was often distorted, leading to the spread of various rumours.

The establishment of new parishes was regulated by the authorities and depended on the number of residents in a settlement. In Western Siberia in the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries, there was 'greater stability' in Western Siberia in the distribution of the population [Kabuzan, 1971, pp. 31–37], which was supported by decrees prohibiting the movement of 'foreigners' living in the region to other areas.

While resettling, Tatar peasant usually lost their ties with their former community and created new independent communities [Nikolaev,

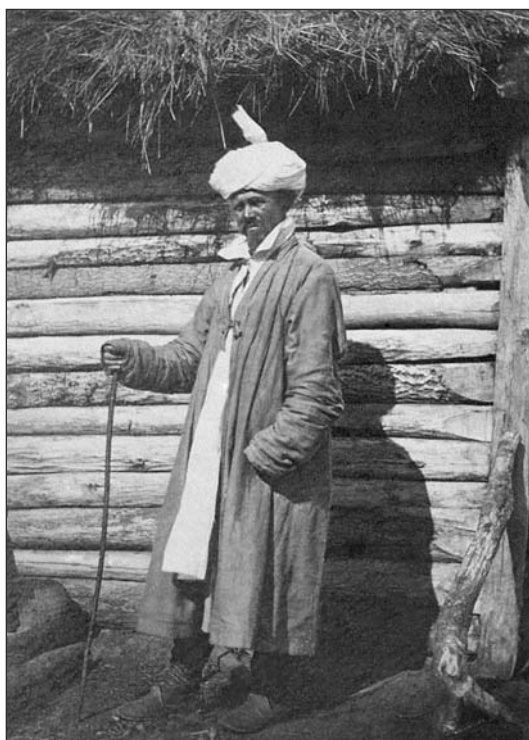
2003, p. 310]. In this situation, the distance from their native settlement was a key factor.

Along with migration and natural population growth, the dynamics of the number of residents in villages in the Ural region was greatly influenced by administrative resources. According to the 8th census (1834), the average number of residents in Bashkir, Mishar Tatar and Tatar peasant settlements in 19 uyezds of the Orenburg, Perm, and Vyatka guberniyas amounted to 119. 3 people [Zapadny'e bashkiry', 2001, pp. 111–377. Counted by us]. The latter half of the 19th century saw an 'enlargement of settlements up to 25–30 households' [Karimullina, 1993, p. 81].

According to our calculations, in the middle of the 18th century, the authority-established standard for an Islamic parish amounting to 200–300 registered people allowed them to acquire one mosque per 3–4 villages in the Kazan uyezd; this was an obstacle to the registration of new mahallahs in the 19th century. In 1835, it was officially announced that a mahallah should be established for each 200 registered people [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 10, Sec. 2, No. 8663].

In the pre-reform period, when the issue of mosque building in peasant communities was influenced by the apanage administration and the Ministry of State Property, which were autonomous from the guberniya administration, and in villages from the serving military class—the War Ministry—it was often allowed to build new mosques without the strict dependence on the number of parishioners. In some cases, small parishes were a consequence of the removal of a part of the population. In 1866, the Orenburg Governor-General stated that earlier, the distribution of mahallahs 'had been connected with lawlessness and parishes had been modified in their composition as mosques were established' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 652, s. 9].

As estimated by E. Malov, at the end of the 1850s, there were 224 mosques in Kazan guberniya (33 % of all active prayer houses) in villages, where the number of the population was less than 200 registered males, in Simbirsk



A village mullah. Simbirsk guberniya.
Photo by V. Karrik. 2nd half of the 19th century.

guberniya—17 mosques (12 %), in Samara guberniya—48 (23 %), in Saratov guberniya—39 (28 %), in Astrakhan guberniya—16 (25 %), in Nizhny Novgorod guberniya—1 (3 %) [Malov, 1997, No. 3–4, p. 251]. In 1851, there were 730 illegal mosques in Orenburg guberniya (44 %) [Azamatov, 1996, p. 99]. Obviously, some parishes whose mosques were located in sparsely populated villages united residents of several neighbouring villages.

In order to organise a full-fledged religious way of life in small villages, mufti S. Tevkelev requested the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1865 to authorise the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly to permit the construction of prayer houses in regions where it was inconvenient for residents to visit the parish mosque because of the distance, but he was refused. In 1866, in one of its meetings, the OMSA recognised that the remoteness of small villages from the mosque ‘deprived their residents of any opportunity to fulfill one of their main religious duties’, which ultimately negatively impacted their moral principles: ‘First, they

do not consider deviation from religious rites as a sin, then weaken in faith, lose respect to marriage and oath, indulge in drunkenness and other sins and crimes’ [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 655, s. 1–1 reverse]. The fact was that mullahs lived in a settlement where there was a mosque; therefore, there was no control over the moral and religious life of inhabitants of small villages within their parishes.

If there were petitions from small communities to restructure or build new religious buildings instead of those that burned or petitions to elect an imam to a vacant position, the guberniya authorities abolished such parishes or renamed cathedral mosques to simple ones without asking the consent of the OMSA in order to combat ‘illegal’ mosques from the 1850s to the 1880s [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, list 616, s. 137 reverse]. Meanwhile, the number of parishioners could decrease for various reasons, and it was not necessarily connected with the construction of a mosque in a sparsely populated mahallah. Only in 1888, the Senate held that the parish standard shall only apply to newly-built mosques, and acting mahallahs should continue to operate [Sbornik czirkulyarov, 1905, pp. 29–30].

As a result of land allocation in 1866, former state peasants did not become owners of their land because the land was granted to the community. This inviolability of the community and its structure remained until the cancellation of redemption payments by the government at the beginning of the twentieth century. The land of great landowners and patrimonial and pripuschenniks was demarcated up to the fall of the autocracy. In view of these circumstances, both former state peasants, landowners and pripuschenniks could not actively move to vacant lands and form new pochinoks. Thus, land revisions led to a significant slowdown in the formation of new settlements, and therefore, to an increase in the number of people in villages (parishes).

Other factors also influenced population dynamics. In the post-reform period, zemstvo officials in Vyatka guberniya explained ‘the size

of Tatar villages' by religious requirements: the need to maintain a mosque and a mullah, which was 'quite expensive for small communities' [Materialy' po statistike, Vol. 1, p. 15].

The establishment in 1886 of a new standard of 200 males allowed some small villages to get their own mosques. At the same time, the authorities suppressed the activities of communities aimed at forming parishes by joining 'extra' co-religionists from a neighbouring village where a mosque existed [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 2, inv. 2, file 3089, s. 12–15 reverse].

At the turn of the century, researchers recognised the presence of a mosque in villages consisting of 60–80 households [Koblov, 1998, p. 23], and 'almost always' two mosques in settlements with more than 150 houses [Steinfeld, 1893, p. 267]. Thus, in the latter half of the 19th century, two models of parish registration were valid. The former involved the construction of a new mosque with the registration of a parish, usually by separating residents from the mosque of a neighbouring village. The latter model meant the division of a mahallah and the formation of a new religious community in the same settlement. The third (fourth, fifth, etc.) mosque appeared in large settlements. The OMSA and the provincial government allowed their transfer from one mahallah to another. The registration of a new mahallah was unprofitable for the priesthood, which lost a part of its income. Therefore, a mullah's opinion regarding a lack of the need for a new mahallah was not an obstacle to applying for its registration [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 150 file 404, s. 17, 59–59 reverse].

Localisation of new mahallahs within a village and registration of new parishes by reorganising existing mahallahs are illustrated by statistics on the dynamics of the ratio between the number of prayer buildings and the number of clergymen in a mosque. In 1833–1889, 20 mosques were built every year on average, and 59 clerics received certificates, and in 1889–1908, 51 mosques were erected each year on average, and 58 candidates for a clerical position swore an oath [Zagidullin, 2007, pp. 142–

143]. In the latter half of 19th century, a stable staff of clergy was established.

At the turn of the centuries, some villages had no mosques; their residents went to a neighbouring mosque for the Friday midday prayer and were forced to go after the mullah to perform their spiritual rites. Children had to opportunity to study in such villages.

Thus, by providing Muslims with an opportunity to choose clerics, build mosques, and determine their status, the state retained the right to control the life of the parish. Almost every step in the further religious and ritual life of the community had to be coordinated with the police and local administration.

Mosques and the Islamic divine service

In the system of Islamic religious institutions, Russian law defined a mosque as the main symbol of the formation of a legal mahallah; the mosque housed prayer meetings; clerics were approved there; maktabas and madrasahs were opened. Each mosque could only have one parish [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 150, file 404, s. 54].

The Russian legislation established the following indispensable conditions to obtain permission for building a mosque: 1) compliance with the parish standard; 2) presence of a public judgment; 3) obligation of parishioners to maintain the mosque (and clergy) at their own expense; 4) the possibility of erecting an Islamic religious building only if there was no temptation for nearby-living newly-christened Tatars or Russians (determined by the diocese's management); 5) presence of an open space around the future mosque (since 1829—not less than 10 sazhen, since 1842, 20 sazhen); 6) a duly approved scheme of the prayer building; 7) positive decision of OMSA; 8) identification by the local administration of an urgent need in a mosque and 'sufficient parishioners' funds' to 'decently maintain it'. Summarising the information collected, the guberniya administration made the final decision [Ustav stroitel'ny], 1857, cols. 261–265]. The administration of a number of guberniyas in the Volga-Kama Region refused the parishioners permission to build new mosques if the rural community had

large debts [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 706, s. 155–156; Kobzev, 2007a, p. 60].

Secular authorities formally controlled the functioning of mosques. The police had to ensure the compliance of buildings with fire-safety and sanitary standards [Yuldashbaev, 1979, p. 88].

The vast majority of religious buildings in villages were built of wood, which was connected with the relatively low cost of wood, the high cost of 'stone work' and the labour intensity of brick manufacturing. Stone mosques were usually erected by wealthy people who were interested in donating their capital for godly causes that would serve their coreligionists for centuries [Märcani, 1989, b. 388, 391]. In the Orenburg and Volga steppes, clay and turf were the main construction materials used in building prayer houses [Zheleznov, part 1, pp. 248, 252; Shitova, 1984, pp. 56, 57].

According to Sharia, the public namaz could be led by any Muslim man with sufficient knowledge and training. The social and political component of the Islamic liturgy in Russia was influenced by the following factors: 1) the view of the authorities that temples were an essential element for implementing the principle of religious tolerance as prescribed in the 'Major state laws'; 2) the recognition of public prayer as an effective means for an ideological impact on citizens; 3) the reading of the public prayer exclusively in a 'public building' approved by the authorities, under the control and personal responsibility of a cleric approved by the administration.

Since the mosque was recognised as the only place for reading public prayers, in accordance with the Russian law, the public prayer was a prerogative of persons having permission from the secular administration. OMSA stressed that the 'provision of the exclusive right to fulfill Islamic religious rites to special, government-approved mullahs pursued not only religious but also political tasks' [Sbornik czirkulyarov, 1905, p. 81].

The names of the *pyativremennaya* (simple) and cathedral (*Jami*) mosques became a part of the Russian legislation during the time of mufti

Gabdessalyam Gabdrakhimov. For example, in Arabia, the status of the settlement served as the main criterion in determining the type of its mosque; in Russia, it was the registered *ma-hallah*. Newly-formed communities immediately applied for the construction of a cathedral mosque. The Spiritual Assembly explained that sharia prescribed that persons having such clerical titles as imam, *mugallim-sabiyān*, and *muezzin* could serve in a *pyativremennaya* mosque, and imams, *khatibs*, *mudarrises* or *mugallims*, *mukhtasibs*, *mugallim-sabiyān*, and *muezzins* can serve in a cathedral mosque [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 594, s. 12 reverse]. The presence of a *khatib* at a *pyativremennaya* mosque was a basis for submitting a motion to rename the mosque into a cathedral mosque [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 150, file 404, s. 36–41]. However, the reading of the Friday midday prayer by the *khatib* was allowed in mosques officially renamed as cathedral mosques.

In 1833, there were 3, 313 mosques in OMSA, in 1856, there were 3, 478 mosques, 75 % of which were cathedral mosques. The number of *jami* mosques increased: in 1868, they made up 81. 8 % [Zagidullin, 2007, pp. 143–144], in 1911, more than 90 % [Farkshatov, 2006, p. 289].

In a mosque, *khatibs* had the opportunity to impact the religious and moral, as well as civic consciousness of parishioners. During the Friday midday prayer or during annual religious festivals, the *khatib* read the *khutbah* standing and leaning on a staff, which meant that Islam was spread in the country not with a sword but voluntarily, without compulsion [Koblov, 1907, p. 11; Islam, 1991, p. 285].

The *khutbah* read by the *khatib* during a festive service acquired political importance due to the need to mention the name of an existing Caliph, thus expressing the political orientation of the *khatib* and his community: if the name of the leader was not pronounced, it meant his rejection or deposition [Islam, 1991, p. 285]. In 1878, The OMSA issued a 'book of holiday service' with the lyrics of *khutbahs* [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–295, inv. 2, file 142, s. 377].

Basing their decision on the absence of Muslim settlements in the Middle Volga region which would correspond to a city ('mistr'), some mullahs spoke for the abolition of the Friday and festive prayers and for their substitution with an ordinary prayer [Adygamov, 2005, p. 84]. An outstanding public figure of the turn of the 18th–19th centuries. G. Utyz Imyani believed that both the head and the judge of a 'mistr' should 'be Muslims, not of another religion'. That is why he found saying Friday prayers invalid. The legitimacy of the prayers and other religious holidays were connected by G. Utyz Imyani directly with the existence of a Muslim government and statehood [Adygamov, 2005, p. 84].

The possibility of reading the Friday prayer in small villages was described by a madrasah teacher in Kyshdar village of Kazan uyezd, G. Kursavi at the beginning of the 19th century, in his book 'Instruction of People on the Path of Truth'. He wrote that according to the Koran and Sunna, the Friday prayer is obligatory and it contributes to the consolidation of the congregation [Kursavi, 2005, pp. 185–191]. However, there was no common view among religious figures concerning this question until the second third of the 19th century.

In the case of an illness or the absence of the khatib, the Friday midday prayer was read by the imam with his permission [Kobzev, 2007a, p. 74].

In 1826, mufti G. Gabdrakhimov published an order to perform the namaz to glorify the Russian emperor on Fridays and other holidays, addressing the text to akhuns for its distribution among parish mullahs. Since 1834, a special text in Tatar [Smolarts, 2011, p. 167] started to be used to read prayers on Fridays in honour of

ВЫСОЧАЙШЕ утвержденная форма возношения при богослужениях ВЫСОЧАЙШИХЪ именъ АВГУСТЫЙШЕЙ фамилии.

بتون روسيه مملكتنى بالاستقلال توتقوجى، ايدكو عقیده لى پادشاهى
ايمپراطر اعظم نيقولاى اليكساندر ويچ حضرتار يئىكت. و هم ز وجد
معظمه لى ايدكو عقیده لى غرصور اربند ايمپراطر يئىسد اليكساندر
فيئد وروئى حضرتار يئىكت، و هم والده محترم لى ايدكو عقیده لى
غرصور اربند ماريد فيئد وروئى حضرتار يئىكت، و هم ايدكو عقیده لى
الوغ شاهزاده ولى عهد لى ناسايد نيكت چيسار يئىچ مىخايل اليكساندر
ويچ حضرتار يئىكت و هم گل خاندان عاليه لى يئىكت عانيت و سلامت
واوزون عمر لى انچون خبر دعا لى قىلا مز.

Върно: Членъ Оренбургскаго Магометанскаго
Духовнаго Соборія Канкаевъ.

A text exalting the great names used at Islamic worship services.
Order of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly No. 3442
from 12 June 1903.

the tsar; since 1847, there were special holiday public prayers on 'tsar days' [Fäxreddin, 2006, b. 122]. The content of the received texts was announced in all mosques regardless of their status and the day of the week. Along with this, the OMSA established the mandatory arrangement of such religious and political events on 1 January (the New Year), the first day of the Shawwal month, after the prayer on the celebratory day of Eid al-Fitr, and on the tenth day of the Dhul Hijjah month, after the prayer on the day of Eid al-Adha [Sbornik czirkulyarov, 1905, , p. 224–225]. These prayers were the duty of the parish clergy and a new obligation for parishioners: village elders and the police tried to provide the 'universal participation' of parishioners in the prayer. That is how the transformation of the Islamic prayer occurred in the conditions of Russia. Since 1898, the prayer in honour of the Russian tsar during the Friday holiday service was considered to be

optional by the OMSA [Sbornik czirkulyarov, 1905, p. 149]. Since that time, the Friday prayer proclamation of the mullahs didn't mention the name of the Russian emperor and only contained a general phrase: 'God, help the one who helps faith' [Alektorov, 1906, p. 91].

Thus, the doctrine of 'official nationality' with respect to Muslims was implemented by the government under the scheme: 'monarchy, tolerance, ummah'. Clerics were to be the guides of the state ideology.

In the latter half of 18th—19th centuries, in European Russia and Siberia, Khutbah was delivered in the Arabic language. 'Mullahs had handwritten collections of sermons in the Arabic language' [Rakhim, 2004, p. 571]. At the turn of the 19–20th centuries some imams began to read Khutbah in the Tatar language [Gimazova, 2004, pp. 67]. The issue of the preaching language became a subject of disputes between traditionalists who advocated for delivering Khutbah in the language of the Koran, and Jadids who believed that Khutbah should be delivered in the Tatar language. The situation changed gradually [Marash, 2005, pp. 154–156]. The newspaper 'Kazansky Telegraf' (21 February 1898) reported that the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly had issued an order which made sermons in the native language mandatory during festive religious services.

The five daily prayers regulated to a great extent the everyday life of the mahallah. That is why the slow-paced life of the settlement was determined by adhan—a call to worship. In 1775, I. Georgi wrote the following about the Tatars: 'Nobody tries to avoid praying deliberately, should anything prevent them from participating in prayer, they pray at the very least alone in their homes or in the field during sunrise or sunset: While doing it they take off their shoes and sometimes step on their clothes spread on the ground' [Georgi, 1779, p. 2, p. 21].

Men were obliged to attend the mosque on Fridays, on other days, especially during the period of agricultural works, they worshipped at home. Even during hay-making and harvest days men would usually return to the village

to take part in the Friday Namaz. Occasionally, in some villages the Friday afternoon prayer would be disrupted 'because three persons were absent from prayer' [Steinfeld, 1893, p. 272, 307].

On regular days, the elderly ('mächet kartlari'), having retired from production activities, would join the imam. Quite often, however, the imam would perform a service at the mosque on his own [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 150, file 411, s. 25]. It is appropriate to say that there were large religious assemblies on Fridays and on annual Islamic holidays.

In the 19th—early 20th century some settlements of the Middle Volga region established a procedure according to which on Fridays women gathered in the mullah's house where the imam's wife (abystay) would recite the Koran or other religious books which replaced the Friday service for them [Koblov, 1907, p. 15; Barudi, 1997, b. 113]. Women also gathered in the mullah's house to join his wife for 'qader kiçäse' (Night of Destiny, Laylat al-Qadr) [Shino, Vol. 81, p. 281, 282, 284].

In fact women did not have to attend the mosque. In this regard, in the first quarter of the 19th century. Karl Fuchs authoritatively stated: 'While the men are holding a service in the mosque, the women are praying at home. Tatars perform five daily prayers in the mosque, and during these hours, no matter where a Tatar woman is, whether she is having tea at a friend's house, having breakfast, or is in the forest, in the field, in a stranger's house, she stops doing everything and looks for a convenient place and starts praying with such zeal that no noise can distract her from it or make her look back' [Fuchs, 1991, pp. 49–50, 98].

Confessional schools In the late 18th—early 19th century, the operating and emerging madrasahs and maktabas formed a common religious educational area in the district of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly. The most influential madrasahs were the ones where instruction was delivered by imams who had received education abroad, particularly in Bukhara.

Madrasahs implemented the most crucial principle of Islamic religious education—its

availability to everyone who sought knowledge, without any restrictions.

Being an ethnic and confessional minority, and constantly being threatened to lose their confessional identity, the Tatars tried to teach their children the basics of Islam, as well as reading and writing skills, in the native language. The national school played a most important role in this process. As a rule, a maktab was located in one of the manor buildings, or in the imam's house which was hardly suitable for delivering classes because of poor lighting and stuffiness, or in a small dwelling which was specially built or re-equipped for the school. There was a system of mutual learning, according to the Lancaster method, that is why the teacher was not always present in class. This did not imply there was an absence of control: 'in the fences', separating the classrooms from the dwellings, small holes existed, which were skillfully cut out. They were used for 'observation and sudden inspections' [Sofiysky, 1893, p. 325, 329]. Classes were delivered by *khal-fas*—helpers of mudarris.

As for girls, they were usually taught the basics of Islam, prayers and reading by the wives of clergymen. Girls did not learn to write since it was prohibited by Sharia law.

'The Rules' of 1870 divided Islamic schools into two categories: schools funded by communities, and schools where children were taught privately or at home. Private schools belonging to Muslims of the district of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly only appeared at the turn of the centuries when merchants began to establish maktabas which used new teaching methods and were funded by the merchants. The establishment of Russian classes at madrasahs was an innovation. As a rule, they were located in separate training buildings and were funded by the government or district councils.

Although, beginning from 1874, Islamic schools in the district of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly were under the supervision of the Ministry of National Education, there were no construction or technical guidelines in regard to their building.

The Parish Clergy. As is well-known, Islam does not have a caste system, Sunnis do not have a place of worship as a mediator between Allah and the believers. According to Sharia any Muslim, familiar with the rituals of faith, could lead a public prayer (except for a festive one), perform burials, name a newborn, perform marriage rituals, etc. In the parishes surrounding Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, the performance of these rituals was the responsibility of certain mullahs. This procedure helped the government to exercise control over the social life of religious communities.

In Central Asia, where young Tatar men would go to acquire deeper religious instruction, the final stage of education after finishing the madrasah would be studying in a khanaqah (Sufi monastery). After that the young men were to be blessed by the teacher-murshid. In the Volga-Ural region, official clerics were also Sufis—representatives of Tariqas. In a madrasah, along with studying religious disciplines, shakirds prepared to become murids of mudarris-murshid. Thus, education according to tasawwuf became an essential element of the Tatar clergy's spiritual formation [Mukhametzyanova, 2008, p. 29]. In 1800–1860, according to incomplete data, the number of mudarrises in contemporary Bashkortostan who had received religious education abroad amounted to 21 %, in 1860–1890–13. 5 %. The major madrasahs were under their supervision, and they greatly influenced the educational process in the region [Khabutdinov, 2000, p. 57, 76].

In terms of spiritual instruction the official duties of mullahs were as follows: 'a) representation in the mosque during worship; b) delivering the necessary religious knowledge to believers; c) constant and relentless preaching about the need for peace and harmony among all Muslims, using the most noble and gentle words; d) the ability to value religious kinship among Muslims and general human rights and cherish them, as well as the ability to encourage the population to do the same' [Sbornik czirkulyarov, 1902, p. 41].

Nearly all spiritual and administrative power in mahallahs was concentrated in the



Haja and mullahs.
Ufa guberniya.
Photo by
M. Krukovsky.
Early
20th century.

hands of the clergy. As a spiritual leader of the community the mullah settled family conflicts between spouses, between children and parents, all the while instructing and offering advice; as a judge he performed the distribution of inheritance according to Sharia norms and was engaged in educational activities in the local confessional school (funding it quite often). Apart from guiding public prayer, marrying and divorcing people, giving names, conducting burials and commemorative rituals, participating in funeral feasts according to Sharia law and resolving various disputes, imams also performed functions imposed on them by the official authorities: they declared and explained executive orders and kept parish registers.

The clergy performed a very important function—the function of organising the social life of the mahallah: they urged believers that mosques, schools and cemeteries should be maintained well, persons in trouble should get moral support; that sanitary and hygienic norms should be complied with in everyday life and that sanitary and epidemiological regulations of the administration and district councils should be implemented, etc.

The environment (the majority of mullahs lived in rural areas) significantly influenced the way of life and behaviour of parish mul-

lahs. Their equal legal status with that of peasants, as well as the fact that they had peasant households, united their social and economic interests with those of parishioners-farmers.

The religious and ethical influence of the mullah in the parish depended on his moral qualities, intellectual capabilities, his way of life and behaviour. If the mullah worked hard to perform his duties, was sober and kept a close eye on believers, then he would have authority among the parishioners and would generally be the recognised leader of the social and cultural life of the parish.

In the Ural region, in the second quarter of the 19th century, some mullahs, citing the fake decree of the Orenburg governorate board in the Tatar language, which instructed imams to punish Muslims who did not attend the mosque, began to use corporal punishment on parishioners. During the decades that followed, despite direct prohibitions by the administration, the practice of corporal punishment by mullahs for non-compliance with Sharia norms was widely spread in Islamic settlements of the Orenburg guberniya. Very often corporal punishment was applied to persons who came to the mosque in a drunken state. The mahallah supported such actions of mullahs and perceived such punishments as just retribution [Denisov, 2011].

An agreement concluded in 1845 between the imam and residents of the village Tyunter of Malmyzhskiy uyezd of the Vyatka guberniya regarding fulfillment of their religious duties was indicative of the existing problems in traditional communities regarding the organisation of the religious way of life. The parishioners agreed: that they would not produce or drink beer and other alcoholic beverages, that they would refrain from any actions against Sharia, would not miss the morning and evening Namaz for no good reason, would not allow members of their families to visit places disapproved of by Islam, and would not prevent 'fellow villagers from acting truthfully in life and faith'. In case of violation of the above-mentioned, they were ready to receive punishment [Fäxreddin, 2010, b. 32].

The clergy worked hard to establish Islamic traditions and way of life. At the end of the 19th century, imams made efforts to prohibit the celebration of Nowruz in the villages. However, despite efforts to implement the orders of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly on the prohibition of the holiday Djien (during the reign of the muftis G. Gabdrakhimov, G. Suyeymanov, S. Tevkelev, Muslim merchants of Kazan and the Kazan governor in 1880s), the holiday still preserved its important role in the festive culture of the Tatars [Tatary', 1967, pp. 225–227, Zahidullin, 1991, b. 174–176; Khabutdinov, 2010, p. 59].

Clergymen were part of the national elite, they were the keepers of the historical memory of the people and served as models of piety for believers. In the traditional community, the clergy possessed immense power due to the absence of feudal class representatives in rural areas. It is profoundly symbolic that mullahs themselves called parishioners—members of the peasant community—'kara xalik' (vulgus).

During the decades when the mullah would fulfill his priestly duties, he would live to see several generations of believers grow up, and he would participate to one extent or another in all the crucial events of their family life. Therefore, in a small parish, the mullah knew each and every parishioner.

The increase of cathedral mosques in number influenced to a certain extent the increase of the number of clergymen. If in 1833 each parish had on average 1. 25 clergymen, then beginning from 1850 up to 1911 this figure was approximately 1. 6–1. 8 [Zagidullin, 2007, p. 143]. Notably, the number of muezzins was twice less than the number of mosques, and consequently, in half of the mosques, the duties of the muezzin were performed by persons privately appointed by the community, by the imams themselves, or by individuals who did not have the appropriate certificates.

Reasons for dismissing a clergyman from his position could be complaints received from parishioners or any individuals about negligent performance of duties, frequent absences, a lifestyle connected with alcohol, quarrels in the mosque or causing discord among parishioners, as well as incorrect entries in parish registers, etc. [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 150, file 404, s. 46; Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I-295, inv. 1, file 271 and others]. In case a mullah lost the trust of his parishioners, the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly 'would listen to their opinion' [Gilmudinov, 2005, p. 56].

In the middle of the 19th century, P. Pashino distinguished (based on his professional and social activities in the mahallah) several types of clergy. A small group consisted of mullahs who were keen on poetry and reading religious books. They were revered and loved by parishioners. Occasionally, there were mullahs who were interested in history and geography. They would keep notebooks and record events occurring in their respective location. Representatives of these groups diligently performed their priestly duties. Some mullahs earned their living by curing diseases (by way of whispering, pronouncing phrases from the Koran). One could seldom encounter mullahs who were religious zealots. Mullah-traders, who understood Russian, mullah-kushtans, intercessors and representatives of the community were interested in commerce and litigation. Quite often they neglected their direct duties, not always



A certificate on the successful sitting of a Russian examination by U. Abdulgazizov, a candidate for the position of mullah in the village of Staryj Ashit, Kazan guberniya. 1904.

performing the five Namaz (prayers), but delegating it to a muezzin. What is more, they 'sniff tobacco, do not refuse vodka, like to chat and make new friends, especially with Russians, and live in clover' [Shino, Vol. 81, p. 277]. Ishans were mudarrises who supervised large madrasahs and taught shakirds-followers. They enjoyed authority in the village and the neighbourhood, they were well-read people. Their activities were basically to read Namaz, teach, provide assistance and moral support to Muslims who got into trouble. P. Pashino divided the rest of the imams (and they were

the majority) into 'roguish' and 'sleepy' who do not do anything and 'and they represent this nation as a whole, which is spiritually asleep due to various circumstances' [Shino, Vol. 81, pp. 270–290].

In 1895, G. Ibragimov pointed out the main drawbacks of the Tatar community: disagreements between members of religious communities and hostility between scholars; the fact that imams narrowed down the Islamic doctrine to having the right form of beard and moustache, they laid down the law on how to wear turbans and perform rituals; the decline of religious education among the parish clergy and their ethical authority amongst parishioners; various disturbances and disorders caused by rumours about baptism [Gabderäshit, 2011, b. 64, 65, 68].

During the post-reform period, mullahs-cadimists were against the inclusion of secular subjects into the curricula of madrasahs and maktabas, assuming that the

Koran contained everything that was needed to know, and that learning it 'allows to get answers to any questions' [Mashanov, 1911, pp. 124]; they equated learning the Russian language to actions that were contrary to Islam [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1051, s. 50]. However, after the introduction of the Russian educational standard for candidates for the post of an imam in 1891, mullahs-cadimists in an attempt to secure 'a place in the sun' for their sons, began to teach them reading and writing in Russian [Gany, 1998, b. 45].

Some Tatar clergymen were former serving Tatars or 'murzas in bast shoes'. The long-term education in a madrasah required money, which the poor could not afford for their sons. Mullahs wanted to marry daughters of salesmen and merchants in order to become relatives of rich people. This way family ties and clan systems were formed among the clergy [Fäxreddin, 2006; 2009; 2010].

Under the weight of seasonal works and the development of capitalist relations at the turn of pp. centuries, the clergy's influence on parishioners weakened which was due to the emerging general tendency of secularisation of Russian society. These phenomena were clearly observed in the urban environment [Ibrahmov, 1900, b. 5–29].

§ 2. Sources of existence of Islamic institutions

Ildus Zagidullin

The construction of mosques and educational institutions was performed amid the gradual reduction of land allotments, growing tax and loan debts for peasants, and other negative social and economic developments in the agricultural sector. As a rule, the building of a new mosque would be announced by the community when there would be a benefactor who would incur the costs of construction, and also if a certain amount of money, log structure and construction materials were available. The funds necessary for building a mosque were collected by way of leasing part of the communal lands, by way of a special secular levy under the principle 'give as much as you can' or, alternatively, everyone had to submit equal sums, and also by way of transferring available 'secular money' from private donations, etc. [Gibadullina, 2008, p. 50, 51].

Many mosques and schools in the district of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly were built and funded at the expense of the peasant community or several of its members, by a benefactor⁶ or a clergyman, who would quite often impose conditions such as 'to have his son elected as mullah' [Senyutkina, 2009, p. 240–241] or receive payment for teaching [Mukhametzyanova, 2008, p. 126], etc. In cit-

ies, mosques and educational institutions were usually built by merchants. Once the construction was completed, authorised persons of the community provided the parish with information on the expenses incurred. During the construction of a new mosque, funds were usually allocated by parishioners of the existing parish and the one being built. If the funds were not enough to complete the construction, an additional levy was imposed according to a special arrangement [Kobzev, 2007a, pp. 50, 51].

In the sources of the 19th century, there is information about mosques 'falling to pieces' [Shino, Vol. 82, pp. 50, 51; Steinfeld, 1893, p. 286]. When considering issues, connected with the maintenance and the reconstruction of mosques, the Spiritual Assembly gave priority to the heirs of mutawallis. In the 1840s, K. Fuchs noted, 'the Tatars have a strange custom: their mosques and schools cannot be built or maintained by society, but only by a wealthy person. I wonder why some of their public buildings are poorly maintained on the exterior in terms of their strength and solidity' [Fuchs, 1991, p. 22].

The Mahallahs were against the special 'secular levies' as was the case with Orthodox peasants who used this money to support schools, churches and the clergy of a parish. However, in reality, the Tatars widely used the administrative resources of the peasant community which was clearly manifested when the rural community allocated funds for all the mosques

⁶ According to Sh. Marjani, Gabdulla Bey (d. 1832, at the age of nearly a hundred) from the village of Machkara, renowned in the Kazan guberniya, built approximately 150 village mosques [Märcani, 1989, b. 387].

functioning in a village or collected a onetime 'secular' or 'community' tax for religious needs [Kobzev, 2007a, pp. 36–37].

The main obstacle which prevented Muslims from receiving financial aid from the district councils to maintain maktab and madrasahs was the absence of the provision (in Sharia) making it possible to receive financial allowance from such institutions. On 8 August 1906, the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly declared that Sharia does not prohibit the use of financial assistance from district councils for building and maintaining Islamic schools. Only after the First Russian Revolution did the Islamic communities of the Volga-Ural region begin to see 'the financial allowances from district councils' as an important part of the income of parishes [Naganava, 2012, p. 79].

Muslims were pragmatic in matters of construction and maintenance of mosques: they were primarily worried about the cost of services rendered and the qualification of contractors [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–295, inv. 6, file 3237], not their religious denomination.

There was no practice of having guards at the mosque. Watchmen on duty were responsible for keeping the peace and quiet in the locality.

The archive of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly contains many cases reflecting the hardships of parishioners, seeking to renew divine service after a fire [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–295, inv. 3, file 6391, s. 2–3]. The difficult economic situation of a community that had lost quite a few peasant estates in a fire and the lack of benefactors were the main reasons behind delays in the construction of a mosque ranging from several to fifteen years [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 4, inv. 102, file 9, s. 20 reverse]. Even large communities were unable to immediately start the construction of a new mosque, as a rule, it took 2–3 years to raise funds and purchase the necessary materials [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–295, inv. 11, file 614, s. 18–18 reverse, 28–28 reverse; file 672]. In the meantime, public worship was held in the

house of a wealthy parishioner or in a building specially built for this purpose and used for a different purpose after the mosque had been reconstructed.

In 1839, the Department of appanage approved the regulation on the insurance of peasant buildings paving the way for the insurance of places of worship at 'half price', and contributions were collected from the 'community' according to the law. Starting from 1858, they were subject to insurance without restriction of the amount in terms of actual value [Istoriya udelov, Vol. 2, p. 336, 340]. The Ministry of State Property, realistically evaluating the limited capacity of peasants to prevent the spread of flames in case of a fire, almost involuntarily forced rural communities to insure peasant estates. Mosques often were included into this list [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–295, inv. 3, file 5988, s. 1–2 reverse]. In the post-reform period, the insurance of public buildings in rural areas was handed over to zemsky institutions and became statutory.

Maktab were maintained at the expense of students' parents and parishioners [Kobzev, 2007a, p. 53].

The rural community addressed the matter of allocating land for the building of a madrasah. In matters of organisation of a madrasah (secondary school), the most important point was the presence of two persons: a scholar-mullah, who had a desire to teach and a rich merchant or parishioner willing to construct a building and annually provide funds for maintaining the educational institution. Lack of waqf—a stable source of religious endowments—made madrasahs dependent on Muslim benefactors. The existence of madrasahs for locals was a symbol of development of a mahalla, increasing its authority in the region [Mukhametzyanova, 2008, p. 125, 145].

Large madrasahs represented educational complexes that included educational buildings, dormitories, canteens, etc. Usually, a mutawalli built a mosque near an educational building and it was officially considered as a place of worship of the rural community. Madrasahs were usually one-storey buildings, made from



A Tatar village, Simbirsk guberniya. Drawing by A. Derrick. 1874.

wood or stone, consisting of one or two large rooms and a kitchen; a madrasah also had household plots and backyards.

A Zakat was valid only when a Muslim distributed it to certain individuals, poor people. As a result, wealthy Tatars tried to distribute money in madrasahs to shakirds, and not for maintaining the building itself since public activity was not recognised as Zakat.

In rural areas, where the land belonged to the community, a mullah, as a rule, was provided with a free land allotment, and as a clergyman he could be released from taxes and duties. If a mullah was from another locality, then the newly formed parish could provide him with accommodation or land for building a house, often he was provided with funds to go to Ufa to take exams at the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, etc. As a rule, land allotments were provided free of charge in the size of one land plot for one soul or in regard to the number of males in a family [Kobzev, 2007a, p. 53]. The resolution on the selection of a clergyman does not specify the exact amount of the financial allowance. Since there were no stipulations in the law to fulfill this obligation, very often, especially in lean years, clergymen found themselves in a difficult situation.

As a rule, in Tatar parishes a mullah received a Zakat al-Ushr—1/10 part of crop yield (tax on agricultural products), however, this information was rarely recorded. Zakat al-Ushr existed only in rural mahallas, but not everywhere. In places where this custom existed, mullahs were wealthier than mosque clerics who did not receive Zakat al-Ushr [Koblov, 1998, p. 25]. At a poor farm, the grain harvest was up to 20 carts, while at a rich one - up to 300 carts. The size of a Zakat al-Ushr for every clergyman was set by parishioners [Sel'skij svyashhennik, 1874, pp. 523–524].

According to R. Fakhreddin, very often Russian language teachers at schools of the Ministry of National Education, looking for material profit, would reject educational positions (annual salary—300–400 roubles) and would become mullahs [Fäxretdin, 2012, No. 2–3, p. 87].

As a rule, in compound parishes, residents assigned to a nearby mosque, did not pay Zakat al-Ushr. For the convenience of collecting income, some mullahs took a second wife, settled her in a nearby locality and during visits to the locality performed religious service [Shino, Vol. 81, p. 283].

According to some data, in the middle of the 19th century, in some areas of the Oren-

burg Krai, every fifth worker of a mosque was getting a fixed income from his parishioners [Farkhshatov, 2006, p. 291]. For instance, in a number of localities of the Menzelinsk uyezd of Ufa guberniya, mullahs did not get allotments, they paid zemsky, earthly, state monetary and natural duties, and they did not receive Zakat al-Ushr. Moreover, on the basis of collective responsibility, rural communities forced them to pay their arrears on loans, that mullahs did not even take out [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1072, s. 1–2, 36].

As a rule, clergymen were engaged in bee-keeping and gardening. In poor parishes and small mahallas, they dealt with arable farming, in wealthy parishes they employed workers for their farms: they exploited indebted parishioners, rented allotments, etc. [Koblov, 1998, p. 17; Materialy', 1936, pp. 103–104].

Donations from parishioners during major religious holidays—Eid al-Fitr (feast of fasting) and Eid al-Adha (feast of sacrifice) formed the next significant source of income for the parish clergy. During Eid al-Fitr every adult parishioner provided his religious mentor with alms and gifts which could be food or money. Holiday offerings during Eid al-Fitr were called 'fitr sadakasi (in Arabic—zakat al-Fitr), they were binding and in monetary terms amounted to at least 20 kopeks per household [Koblov, 1998, p. 24]. In the Volga-Ural region villages, the "fitr sadakasi" could make a total of up to 100 and more poods of crops and from 50 to 100 roubles in money, and in cities up to 400–500 roubles [Farkhshatov, 2006, p. 291].

Almost all mullahs had to become sellers several times during the year: at the rural market or city they would resell sheepskin, that they had got from parishioners during the Eid al-Adha [Shino, Vol. 81, p. 271], and also a part of their Zakat al-Ushr in the form of grain, sheaves or flour.

In Russia, there were no levers enforcing the performance of one of the most sacred obligations of Muslims—zakat (a tax to the benefit of needy Muslims, amounting to 1/40th part of the total income during a calendar year, paid during the holy month of Ramadan). Payment of zakat was the prerogative of the wealthy Muslims and

was a purely voluntary act. The specific feature of paying zakat was that it was mainly used to support the parish clergy. Zakat was distributed to the poor and students at madrasahs [Yunusova, 2006, p. 61]. The terms zakat and sadaka (alms) among Tatars and Bashkirs had almost merged under the name sadaka and implied voluntary, unregulated donations by Muslims, which were mainly used to support mosques, schools and the clergy. In the middle of the 19th century. P. Pashino noted that "a mullah gets more alms than all the poor people in a village" [Shino, Vol. 81, p. 284]. In his circular letter dated 22 July 1916, the mufti of Orenburg M. Bayazitov urged the faithful to give zakat to mullahs [Minnullin, 2006, p. 39]. This phenomenon needs legal evaluation. The point is that, according to Sharia law, mullahs could not be taxed. According to Sharia, scholars who do not pay taxes (the state does not provide them with a salary) are considered to be persons in need, and they have a right to get Ushr, Fitr and other obligatory donations for Muslims [Fäxretidin, 1907, p. 360].

An additional source of income for the clergy was the performance of occasional religious rites (performing wedding ceremonies, funerals, giving names, etc.) and scholastic work. In every community there was a minimum amount of annual natural and monetary offerings to mullahs, but quite often this was a token gesture. For instance, a mullah got 10 kopeks for giving a name to a child, 25 kopeks for a wedding, 50–60 kopeks for a funeral, etc. [Farkhshatov, 2006, p. 291].

In newly formed urban parishes, a wealthy seller or several parishioners were obliged to provide the clergy with accommodation. In urban areas, where the custom of Zakat al-Ushr did not exist, mullahs lived off the offerings (sadaka) of parishioners, which was in abundance during Islamic holidays. As a rule, urban parishes were considered to be wealthy, while rural ones were considered to be poor.

At the turn of the 19th-20th centuries, the revival of the Islamic renewal movement was marked by the emergence of new organisational forms of Muslim charity, which included wider sections of the population. One of the new forms of collective care over mosques

and schools was the establishment of a trusteeship, consisting of the most proactive members of the parish. If there was a waqf, they would manage the correct influx of funds and their intended expenditure.

The Arabic word *waqf* literally means the presentation of an item for serving sacred purposes, broadly construed it means the waiver of rights to property in favour of a certain legal entity [Islam, 1991, p. 45]. In Russia, waqf meant inalienable property, intended for specific charitable purposes.

The Empire recognised waqf properties of Muslims in certain areas joined to Russia in the last quarter of the 18th –mid- 19th centuries: in the regions of Tavrichesky Muslim Spiritual Assembly, spiritual directorates of the Muslims in Transcaucasia (for Shias and Sunnis) and Turkestan.

After 1552, waqfs were liquidated in the Middle Volga region, but they began to appear once again in the latter half of the 18–first half of the 19th centuries [Denisov, 2009b, p. 46], however, they did not become a social phenomenon⁷.

According to Sharia law, the right to appoint a supervisor primarily belongs to the donor, if he is absent—to the executor, if the executor is absent—to the government [Nofal, 1886, p. 180]. Donors and their closest relatives regarded the fiduciary duties as a private matter, and the provision of any reporting was construed as interference in family matters or in the life of a mahallah.

Waqfs in the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, despite the lack of legislative regu-

lation, had a right to exist. In 1837, the legislative branch developed a mechanism, whereby the donations of subjects would be assigned to religious institutions [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 12, No. 10303, item 97]. Donations were approved by the Ministry of Internal Affairs upon submission from the local governor. The Governor-Generals of Western and Eastern Siberia independently approved donations for charitable purposes [Zakony' grazhdanskie, 1857, Article 981, fn.]. The identity of the donor, his financial situation and the property itself were investigated prior to official approval (right of ownership, whether it was mortgaged or not, etc.).

According to legislation, the period for submitting and receiving approval of the will to be executed for Russian nationals residing in the homeland, was 1 year, for those staying abroad it was 2 years (from the date of the testator's death). After this period, the document was considered to be invalid [Zakony' grazhdanskie, 1900, article 1063]. District courts were interested in the accurate drafting of the document, they were not entitled to modify its content.

In correspondence with civil authorities, the Spiritual Assembly complied with Russian legislation, that is why it did not have right to use the term waqf, however, when dealing with the trustees of the donated property it operated under Sharia law. It could not be any other way since donors clearly stated the purpose and objectives of the donated property in the deeds. Sharia stipulated the following procedure for organising waqfs: 1) usage of the term waqf in relation to the donated property; 2) no expression shall limit the existence of waqf; 3) exact references to the life or death criteria, or both, that is when exactly a property receives waqf status - by virtue of a donation (during life) or by virtue of a will (after death). According to Sharia law, the recognition or announcement of the owners of the donated property is equivalent to a formal act of donation [Nofal, 1886, p. 180]. In the latter case the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly would recognise donations as valid, and afterwards it would be recognised by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. A key role

⁷ By 1870, the Orenburg Religious Board of Muslims recorded four waqfs: 1) Gubaidulla Yunusof, a merchant of the top guild from Kazan of two stone workshops (1830); 2) Aitynkin, Tatar merchant of the top guild to the first grand mosque in the town of Tara of 30 thousand rubles of paper money notes (8,541 silver rubles) with a bank (1841); 3) funds for the Moscow grand mosque and income gained from the sale of a waqf house (159 roubles 90 kopeks) with the Moscow savings bank (1848); 4) Gabdelkhalik Ibraev, a merchant from Sterlitamatak, in favour of the First Grand mosque of Sterlitamak of 5 shops and 90 dessyatinas, 1480 sazhen of land (1848) with total annual of approximately 120 rubles [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 611, s. 34 reverse].

here was played by the act of donation, which was conclusive evidence that the spoken will of the deceased was authentic. Meanwhile, verbal testaments had no legal power in the eyes of judicial bodies [*Zakony' grazhdanskie*, 1857, article 1023].

Immovable property belonging to Christian and non-Christian churches and specific properties which were leased and did not bring income were not subject to real estate tax [*Ustav o pryamyx nalogax*, article 84].

According to Russian law, donations for religious needs were registered to mosques and (or) educational institutions. According to the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, in 1889 there were 21 donated estates, 10 of which were located in the Ufa and Orenburg guberniyas [*V pamyat' stoletiya*, 1891, p. 28]. The involvement of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly in terms of waqf supervision had always been dictated by necessity, that is in case of complaints against mutawallis on the part of parishioners or the heirs of a donor, in case of the mutawalli appointed a new official after the death of the donor or if there was unwillingness from heirs to fulfill the testament of the deceased. If the number of members of the religious community was less than the legal standard for a parish, then the donation, despite the will of the deceased, was handed over to the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, which registered the parish and then transferred it for the intended purpose.

In the post-reform period, the government tended to curtail the activity of waqfs in guberniyas. That is why in 1894, draft regulations drawn up by the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly on the basis of the management system of Crimean waqfs, were not approved⁸. Never-

theless, in the early 20th century the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly controlled waqfs based on these unapproved rules, obliging trustees to provide copies of lease agreements every six months, 'the maximum period was set at three years' [Zagidullin, 2006a, pp. 82–87].

The waqf system was mainly based on the honesty and decency of mutawallis. The Spiritual Assembly acted as a fair and impartial judge during the settlement of disputes, and it gradually earned the respect of Muslim communities. Often donors empowered the religious institution to monitor mutawallis. It is no coincidence that at the turn of the 19–20th centuries in most cases of donation, the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly was called in as an arbitrator.

As rightly stated by D. Azamatov: 'Getting no proper support from the government, it tried to act independently and as a result not only received a decisive rebuff from the bureaucracy, but also caused resentment among major benefactors. The actions of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly were evaluated as interference into the internal affairs of Muslim communities, and also as an attempt to lay hands on the property of religious and educational institutions. Despite such attacks, the state institution managed to sustain its line, aimed at introducing double control over expenditure of waqf funds' [Azamatov, 2000, p. 80].

Thus, the existing legislation in general allowed Muslims to independently resolve issues related to the construction and support of Islamic institutions.

However, class restrictions affected the implementation of the legitimate rights of the rural population. According to the 1865 'Regulation on Bashkirs', only the treasury and the rural population were allowed to sell and donate free lands not belonging to Bashkir landowners in the amount of 15 desyatinas [Azamatov, 2000, p. 21]. The inhabitants of former state villages became the owners of the allotments only after the abolition of redemp-

⁸ According to these rules, the Orenburg Religious Board of Muslims was to record them with the Ministry of the Interior, to supervise the accounting of mutawallis, up to prosecution and appointment of a new mutawalli, and, when agreed by the community, to be a trustee of waqf property: in the absence of mutawalli under the will, it could appoint the person recommended by mahalla; in case a last will and testament missed a point on mutawalli's fee, it could assign a fee from an income of waqf property. Waqf property approved by the Ministry of the Interior, by common consent of the parish clergy and mutawalli, was recorded in 'shnu-

rovye knigi' for further rent, whereas capital was to be loaned. Mytawalli was either to deposit waqf capital (funds) with a savings bank to gain interest, or to issue it as a loan. Income received was then to be invested in credit and banking institutions.

tion payments and arrears on them in the early 20th century. During the Stolypin agrarian reforms, plots of allotted lands in the ownership of separate householders were equated to outbuilding-patrimonial plots that could only be transferred to people, who were registered or were going to be registered in the rural communities. This was not the case with religious institutions [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 133, file 478, s. 38]. Along with the shortage of land and the reduction of prosperity of the rural population, these factors represented a serious obstacle for donating allotments by Muslims to the advantage of Islamic institutions. It turned out that only a purchased land could be handed over as waqf in the rural area. That is why waqfs in the village were symbolic (grain, clothes, peasant buildings, in rare cases—land) [Kobzev, 2007a, p. 49]. The situation in the city was different, waqfs con-

sisted of monetary capital, real estate (stalls, land plots, residential and non-residential buildings, etc.) [Azamatov, 2000].

In the region of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, income-producing waqfs were not widespread and did not play an important role in the upkeep of Islamic institutions. They were inexpensive due to the social and economic situation and the religious mentality of Tatars and Bashkirs. According to estimations by D. Azamatov by 1917 [Azamatov, 2000, p. 78], there were 91 institutions with waqf property, mosques and educational institutions had 49 houses with outbuildings, two large hotel complexes, 20 retail shops, 1382 desyatinas of land and more than 516. 6 thousand roubles of inviolable bank capital in the region of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly. Waqfs, that had not been properly registered in state institutions, were not included into this list.

§ 3. Baptised Tatars Returned to Islam: the Particularities of Religious Life

Ilduz Zagidullin, Aleksandr Kobzev

The build-up of Islamic religious life among the baptised Tatars who had returned to Islam was influenced, among other things, by such factors as prosecution for performing Islamic rituals, control and missionary activity on behalf of the dominant clerical power. In the pre-reform period nominal Christians performed Islamic rituals secretly, outwardly following the Orthodox faith. Drastic changes in Islamic ritual performance occurred due to the mass return to Islam of baptised Tatars in 1860 and 1870s and the socio-demographic shifts among those 'lapsed' in the following decades, particularly resulting from the growing number of the Tatars not related to the church. Of a great significance was moral support from Muslims, who thought that the ancestors of the 'new' Muslims had left their natural faith 'under compulsion', and were impressing this view on baptised Tatars. They supported 'the lapsed' and didn't denounce them to judicial inquiries [Kobzev, 2007; Zagidullin, 1990, p. 66–78].

The most important factor in the build-up of this religious life was that newly baptised Tatars were cohabiting (several, or dozens of families) with Muslims. Usually, the 'Old-baptised' Tatars lived in separate settlements.

From the moment of public statement of their wish to return to Islam, 'the lapsed' severed all ties with the church, refused to pay ruga and church maintenance collection, went only by their Muslim names, refused to attend sermons and fought systematically against missionary schools by, among other things, protesting their opening [Iznoskov, Ed. 3, p. 48] and forbidding their children to attend lessons there.

The 'lapsed' sought to transform the bicultural balance of the settlements to their advantage, which should be marked as a special trait of the way they organised their religious and ritual life. Through various means, sometimes by compulsion, 'new Muslims' influenced the 'Old-baptised' Tatars, convincing them to return to Islam. Sometimes, households were divided

by conflict and split into two parts, a Christian and a Muslim one.

Since 1880s parish clergy had practically stopped meddling in the religious and ritual lives of the 'lapsed', who were living together with Muslims. But the authorities prevented their official incorporation into local mahallahs.

The appointed ('decree') mullahs and 'the lapsed'. The ban on missionary activity among Christians, imposed by the authorities on the mullahs, had a negative impact on the relationship between imams and their 'new' Muslim neighbours. Such contacts were visible during public prayers in the mosques. There existed a tacit agreement, according to which the 'lapsed' had to stand in the back rows of the congregation during prayer. In case of a police check it would provide the mullah with the excuse that he didn't know how they had entered the mosque. Till the late 1880s mullahs were very reluctant to let the 'lapsed' neighbours attend public prayer [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 5720, s. 20 reverse; f. 4, inv. 1, file 6578, s. 27 reverse; Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 782, s. 16–19]. The situation started to change after a generation of 'new' Muslims grew up, one without relations to the church. Placing themselves in danger, local imams sometimes performed rituals in their houses. At the same time their civil status was not recorded in the parish registers [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 786, s. 56–57 reverse].

Contacts of 'the lapsed' with a mullah of a neighbouring settlement was quite common, providing secrecy to the rites performed [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 4, inv. 94, file 22, s. 77]. The services were not left unpaid, as the mullah was substantially rewarded for putting himself at risk of criminal prosecution.

In the 1890s, in their appeals addressed to the governorate administration and the central seats of power, the 'lapsed' asked to be joined to a local or neighbouring mahallah, which testified to considerable changes in their relationship with the local mullahs.

The public mullahs. Most imams were afraid to establish contacts with the 'lapsed',

which brought to life the office of public mullahs. This office was often taken by literate Tatars from other settlements, who temporarily lived away from home, or activists recruited from among the local 'lapsed'. Prayer meetings were often held in the house of the public mullah, or under his guidance, in some other cabin. As the basic tenets of Islam were learned by the 'lapsed', they themselves became public mullahs [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 4, inv. 94, file 22, s. 77].

The funds for public worship, teaching children and performing rituals were collected as it was usually done by the Muslim Tatars.

'Family mullahs'. In the first decades after public return to Islam the baptised Tatars didn't always have public mullahs. Taking care, lest they be prosecuted, they practiced the Islamic rites secretly, in family. There existed a tradition of transmitting religious lore by word of mouth, learning prayers by heart. The head of the family or kinsfolk, who knew the lore, usually performed rites of namegiving or funeral rituals [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 13, inv. 1, file 1043, s. 326]. Thus the 'lapsed' avoided compulsory baptism of infants and Christian funerals.

In the late 19th century as administrative control weakened, especially after 1894, when criminal prosecution for 'Muslim ways' of people reconverted to Islam was abolished, the need for 'family mullahs' ceased. Public mullahs were active in many settlements where they were able to perform all or some of the functions of the appointed mullahs. In settlements where the 'lapsed' and the Muslims lived side by side, these functions gradually fell into the hands of the appointed mullahs.

Performing the Islamic funeral rites. As the Islamic funeral could be prosecuted and the corpse forcefully reburied, the 'lapsed' had to bury their dead clandestinely. In 1880s in Vyatka guberniya, Malmyzh uyezd, the 'lapsed' buried their kinsfolk in the Orthodox cemeteries, but according to the Islamic rite, or with no rites at all, which could happen because they tried to keep it secret, didn't know the rite or couldn't invite a mullah or anyone who 'knew the order of Muslim funeral' [Russian State Historical Ar-

chive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 786, s. 45–47 reverse]. In an emergency, the 'lapsed' saw an Orthodox cemetery as a suitable place for an Islamic burial.

In villages where Muslims and the 'lapsed' lived together, there was a tacit agreement concerning burying the dead outside the cemetery. Sometimes, kinsfolk buried their dead in their lots, because they were immune from repartition and remained within a single household. Alternatively, the dead could be buried in the land not used as pasture or hayfield. New Islamic cemeteries appeared in the 'Old-baptised' settlements, while in localities where the Muslims and 'the lapsed' cohabited, the latter were buried in local Muslim cemeteries.

Marriage and divorce. The established marriage rite required the presence of a stranger to the kin. Among the Muslims, such person was usually the appointed mullah. At the same time, mullahs very seldom contracted nikah, as they feared losing their spiritual office. The married couple started their family life after a prayer held in the bride's house and attended by their parents. It could be solemnised with no rites at all, when the girl moved in with the bridegroom. Often, a prayer said by any member of the families involved, amounted to all of the wedding ceremony. Marriages were often contracted by the 'family mullahs' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 228, s. 18–18 reverse] or the 'public mullahs'. Most marriages occurred between the baptised Tatars who had returned to Islam. Some of the 'lapsed' were also taken as wives by Muslims.

By a circular of 28 May 1892, the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly empowered mullahs to perform marriage according to passport records. It enabled mullahs to register marriage between 'lapsed' Muslims if their passports mentioned their respective faith [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 4, inv. 131, file 26, s. 5].

At the end of the 19th century Muslim rites of marriage and divorce were gradually adopted among the 'lapsed', and there were some particular cases of polygamy as well.

Diet and Fast. Diet is one of the main markers of Islam, with its requirements for the

preparation and consumption of food. This issue lay completely within the cognizance of families. Priests and missionaries reported that the 'lapsed' observed the Islamic fast, which also presupposed slaughter of livestock and fowl according to the Islamic rite, the Islamic prayer before and after the meal, etc.

Circumcision. The 'lapsed' usually tried to emulate the Muslims in every aspect, which was crucial for them. Circumcision was an indispensable 'attribute of a true Muslim' for the 'lapsed'. It was performed by the public mullahs or specialists invited from the Tatar villages [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 3068, s. 4–26 reverse].

The Hajj. Positioning themselves as Muslims, the 'lapsed' were willing to make the hajj. Pilgrimage, an indispensable duty for Muslims, was a costly enterprise for the denizens of the Volga-Ural Region. Only isolated cases are recorded of the 'lapsed' making the hajj.

Religious education. The children of the 'lapsed' helped to socialise their parents within the Muslim socio-cultural space. In order to teach reading and writing to their children of both sexes in clandestine home schools, the 'lapsed' invited literate Tatars of both sexes who knew prayers from neighbouring villages. In autumn and spring, living in the house of one of the local residents, they taught children the basics of Islam. Instruction often happened in the secret prayer-house. The teachers' living expenses and work were covered by the parents. Some teachers taught free of charge, considering teaching to be a charitable deed. Some of 'the lapsed' sent their children to maktabas or madrassas of neighbouring uyezds and governorates.

In settlements with both secret Muslim schools of 'the lapsed' and the officially established Orthodox missionary schools, there was 'rivalry' between their students and parents [Izvestiya, 1883, pp. 771–772].

Unlike in traditional mahallahs, in 'lapsed' families, Islamic religious books, prayers and rituals were studied by both children and their parents.

Mahallahs of 'lapsed' Tatars. In 'lapsed' rural communities which had no Muslims and

where most residents openly claimed a conversion to Islam, public mullahs and prayer-houses soon appeared. The architectural representation of such mahallah was a separate Quibla-oriented prayer-house⁹.

Religious meetings could also take place in the house of one of the local residents [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 9740, s. 1]. The resident who donated premises or a building for a public prayer-house, as a rule, became a muezzin who looked after the building, keeping it clean, heated and in good order. A person well versed in rituals became a mullah.

The most important attributes of the 'New Muslim' mahallahs were the office of public mullah, religious home-schools and the Islamic cemeteries. The public mullahs performed almost all rites for their fellow villagers. These included funerals [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 1278, s. 1–1 reverse], circumcision [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 4, inv. 4, file 6], and others. If there were two of them in the settlement, they shared the functions of an imam and a muezzin between them.

The first public mullahs as a rule lacked religious education, so lessons in maktabas was usually taught by literate Tatars invited from the neighbouring settlements. Usually, there were no special buildings for maktabas. This accounts for the simultaneous presence of sev-

eral home-schools in big communities of 'the lapsed', protecting the secrecy of their activity.

In the late 19th century as trained public mullahs became available, almost all responsibility of appointed mullahs gradually fell under their responsibility. The public mullah became one of the teachers of his parishioners' sons, or the only teacher. The prayer-house of the 'lapsed', besides imam, had a muezzin serving there.

From the 1860 to the 1880s Muslim villages saw the parallel functioning of two religious organisations: 1) a mahallah headed by an appointed mullah, which was the officially registered muslim parish, and 2) a 'religious community' or a 'confessional group' which united several families reconverted to Islam. In multi-religious settlements they functioned alongside with the Orthodox parish, but in the villages totally populated by 'lapsed' Muslims, there were the unofficial religious communities with the public mullahs, house-schools and a prayer-house.

In the 1890s settlements with mosques saw lasting contacts between the descendants of the 'lapsed' not related to the church in any way, with local mullahs and their integration into local mahallahs, though mullahs didn't register their civil status.

When the decree 'On the strengthening of religious tolerance' was promulgated on 17 of October 1905, most communities of 'the lapsed' were living Islamic lives little different from the religious lives of the mahallahs.

§ 4. The Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly (Makhama-i Shargiya Ürünburgiya)

Nail' Garipov

In the Russian Empire, Islam formally obtained the status of official religion after the decree of 17 June 1773 'On tolerance of all religions and on prohibition of Archbishops to engage in matters relative to... the erection

of prayer-houses, according to their law, ceasing all power to the secular officers' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 19, No. 13996]. The basis for this decree was laid by the 'Instruction' forwarded by Catherine II on 30 June 1767, to the Commission of Laws (Ulozhennaya komissiya). The 'Instruction' formulated the ideological bases for the government policy [Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 28, No. 12949]. Acknowledging Islam as one of the 'tolerated'

⁹ In late 19th century, prayer houses were open in the villages of Bolshiye Kibyak-Kozi, Yelyshevo, Azyak, Verkhneye Nikitkino, Pochinok, Shemordan of Kazan guberniya [Bagin, 1910, p. 12], Tatarskaya Buinka, Trekhbolyayev, Byurgany of Simbirsk guberniya [Kobzev, 2007a, pp. 231–233].

religions implied the necessity of a legal basis to regulate the relations of state and church in Russia.

An imperial edict of 28 January 1783 was the signpost of systematically reinforcing state control over the appointment of mullahs. 'On permitting subjects of Mohameddan law to elect their own akhuns' [Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, Vol. 21, No. 15653].

The imperial edict of 22 September 1788 establishing a special governmental body for Muslims, was aimed at creating a stratum of spiritual leaders subject to the Russian crown and loyal to the imperial regime. They were intended to counter the spread of anti-government Islamic ideology from the Ottoman Empire and the Khanates of Central Asia. In Russian this body was named the Spiritual Assembly, or the muftiate, in Tatar—the Sharia Office (Makhama-i Shargia). Legalising Muslim parish clergy and the establishment of a religious office testified to the integration of Islam into the imperial legal system. By establishing the Spiritual Assembly Russian government sought to create among the Muslim clergy the same administrative vertical which existed in the Orthodox Church.

The Orenburg mufti was appointed by the monarch as proposed by the Minister of Internal Affairs [Ustavy' duxovny'x, 1896, art. 1422]. Any judicial action against the Orenburg mufti was to be carried out by the Senate, which demonstrated his high status [Azamatov, 1996, p. 44].

The first step to systematise the proceedings of the religious office was a Senate edict of the 17 August 1793 'On the election of mullahs



Building of the former Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly.
Ufa. Photo from the middle of the 20th century. Modern-day 50 Tukayev St.

to a Spiritual Assembly of Mohameddan law established in Ufa, within three years' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, Vol. 23, No. 17146]. In accord with the regulations of governorate middle rank judiciary, the Senate announced the replacement of clerical members of the Spiritual Assembly with clerics gathered from the Kazan' guberniya every three years. Since 1890, qadis were appointed only as proposed by the mufti and were confirmed in office by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

The Spiritual Assembly was a collegiate body comprised of a mufti and three quadis (kaziy). Decisions were made by simple majority of the votes of its members. The decrees of the mufti did not have the power of judicial verdicts and were not enforced [Azamatov, 1996, p. 12].

The territory supervised by the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly was once and for all settled in Catherine of Russia's edict of 22 September 1788. The new body was to manage the Muslim clergy of all Russia, except Taurida guberniya. In 1868 the Kazakhs (except for the Bukey Horde) were excluded from the jurisdiction of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly. Thus, the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly regulated vast territories, with the

exception of the Taurida guberniya and Western governorates, the Caucasus and Transcaucasia, Turkestan and the steppe provinces.

There were three other religious establishments for Muslims, besides the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly. In the late 18th century the Tavrichesky Muslim Spiritual Assembly was established, and in 1872 two other bodies of the Shiite and the Sunni clergy were created in Transcaucasia. The Black Sea guberniya, Dagestan, Batumi, Kars Oblast' and Zakatali and Suhumi Okrugs did not fall within their jurisdiction. The Kazakhs and the Muslims who resided in Kuban and Terek Oblast', and in Stavropol guberniya did not have any clerical oversight.

The proceedings of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly were controlled by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and local governorate administration. Between 1817–and 1824 the Spiritual Assembly was part of a newly created Ministry of Spiritual Affairs and Public Education, which supervised all religions in the state. Then oversight was returned again to the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The first Orenburg mufti Muhammad-zhan Khusainov (1788–1824) spent considerable effort to establish the Spiritual Assembly [Ishmukhametov, 1979, p. 32]. In 1787, on his initiative, the first printed Quran was published in Russia, which was an incentive toward the spread of printing among the Tatars. He was active in rebuilding dilapidated religious buildings and argued for broadening the agenda dealt with by the muftiate.

In order to expand the functions of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, the mufti tried to use his high position to the best advantage. It is obvious from his project aimed at reorganising the Islamic education, which envisaged Islamic schools under the auspices of Kazan University and in Orenburg, supervised by Governor General. Besides religion, the schools were to teach secular subjects, such as arithmetic, geography and others, as well as Persian, Arabic, Turkish and Tatar languages. M. Khusainov considered knowledge of Russian language mandatory for the clergy. The best alumni of the madrassa could enter Ka-

zan University. The mufti also insisted that the Muslim students had the same rights as Orthodox students [Vishlenkova, 1998, pp. 30–31].

Akhun Gabdessalam Gabdrakhimov of Orenburg (1824–1840) became M. Khusainov's successor. He carried on the cause of his predecessor, trying to strengthen the muftiate. However he was impeded by Nicolas I's policy [V pamyat' stoletiya, 1891, p. 45]. The most significant event during his office was the introduction of metric books in 1829. Mullahs, as well as the Orthodox priests, started registering acts of civil estates in their parishes. It was the first step toward a Muslim public census in the territory supervised by the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly.

In 1840 Gabdulvakhit Suleymanov (1840–1862) took the post of the Spiritual Assembly's chairman. According to S. Marjani, he translated many books on religion from Turkish and took an interest in medical science. The mufti penned the 'Regulations of Familiar and Marital Relations', published in 1841 [Sbornik czirkulyarov, 2004, pp. 15–18].

In 1857 the religious administration received its first charter. According to the charter of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly (OMSA), it had the following matters under its jurisdiction: 1) clerical administration: conducting examinations in the knowledge of Islamic laws among people elected to clerical capacities by congregations; supervising the work of clergy through local akhuns, determining the degree of guilt and penalties for clergymen; matters concerning worship, ceremonies and mosque construction; 2) religious court: cases of marriage and divorce among Muslims, as well as cases concerning the relations of children and parents; 3) verifying registers with dates of birth, marriage and death of the worshipers and issuing corresponding certificates; 4) civil court (under Islamic law): disputable cases on wills and inheritances, as well as property claims during divorcements and disputes between parents and children [Ustav' duxovny'x, 1896, art. 1347, 1399].

Disputes falling into succession and family law were resolved by the Spiritual Assembly under the laws of Islam. In cases on dissent



Gabdulvahid Suleymanov



Salimgaray Tevkelev



Muhammedyar Sultanov

against parents and adultery, the religious institution contented itself with ‘admonitions and inflicting spiritual punishment and correction’. Criminal penalty was meted out by judicial bodies. Committing to trial and commencing proceedings didn’t belong to the list of OMSA functions either. The Spiritual Assembly could only inform the governorate administration about unlawful actions of clergymen and recommend the initiation of a criminal case.

In its activities the Spiritual Assembly followed a peculiar fusion of Sharia law and Russia’s general legislation. Under governmental pressure OMSA adopted rules banning religious officiants from applying provisions of Sharia which openly contradicted laws of the Russian Empire. These bans mostly applied to the system of Sharia-defined punishments for breaking rules of public morals and disorderly behavior.

Administrative work in the office of the Spiritual Assembly was conducted in Russian. A Russian literacy test for members of OMSA was introduced only in 1891. The sessions of OMSA proceeded in the Tatar language, and a Russian translation was recorded in the minute book.

Appeals on OMSA’s verdicts were handed to the governor, who, having requested the information needed from the Assembly, submitted them to central authorities for consideration.

The staff included a secretary, a translator, a registering clerk, heads of desks, etc. [V pamyat’ stoletiya, 1891, pp. 14–15]. Due to insufficient number of staff members, increase in the amount of work, low salary and constant financial straits, OMSA had ‘problems with conducting its administration’ [Azamatov, 1996, pp. 82–87].

In 1865 nobleman Salimgaray Tevkelev (1865–1885), retired staff captain of cavalry, was appointed mufti. His candidacy received mixed feedback from Islamic clergy with S. Marjani in particular giving a low assessment. However, rights being restricted, the mufti’s efforts couldn’t be more active. S. Tevkelev was the first mufti to actively perform charity work.

The decree of 2 January 1886 appointed nobleman Muhammedyar Sultanov (1886–1915)—justice of the peace, retired second lieutenant—mufti of OMSA. M. Sultanov had received a traditional Muslim education. He graduated from a gymnasium and entered Kazan University (but dropped out during the first year due to a illness) [V pamyat’ stoletiya, 1891, pp. 43–45]. He specialised in issues of religious ritual practice and theology. Editions of *Haftiyak* (which contains the most widespread and read passages from the Quran—*N. G.*) were found to have a great number of mistakes. Publishers’ negligence towards the holy Islamic books attracted a lot of criticism

from the believers. In 1889 Kazan editions of the Quran and Haftiyak were edited [Sbornik czirkulyarov, 1905, p. 112].

In the 1890s the Assembly showed an aspiration for developing enactments regulating the activity of Islamic institutions, specifically the status of clergy. There emerged a trend of interpreting certain dogmatic and confessional questions in Islam, those questions which used to present a problem for clerics. The Assembly began systematising the archive and cataloging documents. As a result of purposeful work, in 1903 and 1905 Tatar and Russian versions of 'Collection of circulars and other instructions of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly' were published [Sbornik czirkulyarov, 1903; Sbornik czirkulyarov, 1905]. In the end of the 19th century, when baptised Tatars returning to Islam became a very urgent matter, mufti M. Sultanov had to compromise and prohibit turning pagans and Christians to Islam. However, despite constant pressure from the autocratic

Orthodox state, in 1894 the mufti prohibited Muslims from consuming 'Russian-cut meat' [Sbornik czirkulyarov, 1905, pp. 57–58, 103].

In the circulars published in the 19th and early 20th century, the Spiritual Assembly repeatedly advocated for overcoming the scholasticism and perfunctoriness in the system of Islamic education, welcomed adding secular subjects and Russian language into the curricula of elementary, secondary and higher Islamic educational institutions, worked over for the propagation of Jadid ideas among the local Muslim population, advocated renewing public life of mahallahs.

OMSA protected the interest of the Russian Ummah in broadening the sphere of Sharia's application in imperial sociocultural space and creating conditions to satisfy the religious needs of Russian Muslims. The Assembly's work on the whole promoted the significance of Islamic values among Tatars and Bashkirs, spiritual consolidation of Muslims.

§ 5. Application of Sharia rules in the everyday family life of Muslim Tatars

Ilshat Mukhametzaripov

It is well known that in everyday life Muslims follow Sharia—a set of rules based on the Quran and Sunnah. However, until the beginning of the last quarter of the 18th century the Russian government had not been paying attention to legal regulation of everyday family relations of non-Christian peoples of the empire. That is why we can suggest that family and inheritance relations among Muslim Tatars were based on the rules inherited from ancestors (that is, on common law).

Sharia retained such 'half-legal' status until the Manifesto of 17 March 1775 was published, lifting all previously established marriage restrictions for people 'of any kin and generation' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 20, No. 14275]. From now on 'every tribe and people... is permitted to enter marriage under the rules of their law' [Svod zakonov grazhdanskix, 1900, art. 90]. Capturing such 'referring' provision created a possibil-

ity of applying the set of Islamic marriage and family rules.

At the same time, the Russian government introduced some changes. Marriages and divorces of Muslims were subject to obligatory written registration. A marriage agreement between Muslims was considered valid only when composed by clergymen in accordance with Sharia rules in the presence of witnesses and included into registers [Resheniya Grazhdanskoho kassacionnogo departamenta, 1905, pp. 40, 41]. A marriage was considered lawful only when recorded in registers [Svod zakonov grazhdanskix, 1900]. Registers were a special document not only in family, but also in property relations of Muslims [Zakony' o brake i razvode, 1899, pp. 110, 111].

The age of marriage set by Islam underwent major changes in Russia. While Sharia allows marriage starting from 15 years old for men and 9 years old for women [Shariatny'e, 1910, p. 1],

in Russia since 1835 a Senate decree extended the age requirement for intended spouses on Muslims (18 years old for men and 16 years old for women) [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 10, No. 7990]. Researchers note that the majority of Muslims obeyed the stated provisions. [N-ch, 1869, p. 22].

Under Sharia the presence of a cleric during the marriage isn't obligatory. The only necessary condition is the presence of witnesses—walis [Shariatny'e stat'i, 1910, p. 2], but paragraph 2 of OMSA Marriage Rules 1841 secured that only congregation imams could 'perform a marriage'. Although paragraph 1 of the Rules mentioned 'private character' of wedding, in reality, for example, in the case of B. Vaisov, who had married two wives on his own, OMSA deemed 'an unauthorised person performing cleric's duties being unallowable'. [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 2, inv. 3, file 413].

According to Sharia law, every Muslim entering into a marriage should apportion a certain part of his property ('Mahr') to the bride [Shariatny'e stat'i, 1910, pp. 7, 8]. Mahr, being wife's property, composes neither hereditary, nor bankruptcy estate [Bayazitov, 2005, p. 128]. Among Tatars the notion of mahr was often replaced with 'kalym' (bride price) [Valeev, 1993a, p. 160]. According to OMSA Marriage Rules, walis of the bride should not take belongings (property) as a kalym under the pretense of bride upbringing expenses. Among such things horses, food, and other goods were mentioned. During the wedding all Muslims, personally or through walis, should set the kalym and specify the amount of the first and the second halves of the kalym ('magajal' and 'moajal') in the register. Doing this, it was advised to act in accordance with one's position and funds, and for the bride it was forbidden to 'abandon married life' in order to receive the second half of the kalym [Sbornik czirkulyarov, 2004, p. 16]. The second half of the kalym was finally paid only in case of talaq divorce or death of the spouse.

Evading paying a part of the kalym after the marriage was rather wide-spread. In cases of non-payment OMSA ordered to enforce the

kalym, sending copies of decisions to courts and police, as property disputes resulting from a breach of kalym obligations were subject to the jurisdiction of civil courts, rather than spiritual assemblies. It was courts that 'applied coercive measures to debtors' [Solovyov, 1888, p. 33].

Another important element of marriage among Tatars is dowry, though it is not obligatory in a marriage under Sharia. Bride's dowry consisted of funds handed by the fiancé as kalym and funds raised by the parents of the bride [Naibolee vazhny'e, 1912, pp. 28, 29]. The close link between kalym and bride's dowry was pointed out by E. Solovyov: 'Among the Mohammedan Tatars of the Kazan governorate and all the regions they inhabit... a bride's dowry is mostly prepared for kalym. It serves to provide for the woman in case the husband illegally banishes her, and as a result she receives the whole naket into her possession' [Solovyov, 1888, p. 32]. A contemporary wrote that 'one can hardly find a case of strict division between husband's and wife's property, especially if they agree well'. As a rule, income from 'different farm products (dairy surplus, yarn) went into common property of husband and wife' [N-ch, 1869, p. 25].

An important condition of marriage under Sharia is its voluntariness [Van den Berg, 2005, p. 135, 137]. OMSA's Marriage Rules of 1841 specifically mention bride's consent being obligatory and marriage being made between sides even in social position and for a kalym proportionate to bride's fortune. In the case of a marriage made under duress or unfairly, the bride (or the widow) could demand declaring the marriage to be null and void [Sbornik czirkulyarov, 2004, p. 16]. Mufti A. Suleymanov's fatwa of 17 October 1851 confirmed the right of a bride to publicly express her consent or refusal during the wedding [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–295, inv. 2, file 40]. Researchers expressed different opinions upon the subject of marriage between Muslims being voluntary. For example, E. Solovyov noted: 'Among Mohammedan Tatars... maids are often married off to men they do not know at all and have never seen, as



A wedding feast. Drawing from the early 20th century.

long as pragmatic calculations of their parents show that the fiancés were a favourable party for their daughters. In such conditions there are many cases when a bride glares at her groom, but parents... pay no attention to it, which often results in unhappy marriages' [Solovyov, 1888, p. 24]. N. N-ch, on the contrary, believed that 'usually among Tatars there are no cases of parents forcing the young into marriage, but society sometimes resorts to this means if they have been found out to have had a love affair' [N-ch, 1869, p. 22]. We suppose that the stated points of view are partially true and reflect real facts. Patriarchal tradition, condemning non-obedience to parental will, gave rise to the possibility of marriage made against bride's will.

Notably, there were marriages through women moving to their bridegrooms house without their parents' knowledge. G. Akhmarov thought that the majority of marriages between Tatars in the beginning of the 20th century 'were performed this way' [Akhmarov, 1907, p. 9, 10].

Legislation provided for punishment in case of kidnapping single and married women, forcing marriage, including parental compulsion

[Ulozhenie o nakazaniyax (Penal Code), 1857, art. 1549, 1550, 1580, 1585]. However, one should distinguish between forced kidnapping of a bride and marriage by capture, where capture was a part of the marriage ceremony. Among Turkic peoples this custom existed before adopting Islam. These actions belonged to the features of local peoples' ceremonies, were performed by mutual consent and violated the principles of neither Sharia nor Russian legislation.

Sharia allows entering marriage without prior consent of the couple, but an obligatory consent expression by the bride and the groom should follow

['fuzuli' marriage] [Marginani, 2008, pp. 141, 143]. For example, Y. Koblov mentioned marriages between Tatars which were made 'in the absence of the groom' [Koblov, 1908a, p. 23]. If a marriage was contracted with no groom present, rules established by Sharia were applied. For example, in such cases the man who learnt about marriage being made was to tell that he agrees, otherwise the marriage was deemed null. If the man heard from someone that his marriage was contracted and said nothing on this subject, then the marriage was not declared legal [Efendiev, 1911, p. 31].

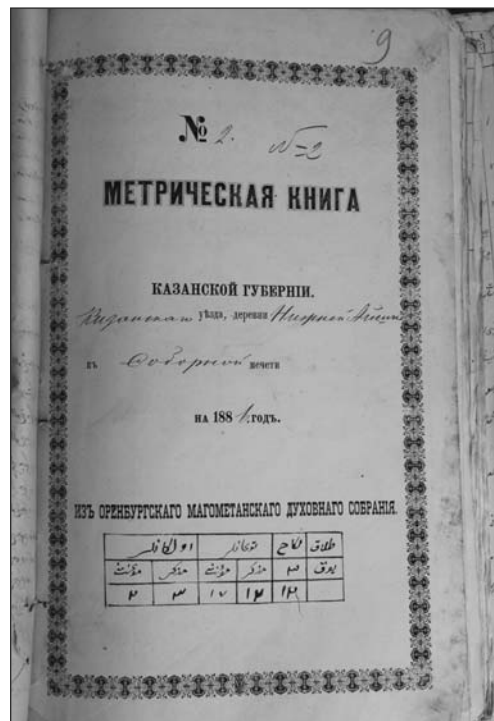
Adultery, prohibited by Sharia, belongs to the list of criminal offenses and is punishable by corporal punishment [Van den Berg, 2005, pp. 175, 176]. Although Russian criminal legislation contained such elements of crime as adultery, the authorities opposed applying Sharia punishments to Muslims. In 1832 The Senate, having examined the cases of clerical institutions applying corporal punishment, banned this practice. It decreed that after researching the circumstances of a case and taking into account clergy's opinion, Russian

courts meted out a punishment to the guilty depending on their estate—‘police detention with no work, detention in an asylum or a prison with labour from one up to four months’ [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 7, No. 5500].

Sharia does not allow a marriage between individuals related to a certain degree [Kazembek, 1845, pp. lxx-lxxii]. G. Akhmarov wrote on the Tatars: ‘There are no cases when maids consensually marry a more or less close relative. There are no cases of kidnapping among one’s kin either. Such marriages are contracted exclusively by the will of the parents’ [Akhmarov, 1907, p. 14]. Upon discovering such marriages the OMSA declared them illegal [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–295, inv. 3, file 6281, s. 1, 2].

Sharia allows a man to have up to four wives [Efendiev, 1911, pp. 36, 37]. Article 90 of the Digest of Civil Laws, being a ‘referring’ one, allowed for the application of this provision. However, polygamy did not become widespread among Muslim Tatars. D. Meyer argued: ‘... In fact it is not so widespread as the religious law allows. In Kazan, for example, the Mohammedan society consists of several thousands, but only few Mohammedans have two or three wives, and mostly people live with one wife’. [Russkoe grazhdanskoe pravo, 1864, p. 686]. As a rule, polygamy was practiced ‘among the wealthy layers of society’ (the clergy, rich townfolk, retired military men, etc.) [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 12, inv. 19, file 8; f. 51, inv. 5, file 29].

Sharia does not attach a specific ceremonial character to marriage, reducing the marriage procedure to a civil law contract [Mashanov, 1876, p. 63]. That is why OMSA’s resolution of 30 September 1886 strictly prohibited playing music and dancing at weddings [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–295, inv. 8, file 554, s. 1]. As D. Azamatov notes, Islam and its institutions failed to completely replace traditional wedding ceremonies among Tatars, Bashkirs and Kazakhs [Azamatov, 1996, p. 135]. Despite that, the ban on alcohol consumption had a certain influence.



Cover of the Metric Book of an Islamic parish
in Nizhnaya Aysha village of Kazan uyezd
of Kazan guberniya. 1886.

G. Akhmarov wrote on Tatar weddings: ‘There are no ardent drinks; if the guests have a special leaning to them, then they are treated after the mufti and others leave, especially in the evening’ [Akhmarov, 1907, p. 21].

Divorces among Russian Muslims were performed in accordance with Sharia rules. Researchers estimate that Tatars mostly practiced khula (wife paying for divorce) and lian (mutual cursing) [Azamatov, 1996, pp. 135, 136]. When spouses wanted to divorce through khula in OMSA district, imams performed the divorce upon wife handing the redemption-fee and each party receiving its property. Note that both the divorcing parties and the witnesses signed an article on this divorce in the register. Then the divorcee was handed a copy of the ‘divorce article’ (paragraph 11 of OMSA Marriage Rules). Divorces through talaq (through uttering the divorce words three times), despite ‘material disadvantage’ for the husband, still happened. [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 51, inv. 5, file 347, s. 22].

There were reports of abuse by local clergymen when performing divorces. As a result of 'profitability of a divorce' through khula, husbands tried to alter the document in a corresponding way with the help of the clergymen registering the divorce.

Sharia sets no restriction for the number of remarriages. Remarriages were a habitual event in the life of Tatar families too [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 51, inv. 5, file 347, s. 22; Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I-295, inv. 3, file 451, s. 1-1 reverse].

Russian legislation had provisions regulating the relations between spouses and applying to all denominations. A husband was obliged to love his wife, live in concord with her, earn her keep and maintenance [Svod zakonov grazhdanskix, 1900, art. 106]. The wife was obliged to obey her husband, love and respect him [Svod zakonov grazhdanskix, 1900, art. 107, 108]. The relationship inside a Muslim family were not regulated specifically. However, on the whole the provisions were in line with Sharia. Under Sharia man is the head of the family [Bayazitov, 1990, pp. 10, 11]. The scholars quote the following evidence regarding the Tatars of Kazan guberniya: 'The family is always headed by the father, who possesses unlimited power. He has the right to manage and dispense all property, which he does as he pleases, he also receives everything other family members earn, watches over their behaviour and morality and can judge and punish those who stray. After the father's death, the leadership according to the existing tradition, goes to the eldest in the clan, that is to the brother of the deceased, or to his son, and lacking those, to the mother...' [N-ch, 1869, p. 26]. The wife and children must obey their husband and father. If the wife is disobedient (nashizat), the husband must 'first admonish her', and if it doesn't help, 'he is entitled to lock her up, deprive her of his caresses and care, and if needed, beat her without causing wounds or crippling' [Van den Berg, 2005, p. 141]. The latter Sharia norm was not only absent from the Russian laws, but, on the contrary, a husband who crippled, wounded, heavily beat or otherwise tortured his wife, was liable to criminal

punishment [Ulozhenie o nakazaniyax, 1857, art. 1477-1496]. The wife, who did the same to her husband, was liable to the same punishment [Ulozhenie o nakazaniyax, 1857, art. 1583].

Due to the reason that Sharia norms in many cases were not supported by the threat of state compulsion and punishment, there occurred cases of disobedience of wives and children to the heads of families.

The norms of bringing up children in the Tartar families were in line with Islamic morals as formulated by the Sharia law [Zagidullin, 1966a, p. 16]. The Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly in their admonitions to the Muslims pointed out the necessity for the parents and caretakers to follow Sharia law in bringing children up [Sbornik czirkulyarov, 2004, p. 100]. G. Badamshin, author of the brochure 'Muslim Faith, or An Answer to Those Who Attack Muslim Religion', acknowledged the necessity for parents to make their children familiar with the issues of faith from the age of 7 - to 8. [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 199, inv. 1, file 773, s. 205]. G. Bayazitov thought the principal duty of a father was to teach his children the tenets of religion, providing them with spiritual and ethical education [Bayazitov, 2005, p. 134]. Sometimes, an imam's reluctance to teach the younger generation Sharia norms became a subject of internal inquiry [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I-295, inv. 3, file 910, s. 1, 12, 49].

The clergy tried to settle family quarrels which often sprung from 'marital discord' in a peaceful way, aiming at keeping the family together. When the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly received such queries, it sanctioned ordered proceedings between the parties by the mediators, selected by the parties themselves, trying to 'settle the matter peacefully through admonishments'. If the peaceful outcome was impossible, 'it was prescribed to make the decision according to Sharia law', declare it against receipt to the litigants through the local police department of the uyezd, with the right of appeal to the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I-295, inv. 3, file 6536, s. 1-2 reverse]

At the birth of a child the parish clergy registered the newborn. On this day the Tatars of Kazan guberniya invited a mullah, placed the infant with his/her face towards Mecca and the mullah conferred on the baby's name with the parents, recited the prayer and wrote the baby's name down in a log book. A few days passed between the baby's birth and the name-giving (to let the mother recover after labour), though Sharia law commands to give a name right after birth. In celebration of a baby's birth in some places rams were sacrificed (two for a boy, one for a girl). Circumcision was indispensable for boys [Koblov, 1908a, pp. 5–7, 8, 9].

Sharia norms were employed to settle matters of guardianship among the Muslims. However, their implementation was limited and varied across different regions. For example, the Tatar Orphans' Court functioned in Kazan, initially supervised by the Tatar city hall, which determined cases of guardianship among the Muslim Tatars. Though orphans' courts were unable to implement Sharia law on their own, they nevertheless played an important role. If there were persons or property in need of guardianship, the orphans' court not only establish guardianship, it could also inventory the property [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 12, inv. 160, file 21, s. 1, 2].

Inheritance was regulated by Sharia norms among the Muslim Tatars. The law of 4 December 1802 enabled the Muslims to follow Sharia inheritance rules [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–I, Vol. 27, No. 21634].

Initially the legal documents didn't mention the shares other persons might have in the inheritance (such as children, brothers and others) of Muslims. It was only in 1826 that the law allowed 'division of the property left after the Mohammedans according to their law' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 1, No. 386].

The division of inheritance according to Sharia law was administered by 1) the clergy, which functioned as referee and made the preliminary division; 2) civil courts which made the final ruling. It is noteworthy that civil courts tried to follow the Sharia rules regarding the

proportion of the shares and the order of succession [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 51, inv. 5, file 1033, s. 21–22].

The inheritance taxes paid by the heirs were rated 'in proportion to their Sharia shares' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 51, inv. 5, file 2875, s. 3–3 reverse].

Sharia law prohibits non-Muslims inheriting from Muslims, and vice versa [Mukhin, 1898, pp. 31, 32]. Inheritance from Muslims was allowed by the imperial law for the newly baptised only in Tavrichesky guberniya [Zakony' grazhdanskie, 1900, art. 1340].

In cases of dissent in the division of inheritance, Muslims often referred their pleas to the courts, defending their right to the share determined by Sharia law.

Among the Muslim Tatars, the will of the testators to disinherit their heir(s) in some cases had precedence over Sharia norms [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 12, inv. 17, file 65, s. 13]. Meanwhile, Sharia law allows disinheritance in three cases: 1. in case of murder of the testator by the inheritor; 2. apostasy from Islam; 3. curse imposed by the husband on a wife (lian) [Mukhin, 1898, p. 35].

Spiritual wills were quite widespread among the Tatars. The wills often contained a detailed list of actions which were to be done after the testator's death.

Thus, family life of the Muslim Tatars was mostly regulated by Sharia norms. The norms that regulated family relations and inheritance were widely implemented, while the cases were decided not only by the Muslim community and the clergy, but also by the state establishments, such as civil courts. Despite the initial negligence of the problem and a semi-legal status of Sharia law in the state, legislators who consequently faced the problem of co-habitation of Christians and the Muslims in one state, chose to combine norms of Russian law and certain norms of Sharia law. The recognition, though limited, of the norms of Sharia law in the Russian Empire met the interests of both the state, as it served to allay displeasure in the Islamic regions, and among Muslims themselves, who strove to preserve their familiar ways of life.

CHAPTER 4

Religious Beliefs and the Orthodox Institutions Among the Baptised Tatars and the Nagaibaks

Radik Iskhakov

Religious Beliefs. The religious beliefs of the baptised Tatars (Tatar-Kryashens) formed over a long period of time, influenced by complex ethnic, social, cultural and religious processes and contacts across religious and ethnic borders. They were also influenced by the transformed religion and myths of the pre-Islamic Turkic and Tatar tradition.

By the early 19th century the religious system of the 'Old-baptised' Tatars (the Starokryashens)¹⁰ was syncretic, including ancient religious traditions ('paganism'), as well as the closely intertwined Christian and Islamic elements. The changing beliefs of most baptised Tatars were dominated, up to the 1860s, by traditional ethnic religious convictions. They stemmed from ancient agricultural religions of the Turkic and the Finno-Ugric peoples of the Middle Volga Region. They included worship of the common Turkic demiurge— *Tengri*, (Tengri, Tengere), who embodied the universal cosmic principle.

An important role in preserving ancient religious tenets of this ethnic group was played by the traditional Tatar jien system which supported their rural community. It provided a model of a stable closed cultural and religious auton-

omy, virtually immune to cultural incursions from outside [Makarov, 2001, p. 28]. This very conservative structure emerged as a 'protective reaction' aimed at the preservation of their ethnic and cultural identity.

The key part in the traditional religion of the 'Old-baptised' Tatars was taken by the worship of Tengere, linked to the cycle of agricultural works. The 'Old-baptised' Tatars were wholly dependent on the gifts of nature, being mostly peasants, and their religious life centered on public prayers and sacrifices (korman, chuk), aimed at pacifying the powers of nature and its Supreme Deity. Such rituals were performed several times a year. The most important were public prayers in spring, before the sowing started, in mid-summer, intended to prevent crops from disaster, and in autumn, after reaping harvest [Lyapidovsky, 1848, pp. 17–18; Maksimov, 1876, p. 6; Zhertvopri-nosheniya, 1895; Obryady', 1930, pp. 81–84]. A sacrificial animal was prepared for slaughter in advance. Depending on the wealth of the community it could be an ox, a cow, a sheep, a ram or a domestic fowl. A sacrificial animal had to be without physical defects, and had to be born or hatched in the same year when the sacrifice was to take place. Public prayers were performed in special places. Depending on the location of the settlement, it could be a bank of a river or a rivulet, a hill, a mount, edge of the wood, a grove or an isolated tree, considered sacred and given sacral meaning¹¹. The rituals were administered by people, appointed by the community. Sometimes this honorary office went from father to son. After

¹⁰ In order to classify groups of Tatars whose ancestors were baptised in the late 16th to the early 17th centuries, alongside kryashens (a term they use for themselves) we will employ 'old baptised Tatars'. This is the expression adopted in ethnographic literature and, for purposes of retrospective analysis of history and ethnography, we find it the most adequate for this confessional grouping. The term makes a clear distinction between the 'old baptised' and a local group of baptised Tatars that formed during forced assimilation of 18th century, so called 'newly baptised' Tatars, who were significantly different in their religiousness and traditional culture.

¹¹ Common prayer on rain (chuk) always took place near some water pond.

the slaughter, meat of the animal was boiled in cauldrons, and then distributed among the people present, with boiled cereals, gathered by women. After the sacrificial feast, prayers were said, asking Tengere for prosperity and bounteous crops [Zhertvopri-nosheniya, 1895; Obryady', 1930, pp. 81–84]. Especially archaic were prayers (chuk) of the 'Old-baptised' Tatars in Mamadysh uyezd of the Kazan' guberniya, bearing remarkable traits of ancient Turkic religious ritual [Davletshin, 2004,

p. 37]. For instance, people of the village Bolshiye Arnyashi went for public prayers to a venerated ancient oak-tree, which symbolised the 'world tree' ('tare'), connecting people with Tengere [Tradicionnoe, 1988, pp. 22–23]. During the slaughter a long band of oak bark was sprinkled with blood, with incised tamgas (marks, stamps) of the families taking part in the sacrifice. This band was then attached to the sacred oak and three elders performed special rituals and said special prayers. After sacrificial meal, a part of meat and cereals was thrown into a sacred brook which flowed nearby, as an offering to the Water Lord [Znamensky, 1868, pp. 361–363].

According to the belief of the 'Old-baptised' Tatars, the world was inhabited by spirits. Ambivalent in nature, they could be harmful or beneficent depending on humans' treatment of them. Thus it was necessary to appease the spirits and give them offerings. The most significant of those were the lords of places: Zhir iyase (Ground Lord), Urman iyase (Lord of the Woods), Su iyase, Su anasy (Lord and Lady of the Water), Üi iyase (Lord of the house), Abzar iyase (Lord of the barn). Lower in the hierarchy stood spirits of places and elements: shurale (spirit of the wood), ubir (the evil one), albasty (a super-being), peri (an evil spirit) and



'Kurman uryny' (place of sacrifices). Kryash-Serda village, Pestrechinsky district, Republic of Tatarstan. Photo, 2010

others [Maksimov, 1876, pp. 3–21]; Koblov, 1910; Matveev 1910, pp. 20–22; Rites, 1930, p. 81]. The pantheon of these spirits, with slight variations, was present in all groups of the 'Old-baptised' Tatars, even among the baptised Tatar Cossaks, the Nagaibaks. Despite their lasting sojourn as Cossaks in the vast steppes of the Ural region and the Lower Volga, the Nagaibaks kept, up to the early 20th century, the belief in woodland and water spirits (su anasy, shurale) practically identical to that of the trans-Kazan Tatars, well-known though the poetry of Gabdulla Tukay [Maksimov, 1876; Vitevsky, 1891, pp. 257–280; Katanov, 1900, pp. 11–12; Bekteeva, 1902, pp. 176–177; Emkeev, 1902, pp. 343–344]. Unlike the Muslim Tatars, whose spirit belief, under the influence of Islam, lost its initial religious meaning and remained only in legends and mythology, the 'Old-baptised' Tatars retained it as an important part of religious practice and world-view. The belief in spirits formed their real life and had an impact on their ethical conduct and behaviour. According to the tradition, spirits were honoured with offerings (coins, foodstuffs) and bloody sacrifices (livestock and cattle).

A separate category of spirits were the kiremets (кирәмәт). Belief in kiremets, that is,

disembodied evil or neutral spirits, was common for all non-Russians of the Middle Volga region, except the Muslim Tatars. Kiremet worship among native peoples of the region is rather well-studied, but there is still no consensus regarding its origins or the meaning of the word 'kiremet' [Apakov, 1876; Magnitsky, pp. 132–138; Malov, 1882, pp. 3–7; Marr, 1935, pp. 29–30; Matorin, 1929, pp. 44–45; Romanov, 1856, pp. 1–2; Denisov, 1959, pp. 66–67; Akhmetyanov, 1981, pp. 31–32; Vladykin, 1990, pp. 86–88; Kaliev, 2003, pp. 154–156; Salmin, 2007, pp. 404–418, and others]. I think that the most plausible theory is the one by N. Zolotnitsky [Zolotnitsky, 1875, pp. 34–35], later supported by the famous Turkologist N. Ashmarin [Ashmarin, 1923, p. 270]. According to this theory, the word 'kiremet' derives from the Arabic كرامت 'spiritual bounty', and the kiremet worship stems from the Muslim worship of saints, transformed by traditional local religion. This theory is corroborated by ethnographic data of kiremet worship among the 'Old-baptised' Tatars. Other non-Russian peoples of the Middle Volga region adopted kiremet worship from without, which is reflected in some Chuvash and Mari legends where kiremet figures as a 'little Tatar' in 'tyubiteyka'—a traditional Tatars scullcap, or an old gray-haired Tatar sitting in a horse-cart or mounted on a horse.¹²

¹² The Cheremis, an ethnography essay by I. Smirnov, hangs a noteworthy tale on how keremets appeared with the Maris. The Cheremis got the Keremet from the Tatars. Being a human, he lived among them, wore Tatar clothes and did no evil. And suddenly, he began to play dirty tricks on the Tatars. Angry Tatars made up their mind to kill him. Keremet ran away, the Tatars pursued him and would certainly have killed him. When, all of a sudden, Keremet noticed a Cheremis busy with digging a hole for a fence post, who allowed the Keremet to hide in it. The Tatars ran past. The Cheremis took the Keremet out, brought to his place and gave him Cheremis clothes. The thankful Keremet told Cheremis: 'Since now on, I will be yours, not Tatars; so, when anything will go bad with you, like cattle or human disease, I will be here to help, just pray to me' [Smirnov, 1889, p. 167]. The archaic legend fixes the fighting between monotheistic tradition and 'pagan' beliefs, Islam assimilating traditional and syncretistic views of Tatars, their repression of the 'pagan' world of local ethnic groups.

Unlike them, the 'Old-baptised' Tatars perceived this tradition as an old native legacy of their Tatar ancestors [Apakov, 1876, p. 11].

Generally, kiremet worship of the 'Old-baptised' Tatars had many parallels with similar worship among other non-Russian peoples, which is indicative of close ethno-cultural contacts in the Middle Volga region in the past. Among the 'Old-baptised' Tatars kiremet worship had a complex, multi-component structure, which comprised ancestor worship, worship of the Islamic saints, worship of lords of places and natural forces. The word 'kiremet' could denote both kiremet spirits as such, or special places they inhabit, and sacrificial offerings to them [O kiremetryax, 1876, p. 57]. Communities, clans or families could have their own kiremet spirits. To have 'one's own' spirit was a prerequisite for a 'rightful' social status. When a separate family formed, it was endowed with its own kiremet. Each kiremet every year was offered livestock, fowl, coins and cloth rags [Apakov, 1876, pp. 11–13; Sofiysky, 1891, pp. 1–3].

Besides kiremet worship, worship of the Islamic saints and Islamic holy places was spread among the 'Old-baptised' Tatars [Ilminsky, 1848, p. 9 reverse; Timofeev, 1887, pp. 143–146; Iznoskov, 1893a, pp. 35–36; Sofiysky, 1891, pp. 7–8; Chicherina, 1906, p. 107; Filippov, 1915a, pp. 1038–39]. These forms of worship were rather widespread, covering the historical region of Volga Bulgaria and the Kazan Khanate. The baptised Tatars, as well as the Muslim Tatars, and sometimes both together, made pilgrimages to the ruins of Bulgar, to the old Tatar cemeteries and towns, where the Muslim saints were buried (ishans, halfas, shahids and others). When worshipping the holy places, the 'Old-baptised' Tatars recurred to the services of the Muslim clergy and performed sacrifices according to the Muslim rite, though with somewhat different meaning.

Part of belief and practice of the baptised Tatars and Nagaibaks, besides traditional ethnic and Islamic elements, were the Orthodox Christian traditions, adopted during the long period of Christianisation. It can be said that

Christianity among the 'Old-baptised' Tatars in this period was mostly present by elements of its symbolism. It resulted both from poor missionary activity of the Russian Orthodox Church, whose clergy was not trained for it, and the reluctance of the 'Old-baptised' Tatars themselves to change a time-honoured religious system. Despite their long presence in the Orthodox church, the 'Old-baptised' Tatars mostly adopted festive rituals from the Christian culture. The Orthodox clergy, preoccupied with physical performance of church rituals, paid little attention to their flock's mind and soul [Ilminsky, 1848, pp. 1–19; 1849a, pp. 1–16 reverse; Nurminsky, 1863, pp. 250–254; Timofeev, 1887, pp. 9–23]. The 'Old-baptised' Tatars, therefore, adopted only external forms of Orthodox Christianity. They performed the main Christian rituals—baptism, wedding and funeral—as indispensable attributes of belonging to the Orthodox confession and Orthodox civil status, and attended churches on religious festivals, giving little religious weight to such activities. The 'Old-baptised' were practically ignorant of Christian dogmas, which were seen by them through their traditional world-view, creating a picture of Orthodox Christianity which had little in common with the mainstream Christian tradition. Symptomatic in this respect is the way the 'Old-baptised' Tatars venerated the Orthodox icons ('tare'). Included into their worship as another rank of venerated deities, Orthodox saints, according to their 'pagan' tradition, were endowed with particular qualities. The 'Old-baptised' Tatars brought their family icons to public prayers and sacrifices to the kiremets. These icons were prominent in the traditional religious rites [Ilminsky, 1856, p. 18; Sofiysky, 1891, pp. 8–9; Zhertvoprinosheniya, 1895]. The weak presence of Christian tradition in the minds of the 'Old-baptised' Tatars is attested by the fact that before the 1860s their language lacked words denoting the main Orthodox dogmas,¹³

particularly, the Trinity (there was, however, the name for the feast of 'Trinity Sunday' 'semit', from the Russian folk name of this feast, 'semik', 'the seventh [Sunday after Easter]') [Ilminsky, 1856, p. 17 reverse]. However Christianity, as 'incorporated' into a syncretic religion of the 'Old-baptised' Tatars, was perceived as an important part of religious identity, unlike the 'newly-baptised' Tatars. Its rites and mysteries, as a legacy of their ancestors, were deeply rooted in their cultural life.

Such religiosity of the 'Old-baptised' Tatars, which had existed for centuries, started to change in 1830s to the 1860s. 19th century. The main causes of these structural shifts in religion were the gradual dissolution of a closed organisation of rural community under the influence of new socio-economic relations in the countryside, greater labour mobility (due to seasonal work) and the crisis of 'pagan' ideology. Depending on external conditions, in mixed ethno-religious populations there appeared groups which abandoned the traditional folk ways and sided with either Orthodox Christianity or Islam. Thus, owing to missionary activity of Orthodox and Islamic clergy, some 'Old-baptised' Tatars living in parish centers and mixed Russian-Tatar villages adopted the Christian religious practice, while villages engaged in tailoring, in Mamadysh, Laishevo, Kazan uyezds of Kazan guberniya and in the west of Menzelinsk uezd of Ufa guberniya, gravitated towards Islam.

New groups appeared among the baptised Tatars: those who chose to follow Orthodox Christianity ('Kara Kereshen', 'black baptised [Tatars]', 'Urusymak', 'Russian-like') or Islam ('Ak Kereshen', 'white baptised [Tatars]', 'Tatarsymak', 'Tatar-like'). The very process of religious differentiation, though it only occurred among the 'Old-baptised' Tatars in contact zones, represents deep transformations that were already underway in their pa-

among the 'old baptised'. E. g. *çirkeu* was a term for a Christian church, crosses and icons were known as *täre*, Orthodox liturgy, *çukinmak*, confession, *Gönah aitu*, Holy Communion, *daru oçu*, the Christmas holiday, *Oli*, *bök kön*, etc. [Ilminsky, 1856, p. 18].

¹³ On the contrary, words for external attributes, symbol and feasts of Christianity got a wide spread



Congregation leaving a church in the village of Yantsevary, Laishevo uyezd, Kazan guberniya. 1904.

triarchal society. A more visible and essential result of these transformations was the emergence of new cultural and religious implications in the collective consciousness of the 'Old-baptised' Tatars. Their 'pagan' belief and practices were gradually being replaced by monotheism of the world religions. The most remarkable metamorphoses were due to Islamic influence. It significantly transformed the religious practice of a part of the 'Old-baptised' Tatars in Mamadysh, Kazan uyezds of Kazan guberniya and in the Menzelinsk uyezd of the Ufa guberniya. The traditional name of the Supreme Deity, *Tengri*, was replaced by the Islamic *Allah* and public worship became qibla-oriented, while before the worshippers faced east. The performers of rituals adopted certain Islamic habits, wearing turbans during prayers and saying Islamic prayers before slaughtering the sacrificial animal [Mashanov, 1875, pp. 9–20; Zhertvopri-nosheniya, 1895]. A strong Islamic influence is also reflected in the mythology of the 'Old-baptised' Tatars, their festive and funeral rites and in their everyday life [Mashanov, 1875; Timofeev, 1887, pp. 21–23; Balyshev, 1879, pp. 1–2; Preobrazhensky, pp. 146–153; Ilm-insky, 1880, pp. 1–2; Odigitriyevsky, 1895, pp. 12–13].

The crisis in the 'pagan' worldview vividly depicted in the memoirs of a baptised Tatar educator and Orthodox missionary V. Timofeev (1836–1893) [Timofeev, 1887, pp. 242–256], led to erosion of the traditional religion of the 'Old-baptised' Tatars and made them choose their further paths of religious and cultural development¹⁴. The dissatisfaction with the old religion urged the 'Old-baptised' Tatars to engage in spiritual search and learn more about the religious traditions present in the region. Most of the 'Old-baptised' Tatars who lived in contact zones were faced with the alternative of converting either to Christianity or Islam. This choice was complicated by the fact that for the Tatars religion was closely linked to ethnicity. Despite long isolation and religious differences, the 'Old-baptised' Tatars retained cultural ties with the Muslim Tatar majority, being conscious of their Tatar identity and

¹⁴ Processes differed from region to region and were typical, first of all, for mixed ethno-confessional areas, where inter-confessional and intercultural contacts were strengthening. Up to the early 20th century in some villages (Laishevo, Chistopol, the Zivl'sk uyezds of Kazan guberniya, the Yelabuga Uyezd of Vyatka guberniya) with a traditional way of life, there were groups of old times zealots who had traditional religious views—taza, çï, çin kerâshen (pure, raw, real kryashen)

their common legacy of traditional culture, history and language. At the same time, integration into mainstream Tatar ethnic and cultural sphere was possible for the 'Old-baptised' Tatars only if they converted to Islam, which was the most important attribute of the Muslim Tatar identity. The choice of Christianity meant a conscious refusal to integrate.

Profound shifts in the religious world-view of baptised Tatars and Nagaibaks and their openness to cultural influences contributed to the enforcement of missionary activity. The influence of Islam on the traditional religion of the baptised Tatars, new groups of 'secret' Muslims and mass 'relapse' into Islam of 'newly-baptised' Tatars, demanded a more systematic, active and efficient missionary and educational effort on the part of church authorities. N. Il'minsky (1822–1891), the famous Turkologist and missionary, was the main ideologist and leader of the new missionary politics [Il'minsky, 1849; 1858; 1859].

He proposed the idea of an 'ethnisation' of Orthodox Christianity and its harmonious adjustment to the culture and world-view of the natives, without radical breakdown of their ethno-cultural environment. Il'minsky formulated the program of 'spiritual Russification of the natives', which implied creating liturgy in national languages and appointing clergy of national origin. National education in the spirit of religion was supposed to become the main channel of Christianisation.

Il'minsky correctly judged, that the situation in the religious life of the 'Old-baptised' Tatars was susceptible to change, as the Tatars themselves aspired to cultural development. In the early 1860s Il'minsky started energetically to put his ideas to practice. With the help of the first Orthodox zealots among the baptised Tatars and financial aid of public missionary groups, the Ministry of National Education and the Synod, he managed to create, in relatively short time, a robust missionary infrastructure. Besides a wide network of missionary schools, it included 'native' schools, sponsored by zemstvos and the Ministry, as well as parish institutions with clergy recruited from native peoples of the Volga and Ural Regions. In order to educate and convert the 'Old-baptised' Tatars N. Il'minsky and V. Timofeev devised a Tatar alphabet based on Cyrillic script. Translation of the Orthodox liturgy into the spoken Tatar language was initiated.

The most important for the Christian education of the baptised Tatars was the emergence of the Orthodox liturgy in Tatar language. The Tatar liturgy was first performed in Kazan Central Christian Tatar School by a missionary from Altai, heiromonk Macarius (Nevsky). Another important instance was the ordination of V. Timofeev as a priest in 1869 [Kazanskaya czentral'naya kreshheno-tatarskaya shkola, 1887, pp. 265–267]. The liturgy in Tatar was later introduced everywhere, and

Table 44

Data regarding baptised Tatar priests in the eparchies of East Russia, for 1904

[Budilovich, 1904, p. 9 reverse; data for Kazan bishopric cited from: Bobrovnikov, 1905, pp. 178].

Dioceses and Regions	Amount of clergy
Kazan	27
Ufa	37
Orenburg	10
Samara	5
Vyatka	5
Perm	1
Tobolsk	1
Semipalatinsk region	2
Total:	88

priestly positions were gradually occupied by Tatars in the 'Old-baptised' Tatar parishes. In 1891 there were 137 villages in Kazan, Orenburg, Ufa, Vyatka and Simbirsk bishoprics where church office was conducted in Tatar, with 53 ordained 'Old-baptised' Tatars. In the early 20th century the 'Old-baptised' Tatar priests were so numerous that they were appointed to the Russian and ethnically mixed parishes and missionary stations of the Kazakh steppe and West Siberia.

A special role in the development of missionary activity among the 'Old-baptised' Tatars was played by missionary schools. N. Il'minsky thought that educating the children of the 'Old-baptised' Tatars in the spirit of Christianity would help to root the elder generation in the Orthodox faith. So, missionary schools had to take on some functions of a family, as the 'Old-baptised' family did not provide a Christian education. Il'minsky's system of education juxtaposed Christian school education to the traditional family education. One of the family members, who was educated as a Christian, became a 'home preacher' for his family [Taymasov, 2004, p. 261]. A good psychologist and an able educator, N. Il'minsky realised that, unlike grown-ups, the younger generation whose religious world-view was not yet full-fledged, was ripe for missionary indoctrination and would imbibe any new ideas suggested by missionary teachers. Conscious of the fact that religion for baptised Tatars, living in a patriarchal, non-secular society, is the basis of their whole world-view, Il'minsky relied not so much on teaching, as on inculcating in the students a religious outlook based on Orthodox Christianity. Thus, there grew up a generation of baptised Tatars, taught at missionary schools, where they were torn away from the religious tradition of their elders and immune to the cultural and religious influence of Muslim Tatars.

Due to these innovations and their systematic implementation, the religious life of most 'Old-baptised' Tatars saw radical shifts, which comprised a turn from paganism and Islam to Orthodox Christianity. The young

generation, educated in the tenets of Christianity, the growing spiritual intelligentsia, became the main supporters of the church. It was through them that Christian ideas spread rapidly among the baptised Tatars and the Nagaibaks. One of the signs of the growing Christian identity of the 'Old-baptised' Tatars was the spread of monasticism among them. From the 19th century the 'Old-baptised' worshipers started to go on annual pilgrimages to Kazan, to the site of the especially venerated Sedmiozyorsk image of the icon of Our Lady of Smolensk (18–26 of June). In 1893 up to 300 baptised Tatars came to the city to honour the icon [Otchet Bratstva, 1895, p. 6]. There appeared many Orthodox enthusiasts among the 'Old-baptised' Tatars who on their own initiative started to preach among their kinsfolk.

Of course, one should not speak in absolute terms about the process of Christianisation among the 'Old-baptised' Tatars in the post-reform period. Proliferation of Orthodox Christianity and its assimilation of traditional beliefs was not an easy process. It sometimes resulted in religious conflict and generational clashes, when the young, educated at missionary schools openly confronted the adherents of the old ways and not always gaining the upper hand in such conflicts [Odigitriyevsky, 1895, pp. 28–29]. Though orthodox ideology significantly influenced the religious consciousness of Christian Tatars and Nağaybaks, it did not fully supersede 'pagan' worldviews and traditions in their lives. Thus formed a dual belief system, a special model of 'Kryashen' common Orthodoxy [Rossijskij e'tnograficheskij musej, photo collection, Vol. 271, pp. 1–2; Obryady', 1930, p. 81]. Due to objective reasons, introducing new Christian educational methods to the missionary and educational practices could not fully solve the problem of 'the previously baptised' people turning to Islam. Despite the colossal effort made by the Orthodox church and the state, cases of Islamisation and mass 'secessions' from the Orthodox church were increasing. The process of confessional differentiation affected a rather large group of 'previously baptised' Tatars (ac-

cording to different sources, they comprised 6 to 10% of the total population). This process was induced not only by their religious preferences, but also by the wish of some Tatar Kryashens to join the collective Tatar cultural-national space [Iskhakov, 2009, pp. 31–42]. However it can be established that, owing to new approaches of Christian enlightenment, the majority of Tatar Kryashens deliberately chose the Orthodox confession as the basis of their religious worldview. Christianity became an integral part of confessional belonging and a cultural dominant for 'the previously baptised' Tatars. It led them to form a Kryashen ethno-confessional self-consciousness that separated them into a distinctive special confessional group inside the Tatar nation.

Orthodox religious institutes of Christian Tatars. A large group of Christian Tatars formed as a result of a long process of getting to understand the Orthodox religious tradition and the ecclesiastical administrative work aimed at Christianising non-Russian peoples of Eastern Russia. This was situated in the Volga-Ural region by the beginning of the 19th century. Two local subgroups are traditionally distinguished among them: the so-called 'previously baptised' (таза керәшен/таза Kräšen) and the 'newly-baptised' (яңа керәшен/яңа Kräšen).

According to canonic rules and state legislation, Christian Tatars were included in the existing system of confessional institutions of the Russian Orthodox Church as its members. Its lowest ecclesiastical administrative unit was a parish, consisting of a priest and his parishioners. Parish clergy were divided into clergymen (archpriest, priest, deacon) and ministers (clerks (sextons, acolytes, readers)). The priest was the head of the parish. Orthodox parishes formed church areas (deaneries). They were parts of certain eparchies that were run by members of the highest ecclesiastic administration from the regular clergy (bishops, archbishops, metropolitans).

For a long time the territories of the Volga-Ural region eparchies were not identical to the territories of the equivalent governorates.

Sarapulsk, Yelabuga and Malmyzh uyezds were separated from the Kazan eparchy and joined to the Vyatka eparchy only in 1799, in the course of territorial unification of governorate and eparchy borders initiated by Paul I. In 1832 the Kazan eparchy was divided in two independent cathedras, one in Kazan and one in Simbirsk. In 1851 the eparchy of Samara was formed. It included the territories of Stavropol and Samara uyezds (former portions of the Simbirsk eparchy), Buzuluk, Buguruslan and Bugulma uyezds (former parts of the Orenburg eparchy). Final unification of eparchy and governorate borders in this region took place in 1859 when the Orenburg eparchy was divided in Ufa and Orenburg arch-priesthoods.

To facilitate managing the vast ecclesiastic administrative areas and to ensure effective conceptualisation of missionary activities among non-Russian population, from the late 18th century vicar eparchies were formed in the Volga-Ural region. They were run by vicar bishops who were subordinate to eparchy arch-priests. In 1799 the Sviyazh vicarial district was formed (and abolished in 1802), and several vicary eparchies of the Kazan eparchy were established: in 1853 in Cheboksary, in 1899 in Chistopol, and in 1907 in Mamadysh [ref.: Bogoslovsky, 1896, pp. 24–42]. In 1868 the Sarapulsk vicar eparchy was formed; in 1889, the Glazov vicar eparchy of the Vyatka eparchy [ref.: Vyatskaya eparxiya, 2005, pp. 148–164].

Church reforms of the Peter I epoch led to substituting the unitary authority of the church for the collegiate form of administration with the Ecclesiastical College as its head (1721), later re-named into the Most Holy All-Ruling Synod. These reforms also gave way to nationalising the Orthodox church and turning it into the 'administration of Orthodox confession', merging the church with the government. Along with Orthodox religious institutes being bureaucratized, the Orthodox priesthood was turning into a secluded professional corporation that was subordinate to governmental structures represented by local



A church in a Nağaybäk settlement. Photo by M. Krukovsky Early 20th century.

ecclesiastic administrations, consistories, and the Synod. Despite that, in the beginning of the 19th century in the Volga-Ural region it was still possible to enroll representatives of local non-Russian population in the clerical order. In the Kazan and Orenburg eparchies of the time there were clergymen and ministers from Christian Tatars, Bashkirs, Chuvashs, Kazakhs and other non-Russian nationalities. The majority of them were brought up in Kazan's schools for the newly-baptised and the Kiev Ecclesiastical Academy (the old one). According to E. Malov, a total of 65 'foreign' graduates of the newly-baptised schools were ordained to become clergymen and ministers [Malov, 1868, p. 112].

Despite dignifying Christian Tatars to the clerical orders and appointing them to ministerial positions in parishes that included other Tatars, this did not result in the formation of a Kryashen Orthodox clergy. Tatar graduates of Synodal educational institutions and newly-baptised schools quickly lost touch with their compatriots and completely forgot the language and national culture of their ancestors, being separated at an early age from their cultural everyday environment and not having an opportunity to speak their native tongue during their studies [Kharlampovich, 1905, p. 51].

Such spiritual pastors and missionaries, despite their origin, did not differ much from Russian clergymen and joined them shortly afterwards. As a result, up to the 1860s Russian clergymen served in almost all Christian-Tatar parishes.

According to the type of staff for Orthodox clergy, in 1842 all Orthodox parishes were divided into seven types based on the amount of male parishioners. The amount of parishioners in Ortho-

dox parishes of Central Russian eparchies varied from 1500 to 2000 males on average. In the Volga-Ural eparchies the numbers were a bit higher as the majority of the Orthodox population was comprised of local non-Russian people. For example, at the beginning of the 1860s one of the Orthodox parishes in the Kazan eparchy included 2, 599 male parishioners [Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1862, p. 15].

Material support of priesthoods was comprised of payments for performing religious rites, salary from the treasury, and income from church land that was 33 dessiatins in size (30 desyatins of tillage and 3 desyatins of hayfields) according to the General land survey of 1765. In case a church lacked land, a practice to collect natural goods from parishioners was established (*ruga*). The amount of it was determined by the size of land the church lacked [see: Obzor, 1867].

Building Orthodox churches in Christian-Tatar villages was connected with developing Christian enlightenment work with Tatars initiated by the Russian Orthodox Church. Based on historico-ethnographic narrative, it can be assumed that first churches in Christian-Tatar villages appeared due to the work of first Orthodox preachers of the latter half of the 16th–beginning of the 17th centuries [Stein-

feld, 1893, pp. 291; Historico-statistical Description, 1904]¹⁵.

Expansion of church infrastructure was notable in the second third of the 18th century; that is, during the period of active missionary movement to the regions and the work of the Novokreshchenskaya office. By the beginning of the 1860s, according to partial data collected by E. Malov based on ecclesiastic statistics, 7 eparchies of the Volga-Ural region included 189 Or-

thodox parishes with Christian Tatars [Malov, 1866]. The majority of such parishes were mixed in their ethnic composition, and Christian Tatars represented a minority. Exceptions were some parishes in Mamadysh and Laishev uyezds of the Kazan guberniya and in Menzelinsk uyezd of Ufa gubernia that consisted solely of 'the previously baptised' Tatars.

Contemporaries noted that the majority of Orthodox churches in Christian-Tatar villages differed from the others in their small size and being built predominantly of wood. Church interiors were modest. This was related to the common practice of shifting building costs and church maintenance to parishioners. This was perceived by Christian Tatars, not yet consolidated to Orthodoxy, as an additional burdensome governmental tax that they tried to avoid. This can also explain the fact that the majority of Christian-Tatar parishes had many parishioners, but the income was low. Positions in such parishes were not popular among the Orthodox clergy, high levels of



A drawing of the facade of a church in the village of Nikiforovo, Mamadyshsky uyezd Kazan guberniya. 1895.

staff turnover were a typical phenomenon for them. People with low quality ecclesiastical education and poor missionary training were usually sent to serve here. They usually did not speak the language of their parishioners. Thus, in the information collected in 1828 on the instructions of arch-bishop Filaret (Amfiteatrov), it was noted that there were almost no Tatar-speaking priests in Christian-Tatar parishes of Kazan and Simbirsk guberniyas. At the same time, only 7 out of 43 Christian-Tatar parishes had priests who finished a full course of studies in ecclesiastic educational institutions [Mozharovsky, 1880, p. 135].

Serving in Christian-Tatar parishes was not popular among Russian clergymen due to low salary and the complexity of pastoral and missionary activities. Relationships between Orthodox clergymen and Christian-Tatar parishioners were inconsistent. As early as in 1778 it was stated in a Kazan Theological Consistory that 'not only the newly-baptised, but also many of the 'previously baptised' people don't cross themselves and have no respect for the holy images, they don't attend communal prayers in the holy churches. Instead they live together with the not-baptised adherents of other faiths and cause distur-

¹⁵ By the second half of the 19th century, some the oldest Tatar kryashen villages had been almost completely Russified because of close cultural interaction and mixed marriages, and they preserved only a historical memory of where their ancestors originated from.

Table 45

The amount of Christian-Tatar parishes, by eparchies, 1864*

Eparchies	Number of dioceses
Kazan Ufa Vyatka Penza Nizhny Novgorod Samara Simbirsk	791829119637
Total	189

* The term 'Christian-Tatar parish' is relative and used here to denote all Orthodox parishes with Christian Tatars.

bance, organising pagan space for prayer and sacrifice according to their old habits of a different creed. Thus, the newly born children lose the opportunity to be baptised, the sick have no access to confession or communion, while the dead do not get a proper church funeral. They constantly quarrel and argue with the clergymen who encourage them to adhere to Orthodox Christian beliefs and teach them the prayers to God Almighty' [quoted from: Ilminsky, 1882, p. 89]. As is evident from numerous sources, this situation remained unchanged through the first third of the 19th century [see: Ilminsky, 1848; 1849a]. Along with not knowing the Tatar language, a serious obstacle in the religious enlightenment of the Orthodox clergymen was the significant social and ethnocultural difference between them and their parishioners. Another important factor was lack of constant contact between the clergymen and their parishioners, for they were situated too far from the majority of the parish's Christian-Tatar villages of the parish. As a result, the Orthodox clergy visited their parishioners quite seldom, usually during big religious holidays or collections of ruga and alms. During these short visits many Christian Tatars (especially the 'newly-baptised') tried to avoid meeting their pastors as they did not feel the spiritual need to do so. The distance of churches from parishioners' villages created significant hardships for Christian Tatars to perform religious rites (baptising, weddings, funeral services) which were an obligatory part of governmental registration. Thus, according to observations of N. Ilminsky, inhabitants of Verkhny Arnyash village of Mamadysh uyezd in Ka-

zan guberniya had to spend a whole day to travel 80 versts and invite a priest from the parishioner village of Abdi to perform occasional religious rites [Ilminskiy, 1856, p. 1 reverse]. Naturally, it was rather hard for the Orthodox clergy to fulfill their responsibilities under such conditions, as well as to watch over the religious-moral state of their parishioners, conduct Christian enlightening activities aimed at returning the baptised but not active Christians back to the church, and introduce Christian Tatars to the internal contents of Orthodox dogma to a full extent.

The most complicated aspect of the relationship between a priest and his Christian-Tatar flock (as well as parishioners of other nationalities) was collecting money and goods for conducting religious rites and using church land. The trying financial position of Orthodox clergy forced them to search for opportunities to replenish their scanty salary at the expense of their parishioners. It resulted in forming inimical attitude towards them among parishioners and led to open conflicts. The majority of Christian Tatars, not understanding the traditions of the Orthodox church and not accepting them, saw clergymen's demands for money and goods in exchange for religious rites as 'illegal and excessive extortion'. They tended to avoid paying the Orthodox clergy. However, the complex relationships in Christian-Tatar parishes should not be reduced only to passive confrontations between the clergy and the parishioners. The priest's personality played an inevitably major role in the internal atmosphere of such parishes. Along with people who treated their responsibilities nominally or even misused their

power,¹⁶ there were real spiritual pastors and ascetics who gained respect of Christian Tatars with years and years of altruistic work. Such priests intended to get their flock to settle with Christianity, arrange trustworthy relationships in their parishes, and open parochial schools for teaching Russian literacy and the basics of Orthodoxy to children. Largely due to their activities in the first part of the 19th century,

it was evident that Christian influence intensified among a portion of the Christian Tatars ('the previously baptised'). They slowly integrated Orthodox ceremonial traditions in their own festive calendar.

The role of the parish as a socio-religious institute was decreasing, it lost many of its functions 'beyond the sanctuary'. The decrease was promoted by strengthening the governmental presence in church life and by cancellation of electoral appointment of clergymen [Fedorov, 2003, pp. 45]. Financial and administrative control of clerical activities, the responsibility of church wardens, remained one of few aspects of the life of Orthodox parishes where lay people still played a significant role. According to the 'Guidance to Church Wardens', consolidated by the Imperial court



Christian-Tatar School of Saint Gury Brotherhood in Yeryksa village of Mamadysh uyezd of Kazan guberniya. Photo from the early 20th century.

on 17 April 1808, a parish member appointed by the eparchy was elected to this position on a general meeting at the presence of a rural arch-priest. A warden organized alms gathering, selling of votive candles, managed a church building, kept church money and property and controlled their expenditure. He was also responsible of maintaining records of income and expenses, as well as preparation of reports, which were submitted to an ordained person for inspection. [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 30, No. 22971]. Church wardens in baptised Tatar parishes were mostly Russian peasants because of the necessity to know reading and writing. However there were some exceptions [Ilminsky, 1856, p. 15 reverse].

The increase in confessional differentiation peaked between the 1830s and 1850s, which resulted in the 'going over' of a part of baptised Tatars from Islam to Orthodoxy ('newly-baptised' Tatars) and the raise of Orthodox orientation among the other part ('old-baptised Tatars'). This occasioned attempts by the church administration to intensify educational activity and to extend the influence of

¹⁶ Sources report that some priests of 'non-Russian' parishes in the early 19th century turned a blind eye to their parishioners following Muslim and 'pagan' religious rites. For a fee they would allow the non-fulfilment of duties mandatory for the members of the Orthodox Church [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 797, inv. 15, file 35644, s. 4; Ilminsky, 1848, p. 5 reverse]

the church on the foreign congregation. The consolidation of the church authority among baptised Tatars was also caused by other activities of the government and the department of religious affairs. The reform of the synodal education system (1808–1814), the foundation of the Kiev Ecclesiastical Academy (the new one, 1842), equipped with missionary departments (1854), resulted in the improvement of the qualifications of Orthodox clergy and missionaries, the adoption of the Statute on Ecclesiastical Consistories (1842), introduced distinct regulations of cultural and religious life of Orthodox parishes and rules of state and church control over church members, and others. Famous church leaders, who served in the Volga-Ural dioceses, played an important role in the development of the religious Orthodox institutions among baptised Tatars: archbishops Filaret (Amphiteatrov), Grigory (Postnikov) and others. Owing to their efforts some effective measures were taken involving objective exploration of the religious state of baptised Tatars, translation of Orthodox worship books into the Tatar language, appointment of people, ready for missionary work and knowing the language of their church members, to serve in the parishes of baptised Tatars. Along with the construction of new Orthodox churches they introduced the practice of ministerial talks and preaching with the use of Christian texts, translated into the Tatar language, as well as administering the Sacrament and holding occasional services outside church in baptised Tatar villages. Despite the changes, it can be stated that in the second half of the 19th century the current system of church institutions couldn't fully satisfy the spiritual and religious needs of baptised Tatars. In this regard most of them kept adherence to the former, pre-Christian beliefs. With rare exception, they had a weak connection to the church and a vague idea of Christian religious ceremonies.

The epoch of great reforms became a new stage in the history of the Christian education of baptised Tatars, when significant changes were carried out in the system of the organisation of missionary and religious institutions

of the Russian Orthodox Church in the region. A program of reforms, established by the government of Alexander of Russia, comprised almost all spheres of political and socio-economic life of the country and, to one extent or another, affected the interests of all the social classes of Russian society. Attention was paid to the reforming of the system of religious institutions of the Russian Orthodox Church. On 24 November 1861 they established a special committee headed by Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolayevich [Fedorov, 2003, p. 212], who initiated a series of laws, intended to reform the system of financing the Orthodox clergy and to raise its credibility in the parish and the society. The abolishment of clerical class became one of the most important innovations: the free withdrawal from this class and the recruitment of representatives of other social classes to the priesthood were allowed. This reform made a lasting impact on the church institutions of the department of religious affairs—it became really possible to carry out deep renovation of missionary work, to conduct ministerial staff turnover at the expense of those who truly wanted to devote their lives to pastoral care, to engage the representatives of the local non-Russian peoples with church efforts.

Another no less important premise to intensify Christianisation of baptised Tatars became the shift in the position of the government in the sphere of missionary policy and the attitude of the society towards the missionary movement of the Russian Orthodox Church. It is no coincidence that the Epoch of Great Reforms of the 1860s to the 1880s in the history of the Orthodox Church is called the 'golden age' of missionary activity. The rise of Orthodox missionary work was prompted by the democratisation of missionary institutions and the engagement of lay people with these bodies. The idea of religious education, according to I. Zetkina, started to be considered by the Russian intelligentsia in the traditions of the Byzantine missionaries, who strove to transfer God's word and the complex of modern knowledge into the minds and souls of the converted. This concept extended to even a

global socio-cultural phenomenon [Zetkina, 2002, p. 61].

In 1865 the Orthodox Missionary Community was founded in St. Petersburg [Novoye missionerskoye, 1865, p. 3], which was re-organized and moved under the aegis of the metropolitan of Moscow at the end of 1869 [Izvlecheniya, 1870, p. 87]. Owing to the support of country's top leadership and church hierarchy, the OMS soon acquired the status of the central missionary regulatory body of the Russian Orthodox Church. Representational offices (committees) of the Orthodox Missionary Community were created in the Volga-Urals region: in 1870 the Orthodox Missionary Community was opened in Vyatka, in 1872, in Samara, in 1872, in Perm, in 1875, in Simbirsk, in 1878, in Nizhny Novgorod and Ufa guberniyas [Iskhakov, 2011, p. 110]. In Kazan guberniya the committee functions were assigned to the church brotherhood of St. Gury, founded in 1867 [Otchet Pravoslavnogo missionerskogo obshchestva, 1871, pp. 43–44]. The main fields of concern of those missionary unions became the organisation and financing of missionary work among the local non-Russian population, the opening of confessional schools and churches, the financial support of Orthodox neophytes, priests, providing Christian education for parishioners. Special attention was given to the consolidation of 'old-baptised' Tatars in Orthodoxy, for which it was necessary to gather considerable resources, such as monetary grants from the state and private donations, for missionary unions. Missionary programs to develop primary confessional schools for non-Russian peoples of the region are quite remarkable in this regard. Thus, in the 1904–1905 academic year, 64 of 150 schools of the Brotherhood of St. Gury in Kazan guberniya were schools for baptised Tatars (1 school for 735 baptised Tatars of male and female sex), others were 48 Chuvash schools (1 school for 11320 Chuvashes), 22 Mari schools (1 school for 5826 Mari), and one Mordovian school (for 26179 Mordovians) [see: Otchet Bratstva, 1905]. Besides the missions, the local territorial or-

ganisations and the Ministry of National Education took part in the development of Orthodox education among baptised Tatars. They managed to structure the teaching process in village schools in compliance with the ideas of N. Ilminsky.

The chain of confessional (missionary) schools became an important part of the system of religious Orthodox institutions among baptised Tatars which was formed in the second half of the 19th century. Along with learning how to read and write, children got acquainted with the essence of Orthodoxy and perceived the chief matter of Christian rites. From the pupils singers were chosen to put together choirs, religious talks were held on Sundays. In 1886 the Synod issued a decree to allow Orthodox priests and missionaries to perform the liturgy on portable communion tables and altars in schools [Sbornik postanovlenij, 1899, p. 627]. During religious services teachers and pupils of those schools took part in the worship and sang Orthodox prayers in their native language. The development of the chain of missionary schools managed to significantly expand the presence of the church in the cultural and religious life of baptised Tatars, and to make Orthodox sermons and services accessible for the greater part of the parishioners.

Organisation of the translation of liturgical and missionary literature into local languages became one of the principle Orthodox missionary activities in the region. The developments of the famous Kazan Orientalist scholar and Orthodox educator N. Ilminsky, who proposed to use the colloquial Tatar language based on the Cyrillic Alphabet for translations in the beginning of the 1860s, became scientific background for translator's work. Up to the 1860s translations of Orthodox worship books for Tatars were made on the basis of the Arabic type, which was commonly used by them. By the end of the 1850s leading turkologists (A. Kazembek, N. Ilminsky and G. Sablukov) were engaged in this activity bringing it to a rather high scientific level. This is evidenced by the fact that up

to the early 20th century these translations were by the students of synodal schools as the main textbooks for learning the Tatar language. But these translations remained understandable only for a narrow group of Tatar intelligentsia, who had a command of complicated and flowery forms of the Tatar literary language, rich in Arabic and Persian words. For the baptised Tatars who were out of touch with the all-Tatar written tradition, based on the 'high' Islamic culture, these translations turned out to be unintelligible and were unpopular among them. Furthermore, the usage of Arabic script, in the missionaries' opinion, was fraught with the danger of introducing baptised Tatars to the Islamic tradition and would rather serve to intensify Islamisation. The transition to a new alphabet and using of the 'colloquial' Tatar language in translations resolved this problem to a large extent. The use of the Cyrillic alphabet as a material monument and symbol of Christianity, introduced in the Russian tradition by the first Slavonic Saints Cyril and Methodius must have symbolized an invisible spiritual liaison of baptised Tatars with Orthodoxy and the Russian people [Ilminsky, 1883a, p. 18]. Although the practice of translations of religious literature with the usage of the Cyrillic alphabet into the languages of non-Russian peoples was not new and occupied an important place in the history of Orthodox preaching and dated back to the tradition of Velikopermsky Stefan, it was N. Ilminsky who managed to form a scientific and methodological basis for the development of new alphabets for 'non-literate' peoples of Eastern Russia and translations of Orthodox worship books for them. Transliteration of the Tatar language on the basis of the alphabet of the country's titular population, originally conceived by N. Ilminsky for purely practical purposes, was later spread over the languages of the other ingenious communities of the Volga region and Siberia. This became, according to the Canadian researcher W. Dowler, not only the basis for the language policy of the Russian government in the state's eastern borders, but also

precursor to similar policies in other European Empires [Dowler, 2001, pp. 153–154].

In 1868 the Translation commission was established on the basis of the Kazan Brotherhood of St. Gury for centralised work on translations of Christian liturgical literature and its popularisation. It was subjected directly to the Orthodox Missionary Community in 1876 and was directed by N. Ilminsky. The commission, which existed unofficially even before 1868 and dealt with the translations of liturgical and missionary books for baptised Tatars (N. Ilminsky, V. Timofeev, E. Malov, G. Sablukov participated in this activity), increased its financial capacity and acquired a more proper management after the foundation of the Brotherhood of St. Gury, and, as a result, extended its activity on other baptised non-Russian peoples of Eastern Russia and got the right to censor editions in these languages. However the work over the Tatar editions was the priority area of activity for the Kazan translators, and these translations themselves, as M. Mashanov remarked, served as 'some-what of originals for translations into other foreign languages' [Otchet Perevodcheskoj komissii, 1894, p. 11]. Students and teachers of missionary schools were also involved in translation into the Tatar language. They had to eradicate defects and inaccuracies of the editions and make them intelligible for readers [Ilminsky, 1876, p. 63]. To check the practical usefulness of the translations, teachers and students of the Kazan Central Christian Tatar School visited ethnic settlements every year during their summer holidays, where they read these editions and distributed them among the locals. Incomplete data indicates that, in all from 1876 to 1905, 89 books, primarily on religious subjects, were translated into the Tatar language with the total print of 559, 050 copies [see Xronologicheskij, 1910, pp. 17–25].

Innovations in the system of missionary work, the development of the chain of missionary schools and translation of religious texts facilitated more effective use of the Tatar language in the divine service and enabled bringing the representatives of the emerging

baptised-Tatar intelligentsia into the priesthood. In 1867, the Synod formalised the right to ordain baptised Tatars in legislation [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 797, inv. 36, dept. 2, file 251, s. 17–20 reverse]. At the same time, unlike the Russian candidates, they were not required to have a special religious education. It was enough for baptised Tatars to have a high degree of Orthodox commitment, to be familiar with the basics of Christian doctrine, to know the Russian language, to reach the age of 30 and to gain support of the local diocesan authorities. As a result of the active recruitment of the students of the Kazan Central Christian Tatar School and the Kazan Teachers Seminary into the priesthood and the pressing of this issue directly by N. Ilminsky, by the beginning of the 19th century baptised Tatars came well ahead of other non-Russian peoples of the region in amount of ethnic Orthodox priests per capita. For instance, in the Kazan guberniya 39. 7% of priests were baptised Tatars, 44. 1% were Chuvashes, 6. 8% were Mari and 0. 6% were Udmurts from the total amount of the national secular clergy by 1904. Therefore, 1 priest from baptised Tatars accounted for 1, 742 of those baptised Tatars residing in his province, 1 Chuvash priest accounted for 18, 113 Chuvashes, 1 Mari priest for 12, 818 Mari, 1 Udmurt priest for 26, 179 of his compatriots¹⁷ [Bobrovnikov, 1905, p. 178].

The possibility to celebrate the divine service for baptised Tatars and *nağaybäks* in their native language became an important result of the work of Kazan missionary translators. Originally introduced into the church practice in 1869 by the Altai archimandrite Macarius II (Nevsky), the divine service in the Tatar language gained universal currency in baptised-Tatar parishes in the beginning of the 1880s as a result of a special decree of the Synod issued on 15 January 1883 [Mashanov,

1892, p. 168]. Therefore the most of baptised Tatars received the possibility to listen to the divine service in their native language, to get acquainted with the beliefs of Christianity and to be closely involved in the religious life of their parish.

Along with widespread inaugural ceremonies for 'Old-baptised' Tatars, massive construction of churches and opening of parishes began from the 1870s. The Department of Religious Affairs allocated special quotas and monetary grants for these purposes. Thirty six Orthodox churches were constructed in the settlements of baptised Tatars from the late 1860s to the early 1890s only in the Kazan and Ufa guberniyas.¹⁸ This amounts to 60% of the total amount of Old-baptised Tatar churches that had already been built by that time [see Bobrovnikov, 1899; Zlatoverkhovnikov, 1899]. Resulting from the widespread conversion of 'new-baptised' Tatars from Orthodoxy and the massive construction of Orthodox churches in the settlements of 'old-baptised' Tatars, most baptised-Tatar parishes became more homogeneous in ethno-confessional terms. The parishioners in these churches were mostly 'old-baptised' Tatars, who accepted Christianity as an important part of their culture and identity owing to active Christian educational and cultural activity of Orthodox missionaries, and because of the fact that the priests had the same ethnic background.

The development of Orthodox institutions among baptised Tatars from the second half of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th centuries was closely connected with complicated surrounding ethno-confessional processes that were occurring, leading to the growth of the Orthodoxy's influence. As a result of the rooting of the greater part of 'old-baptised' Tatars in the Orthodox faith and the formation of their ethnic clergy, it became possible to establish old-baptised monasteries and convents in the beginning of the 20th

¹⁷ It must be noted only some priests from baptised Tatars served in the Kryashens' compact settlements. Many served in Chuvash, Mari, Udmurt, Russian or ethnically mixed parishes.

¹⁸ These included churches in the villages of mixed national composition, where parishes consisted mostly of baptised Tatars.



Cover page of a book in Tatar about the Orthodox faith: "Chyn Den knyagyase" (Kazan, 1897).

century. The main mastermind of the foundation of the first monastery for baptised Tatars became the archimandrite of the Kazan Saviour-Transfiguration monastery Andrey Ukhtomsky (from 1907 the bishop of Mamadysh). Owing to his efforts, the Priory of Three Saints for baptised Tatars was officially opened as a part of the Holy Transfiguration monastery near the Maloye Nekrasovo village of Laishev uyezd in the Kazan guberniya

in 1905 [Alekseev, 2008, p. 138]. In 1907, a baptised-Tatar educational sisterhood of the Protection of the Virgin was founded at the expense of the family of the Counts of Ukh-toma, not far from the Bogdanovka village of the Mamadysh uyezd of Kazan guberniya.

A long and complicated process of the development of Orthodox institutions among baptised Tatars lead to the formation of an articulate system of religious organisations of the Russian Orthodox Church in the early 20th century, which corresponded to cultural and religious demands of this ethno-confessional group. It included a broad chain of primary religious schools (where children were taught in their native language, and the main attention was paid to church subjects), ethnic parishes headed by priests from baptised Tatars and Orthodox monasteries where divine services were held in Tatar. The specific character of the establishment and work of these institutions, which fulfilled not only religious, but also cultural, educational and missionary functions, were conducive to their harmonious incorporation into an ethno-cultural field of baptised Tatars. In the absence of other sufficiently important social institutions it was their educational activity that became an important factor of cultural mobilisation of baptised Tatars during the epoch of global changes in the second half of the 19th century and contributed to the creation of the domain of the rural and urban intelligentsia, as well as the literary tradition and formation of 'high' culture. Thanks largely to this fact they played an important role in the change of baptised Tatars' religious sensibilities and their confirmation in Orthodoxy.

Section VI

The Ethnic and Confessional Autocratic Policy



CHAPTER 1

The Administrative and Management Systems in the Tatar Settlement Territories

Sergei Lyubichankovsky

Russian Administrative and Management systems from the 18th –the beginning of the 20th century did not generally consider the 'Tatar factor' much.

From 1775, imperial systems of administration and management were being adopted into the governorate reform of Catherine of Russia [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 20, No. 14392]. The reform formed 6 General Governorates established at territories where Russian Tatars settled (by 1781, each received its own ordinal number, from 1 through 19) that, in their turn, included several regions (governorates) ¹. Regions were broken down by population size: 300–400 thousand made a region [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 20, No. 14392, art. 1], 20–30 thousand made up an uyezd that, aggregated with others, made up a region (oblast' and namestnichestvo) [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 20, No. 14392, art. 17]. This measure evened the load on regional administrations.

Establishment of regions was accompanied with making of new governorate (regional and governorate boards, official chambers, departments of treasury charity etc.) and uyezd institutions (district police officers were appointed

from members of the local gentry; yet, when elected, they came under the run of the governors) [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 16, inv. 1, file 636].

Governor Generals were not only to supervise of the adherence to laws and duties performed by local public officers, but also to be in command of armed forces positioned at the territory in their charge. As they were authorised for some foreign policy activities (diplomatic negotiations with their neighbours, spying, even local military expeditions), they were not mere executors of royal commands, but policy-makers in their territories. This explains why they had the right to sit in the Senate and vote for local affairs. Governors under them were just administrators [Lysenko, 2001, p. 119].

The Governor General Board was the main local authority. It consisted of a Governor General, the head of the Governor General Board, two members and a clerk. The Board was managed regional chambers and departments, controlled police, approved reports of regional institutions, appointed officers of uyezd and governorate bodies, supervised performance of natural, money, military and other conscriptions [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 21, No. 15170]. Next in importance was a government chamber, before 1845 reform headed by a vice governor. It controlled the funds of the region [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 21, No. 15141].

Orenburg Religious Board of Muslims was established in Ufa in 1788 as an integral part of the regional government. It was to examine the candidates for Muslim clerical positions. Yet, it was for the regional board to finally approve

¹ Thus, the 10th governor-general district included the Yaroslavl and Vologda viceroyalties; 12th governor-general district included the Nizhny Novgorod and Vyatka Viceroyalties; 13th governor-general district included the Perm and Tobolsk Viceroyalties; 15th governor-general district included the Simbirsk and Ufa Viceroyalties; 16th governor-general district included the Kazan and Penza Viceroyalties; 17th governor-general district included the Saratov, Astrakhan, Azov and Novorossiysk Viceroyalties [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 21, No. 15774; Vol. 44, Part 2, No. 17494, appendix].

an akhund, a mullah or a muezzin [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 22, No. 16170].

In 1796 Paul I liquidated General Governorates and regions and replaced the latter with the governorates [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 24, No. 17634]. The process went alongside another division of governorates into smaller units, a natural result of Catherine's principle on the relation between the number of administrative-territorial units and the size of the population. By that time, the territory settled by the Tatars included Astrakhan, Saratov, Simbirsk, Penza, Nizhny Novgorod, Yaroslavl, Vyatka, Perm, Orenburg and Tobolsk guberniyas headed by civil governors. It was only in the Orenburg guberniya that Paul I preserved the position of military governor, an intermediate instance between the Emperor and the military governor of Orenburg. In his brief he had the lands of Ural and Orenburg Cossacks, Kalmyks, the Ural Mountain territories of nomad Kazakh zhuzes; his authority also included Bashkirs outside of the Orenburg area, in Saratov, Perm and Vyatka guberniyas. The Orenburg Military Governorate existed until 1851 when the Samara guberniya that had been established a year before was removed from it [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 383, inv. 9, file 7674, s. 73].

With the Governor General position liquidated, civil governors became the pivot of local administration in the empire. Though in 1802 the system of ministries was implemented and spread to regional level through various lines of authority (e. g. treasury chamber subordinated to the Ministry of Finance, courts became a part of the Ministry of Justice etc.), the power of the governor was mostly limited by the authorities directly subordinated to the Ministry of the Interior. It was an obvious contradiction to 'General Mandate to Governors' of 1837, where governor was defined as 'immediate supervisor and master' of the territory entrusted [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 12, No. 10303]. One more limitation to the power of the civil governor was the institution of marshals of the nobility, who, by

law, could work in some governorate boards. However, at the most part of the Volga-Ural area the institution did not tie the hands of the governor as it either did not have any corporations of the gentry (Vyatka, Perm, Tobolsk guberniyas) or was rather weak economically as compared to the indigenous governorates of the empire. This predetermined the domination of people of noble birth at lower and middle levels of the regional state apparatus [Zagidulin, 2010, pp. 450–452].

After the assassination of Paul I, the emperors revived some of the Governor General districts. For example, between 1804–1811 Vyatka and Perm guberniyas were merged into one General Governorate Region (the so-called D. Balashov experiment). In Western Siberia, Siberian (from 1803), and, later, Western Siberian (from 1822) Governor General regions existed and had their centre in Tobolsk. This was voided in 1882. In similar way, the void of Orenburg military governor region in 1851 resulted in Orenburg and Samara General Governor regions established at the Orenburg region. In 1865, Samara guberniya was segregated from that administrative-territorial unit, while Orenburg guberniya split in two governorates (Orenburg proper and that of Ufa) was made a part of Orenburg Governor General Region [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 40, No. 42058]. Orenburg Kirghiz oblast that since 1844 had been subordinated to Orenburg military governor [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 19, No. 17998], in 1868 was split in Ural and Turgai oblasts under the Orenburg Governor General. At the local level, the power was executed by the elders of the families. With the void of that administrative-territorial unit in 1881, its main parts (governorates) came under direct management of the Ministry of the Interior. Therefore, with institutions established everywhere in 1775, since the 19th century Governor General regions covered only the south and the east of the Tatars settlement areas, in other words, outlying, bordering districts of the country.

With Governor General regions void, civil governors got stronger as now they had no

supervisory body to involve with their competence, as, more often than not, had been the case in the past. Some extent of independence was restricted by sectoral (departmental) principle, systematically introduced in civil governorate management; many local structures were taken out of direct control of the governor. It should also be noted military power of the Governor General was passed not to the civil governors, but to the heads of appropriate military regions, the measure that certainly did not contribute to raising the status of 'governorate masters' up to the one of their voided curators.

The period of the Great Reforms dramatically influenced regional administrative structures. The Governor remained the core figure of the local administration; he was the chief officer of the crown management in the empire. As an officer of the Ministry of the Interior, the governor headed almost all its local collegial bodies (governorate board, forest supervision committee, governorate office, office for factories and mining, selection committee, office for *zemstvo* and cities etc.)

The Governorate board established as early as 1775 was the main body in the system of civil management. It was a kind of 'government' headed by the governor. The board was responsible for 'public improvement', protected 'human and property rights, general security, peace and quiet', ruled 'matters of public health, smallpox vaccination, prevention of cattle plague, food, economy and industry (to the extent allowed for public institutions)', assisted 'all other institutions in execution of laws' and 'forced places subordinated to execute their duties'. It published laws and decrees in the *guberniya*, interpreted them for inferior bodies, examined claims on officers' activities, settled matters of legal liability for public officers, made foreigners swear naturalisation, supervised measures and scales, collected statistics on various aspects of the governorate life, was in charge of, among other things, construction, land surveying, road building, concluded official contracts, controlled administration of wills, examination of the insane. The governorate board oversaw the laws to be observed everywhere, had power to void 'any action' of the

police. Its power was defined as 'police power in the broadest sense of the term, namely, judicial and police, executive, administrative and impelling powers' [Obshchee Uchrezhdenie, 1892, art. 437–438, 467–471]. It is noticeable the position of translator was on the list of the Orenburg governorate board not only in the pre-reform period, but also later, when the region was not bordering any more [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1284, inv. 185, file 29, s. 93 reverse] This attested to the fact that though the region had lost its bordering status, there was still an urge to adapt local authorities to specific ethnic composition of the people who populated a huge region.

Yet, numerous departmental normative acts, that regulated many institutions outside the Ministry of the Interior, constrained or even nullified the powers of the governorates heads in many matters of their competence. It is true that since the second half of the 19th century, there appeared a number of autonomous institutions responsible for some important issues and staying outside the Ministry of the Interior. As a result, 'war of ministries' typical for the Russian Empire, descended to governorate level. Newly established institutions (the excise, tax office, selection committee, etc.) supervised the matters the Ministry of the Interior had been responsible for in pre-reform Russia. That meant the responsibility of the Ministry of the Interior was reducing, while that of other ministries was widening. Their activities were poorly coordinated, and, naturally, were harmful for efficient management, limiting the power of the governor.

In most of the governorates, *zemstvos* were introduced in 1864–1874 (in 1905, only the Tobolsk and Orenburg *guberniyas*, as well as steppe areas, had none). *Zemstvo* dumas and councils undertook most of the economic functions previously assigned to the governorate administration. In cities, the powers were vested in city dumas and councils, established in 1870.

In 1864, the governor lost his authority to control judiciary authorities, though the regulation on enhanced and extraordinary security enabled them to use non-judicial methods of prosecution for residents of their territories.



Court Offices in Kazan Drawing by V. Turin, 1820s

The police reform of 1862–1867, under which the uyezd police department was established, extended the police hierarchy up to the uyezd level, thus increasing the police powers of the governorate administration while bringing political investigation out of the governor's jurisdiction as it was controlled by the gendarme colonel at the head of the autonomous governorate gendarme administration.

As the result, by the early 20th century the law describing the governor as the chief representative of the governorate's supreme power, its head, protector of justice and public interests, etc. [Obshhee Uchrezhdenie, 1892, art. 201, 270–274] had become rather inaccurate [Strakhovsky, 1913, p. 63]. New judiciary establishments, procuratorial supervision, control chambers, excises, departments of the State Bank, customs, mining authorities, the technical part of the railway, post, and telegraph departments, and army units garrisoned in the governorate had dropped from under the governor's jurisdiction by the late 19th century. It is no coincidence that, until the First Russian Revolution, numerous committees, councils, and meetings of high public officials suggested that the governor should have more power. This they wished to ensure not just by increasing the number of establishments that he controlled but by broadening his powers [State Archive of

Orenburg Region, f. 10, inv. 1, file 175, s. 1–2; Usilenie gubernatorskoj, 1904]. The Governor of Ufa, I. Sokolovsky, wrote to the capital in 1903, '... it is only the Governor who can be the unifying power over the governorate. He... must have every instrument and means to rule and manage the governorate in fact and not in name, 'we have to... provide proper support to the Governor's power by securing it against any infringement by other authorities not subordinated to the Governor, without which no transformations in governorate administration will yield the positive results that they aim at' [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–9, inv. 1, file 655, s. 4–4 reverse].

The uyezd administration system was not wholly consistent either. On the one hand, the uyezd police officer at the head of the local police was a direct extension of the governor's power at the uyezd level. The police department that he controlled exercised supervision to ensure 'quick and accurate' execution of laws and instructions by superior authorities. It was also responsible for providing urban amenities, releasing administrative orders to the public, preventing natural disasters and epidemics, levying taxes, ensuring correct units of measurement, holding trading sessions, keeping account and ensuring conscription of



Governor's Palace, where there was a chancellery of the Kazan governor.
Kazan Kremlin. 1848. By architect K. Ton. Photo, 1892.

people bound to military service, etc. [Obshee Uchrezhdenie, 1892, art. 679–684]. The uyezd police officer was a member of various uyezd collegiate authorities like the prison committee, the school council, public offices for alcoholic drinks, etc. However, it was the uyezd marshal of nobility who presided over these and many more boards. In 1895, it was this position which was in control of uyezd zemstvo meetings, the uyezd convention, the noble trustee board, the prison committee department, the school council, the public offices for military service and alcoholic drinks, the land management board, and a dozen less committees, trustee boards, and commissions of less importance. Despite their accountability to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, zemstvos acquired enough authority to claim leadership in controlling uyezd economy soon after they were established. In this way the uyezd administration with its balance of power in the authorities of the uyezd police officer, the chairman of the zemstvo council, and the marshal of nobility presented a varied picture— from the dominance of one of the three to major confrontations among them and/or some form of coalition. This brought about more unresolved administrative issues, constantly generating conflicts.

Excessively centralized relations within the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs—governor and governorate board—inferior establishments were the key issue of local

administration. For instance, the Governor of Orenburg V. Ershov wrote to Minister of Internal Affairs I. Goremykin in 1889, reporting 'a voluminous but not especially significant correspondence currently signed by the governor, 'as well as the fact that even in 'issues of little importance that are not subject to collegial discus-

sion and require no special consideration and guidance from the superior authorities' heads of departments of the governorate board could not take independent decisions but had to 'ask for the chairman's permission' [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 10, inv. 1, file 175, s. 61 reverse–62]. The practice gave a special meaning to appointing high-ranking administrators for the multiethnic Volga-Ural Region.

The ethnic and confessional composition of the region's governorates was in principle homogeneously Orthodox Christian (all the governorate generals were Orthodox Christians). However, at least 8% of people in the office in 1825–1905 (1825 was the date when records of service began to specify religion) were Lutherans. Their number decreased towards the end of the period. Those were mostly Baltic Germans, noblemen from the western territories that Russian had annexed in the 18th century. There is no mention of Muslims among the governors. However, a number of famous Russian dynasties from which public officials, in particular governors, stemmed, were of Oriental, mostly Tatar, descent, such as the Yusupovs [Lysenko, 2001, pp. 191–192]. Lower-ranking public officials in the local state apparatus were also predominantly Orthodox Christians. Thus, the population to be managed was multi-confessional and multiethnic, while the administration was evolving towards a multi-confessional composition. This posed major

problems for the regions' governors in terms of their job responsibilities.

Apart from the classical governorate administration form above, some territories within the region had special administrative systems.

Western Siberia was highly illustrative of how flexible the imperial model of regional administration was. From the end of the 18th century, the territory had a special status because the governorate reform of 1775 did not apply to it. In 1822, M. Speransky was able to ensure a special 'Siberian Establishment' for the space [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 38, No. 29126]. Western Siberia was controlled by the governor general. He presided over the so-called General Directorates, half of their members appointed by the chairman and the other half by the Ministers of Justice, Finance, and Interior Affairs, as well as their consultative bodies, councils. Collective decision-making was an innovation long ahead of the time. The Statute on non-Russian Administration, under which all non-Russian peoples of the region received a special class status, emphasized the unique socio-cultural situation there. Local Tatars were viewed as 'sedentary' non-Russians, who were treated as equal to state peasants in terms of all rights and duties except for military service. After the governorate general was abolished in 1882 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–3, Vol. 2, No. 886], laws were adopted to smooth over the region's peculiar features. They introduced the office of peasant head, whose power applied to indigenous people too, and abolished the term 'native lands', which locals had occupied from antiquity [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–3, Vol. 18, No. 15503].

The canton administration system existed from 1798 to 1865 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 25, No. 18477]. It applied to the Bashkirs, the Mishars, the Orenburg and Ural Cossacks (the Kalmyk Army of Stavropol made a separate canton).

In 1863–1865, the peculiar regional administration system was abolished, and canton dwellers transferred from the military class to 'rural dwellers'. However, this did not apply

to the Cossacks, who maintained their unique administrative practices even after cantons were abolished. Army atamans remained their leaders.

Mining administrations were another region-specific administrative system. The Chancellery of the General Directorate for Siberian, Kazan, and Orenburg Plants was abolished within Catherine II's governorate reforms. Its functions were vested in governorate treasury chambers. In 1802–1806, the following four mutually independent mining administrations accountable directly to the Collegium of Mining were established in the territory: Yekaterinburg, Perm, Mount Blagodat, and Bank. The Governor General of Perm and Vyatka relied on the Perm Mining Administration and the Mining Inspector of Perm for general management of them. However, after the governorate general was dissolved in 1811, control was in fact lost because the Mining Inspector was unable to perform his coordinating functions without the Governor General [Loransky, 1900]. At the same time, the Mining Department was established within the Ministry of Finance at the capital level in 1806. It enjoyed broad administrative autonomy. It had police, post, and court establishments, schools, hospitals, pharmacies, poor-houses, and churches in the region. This brought about parallelism between civil and mining authorities, causing constant differences and clashes. In 1826, the office of Chief Manager of Mines in the Ural Mountain Range was established. It offered enormous powers and independent from the governorate authorities. Following the abolition of serfdom, the mining administration was completely released from any duties not related to mining directly, including management of military units and judicial bodies, churches, hospitals, pharmacies, poor-houses, post offices and stations, mining schools and vocational schools. In 1886, the Ural Administration for Mining (Uralskoye gornoye pravleniye) was renamed Administration for Mining in the Urals, a name it held until 1893, when it was renamed the Ural Mining Administration (Uralskoye gornoye upravleniye). As the Fac-

tory Inspection was introduced in 1886, the offices of regional inspectors were abolished and the Mining Inspection was founded. By 1905, the whole territory of the Ural Mining Region had been divided into 12 mining regions headed by regional engineers². The regional engineer's responsibility was to ensure adherence to mining regulations, work safety, exercise supervision over the purchase, storing, and usage of explosives, ensure timely duty income, investigate conflicts between workers and entrepreneurs, etc. [Alekseev, 2008, p. 439].

Those were the key administrative systems in the Tatar-inhabited territories in the late 18th to early 20th century. To sum up, 1) administratively, the territory was not viewed as a whole; the fact that it had a Tatar population was not considered to be its key feature; no attempts were made at making a separate ad-

ministrative unit out of the predominantly Tatar-populated region (as compared to Bashkirs and Kazakhs); 2) the administrative system established was representative of the imperial nature of the state, because the power hierarchy relied on the local elite and local administrative traditions were taken into account for it, though with total control over key institutions and offices; 3) the evolution of the Russian state apparatus in the Ural-Volga Region was largely determined by gradually bringing up the marginal and peripheral territories to meet Central Russian local administration standards; the standards did not provision for any ethnic administrative traditions but relied on unified principles of rationalized and highly bureaucratic administration with supra-personal dependence and the priority of supra-communal public interests in the administrative practice.

² The Vyatka, Perm, Cherdyn, Northern Verkhoturie, Southern Verkhoturie, Northern Yekaterinburg, Western Yekaterinburg, Southern Yekaterinburg, Ufa, Miass, Verkhne-Uralsk and Orenburg mountain districts [Istoricheskij ocherk, 1910].

CHAPTER 2

Governmental Tatar Policy in the Pre-Reform Period

Aidar Nogmanov

§ 1. The 'Tatar Issue' During the Rule of Alexander I

When Catherine of Russia reigned, governmental measures were largely aimed at cooperation with the Tatar elite, which was expected to become a reliable partner to the state while pursuing common interests.

The flexible policy under the slogan of religious tolerance was generally efficient at winning over Tatar murzas, merchants, and high-ranking clergymen to ensure better control over the rest of the population. According to the government, the political, economic, and social integration of the peoples of the Volga Region into the state by the late 18th century [Kappeler, 1982, p. 377].

The main goal of Alexander I was further, deeper integration of the Tatar population into various spheres of the Russian life. Catherine II's policy was manifested in her early decrees to the Tatar nobility. On 5 May 1801, Alexander I signed a law that confirmed a Tatar murza's right to become a nobleman [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 26, No. 19856]. The decree of 9 December 1802, under which the government issued a compensation to Tatar princes and murzas whose serfs had converted into Christianity, also suggest that the government was willing to cooperate with the Tatar elite [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 27, No. 20548].

The land laws of the first quarter of the 19th century is marked by succession. The decrees of 1803 and 1824, which established the land survey procedure for the Orenburg and Perm guberniyas [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 27, No. 20868; Vol. 39, No. 29772], stemmed from the enactments of the 1760s that were related to the Manifesto on

General Delimitation of Lands in the Whole Empire of 19 September 1765 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 17, No. 12474]. For instance, the 1803 decree instructed the Governor of Orenburg to adhere to the Instruction to Governorate Land Surveyors of 1766 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 17, No. 12659], which protected the interests of the Tatars, Mordovians, Chuvashes, Cheremises, and other non-Russian peoples [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 27, No. 220868]. The decisions were most consistent with the principles of Catherine of Russia in the sense that she attached primary importance to preventing social, inter-ethnic, and religious tension.

Alexander I continued to shape the multi-stage education system that Catherine of Russia had founded. When the University of Kazan was founded in 1804, it was not only the advantageous geographical situation but the historical mission of Kazan as Russia's ancient 'eastern gate' what was taken into account. Apart from teaching students German and French, the statute of the University of Kazan provided for Tatar classes [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 28, No. 21500]. By comparison, the Moscow and Kharkov Universities, their statutes signed on the same date as that of the University of Kazan, offered English and not Tatar classes [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 28, Nos. 21498 and 21499]. This suggest that the newly established educational establishment was initially East-oriented and expected to play a special part in the cultural development of the Em-



Emperor Alexander I

pire's Asian periphery by training experts to work with non-Russians.

Apart from the University of Kazan, the Neplyuev School in Orenburg, founded under the Decree of 9 February 1824 trained personnel to work in the Empire's eastern regions [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, Vol. 39, No. 29770, pp. 50-54]. It accepted children of staff of the Separate Orenburg Corps, 'Asians without stable citizenship' and 'any people of free standing'. It was Russia's first educational establishment to open its doors to non-Russians. Besides, each 'Cossack, Bashkir, Mishar, Tatar and Asian regardless of his rank' who sent his son to the school, undertaking the obligation to 'refrain from taking him away until the course of study has been completed', received a certificate of recognition from the Military Governor of Orenburg [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, Vol. 39, No. 29770, p. 51]. The curriculum included Arabic, Tatar, and Persian. Upon completion of studies, alumni went to the military or began public officials. In particular,

those who were able to demonstrate 'excellent performance in Eastern languages' would get a job as 'translators, confidants, and interpreters for the borderline administration of Orenburg' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, Vol. 39, No. 29770, p. 54].

The University of Kazan was established at the beginning of the rule of Alexander I, and the Neplyuev School at the end of it. Symbolic as this was, it characterised Alexander's era, which, as well as that of Catherine II, can be called a period of 'enlightened monarchy'. It is beyond doubt that the inclusion of the Tatar Language in the curricula of the two educational establishments crucial to the state's interests was reasonably necessary, which by no means makes the initiative less meaningful. Language studies were the first step towards further academic research on the history of the Tatars, their custom and traditions, written and physical heritage.

The spiritual policy of Alexander I also largely followed Catherine II's course. Missionary activities had grown less intense in the Volga-Ural Region by the time of his enthronement. It was parish priests who were formally responsible for attracting pagans and Muslims to the official church. The functions were vested in them in 1800, when the homiletic institution that Catherine II founded in 1764 following the abolition of the New Christian Office was liquidated [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, Vol. 26, No. 19455]. In 1800, the schools for New Christians' children that were founded in 1742 closed [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, Vol. 26, No. 19455]. Missionary functions as such were vested in Orthodox Christian parish priests, who did not feel very enthusiastic about them. Only one of the numerous benefits and privileges introduced in the former half of the 18th century to encourage conversion to Christianity, namely exemption from taxes and recruit supply for three years, had survived by the end of the century.

The religious liberalism prompted not only Tatars but representatives of pagan peoples of the Middle Volga Region who had converted into Orthodox Christianity to use this freedom

to restore their own cultures, which had been affected by religion. Even though anti-Christian movements did not become mass-scale until the second quarter of the 19th century, they had precursors already at the beginning of the century.

In 1802, the New Christian Tatar community of the Nizhny Novgorod guberniya asked Alexander I to 'permit them to convert back to Islam'. Converting back from Orthodox Christianity was still forbidden under Russian law. This is why the Emperor signed a special decree to 'forbid abyzes from seducing and converting new Christians into the Mohammedan faith [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 27, No. 20535]. In order to keep Tatars Orthodox Christian, it was recommended that they would be moved to Russian settlements. Russian-Tatar marriages were encouraged. Local authorities were responsible for preventing any New Christians from being excluded from 'village administrator elections' (heads, peasant policemen, etc.)

Those were instructions traditional for Russian rulers, similar to those issued both before and after Alexander I. At the same time, the liberal outlook of the young tsar, who was inspired by the humanism of the Enlightenment at the early stage of his rule, affected the content of the decree. The document warned local public officials against any extreme measures. They were to prevent conversion back out of Orthodox Christianity in a way consistent with the principles of 'lenience and enlightenment' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 27, No. 20535].

The government's tolerant attitude to Muslims was also manifested in the Decree of 26 June 1804 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 27, No. 20868], which gave Muslims who had ran away from Russia during the reign of any previous rulers a year in excess of the two years' period specified in the Manifesto of 15 March 1801 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 26, No. 19786] during which they could return home.

The government's attitude to Islamic religious literature is also characteristic. In 1787,

the Quran in Arabic was printed at the governmental cost on the personal order of Catherine of Russia to later appear in 1790, 1793, and 1796 [Krymsky, 1904, p. 138]. It was extremely circumspect of Catherine II. According to A. Karimullin, this made it possible to postpone the requests of the Tatars to have their own printing office for some time. It was used for political purposes during the war with the Turks as an example of protecting the Muslims of the Russian Crown. It also brought substantial financial benefits to the treasury [Karimullin, 1992, p. 98]. Tatar and Islamic religious books began to appear during the reign of Alexander I in Kazan.

Indicative of the liberal religious position of Alexander I is that the codification of Islamic law began when he was on the throne. It mostly affected family and marital relations, where inheritance from deceased Muslims was a burning issue.

Until the early 19th century, Russian judicial bodies referred to the Decree of 17 March 1731 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 8, No. 5717], according to which the wife was entitled to 1/7 of her deceased husband's movables and 1/4 of his real property. Local judicial bodies were at loss as to how that applied to Tatars because Sharia entitled Muslims to have up to four wives at the same time [Tornau, 1850, p. 137], while Russian laws contained no special provisions for it.

Numerous petitions by Muslims and inferior courts motivated the Senate to address the issue. Having consulted various authorities, Alexander I signed a decree on 20 December 1804, under which 1/4 of all movable and real property of a childless Muslim was to be divided among his wives on an equal basis. If the deceased person had children, 1/8 of his property was to be divided among his wives. According to the Senate's Decree of 23 February 1805, the edict was divulged to all authorities affected [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 28, No. 21634]. This legalized certain Islamic regulations in Russian justice. The government took an utterly rational approach of killing two birds with one



Monument 'In Honour of Victory over the Tatars, 1552' Kazan. Photo, 1892.

stone, namely delegating Muslims' inheritance issues to themselves and demonstrating respect of the Islamic law to the Muslim community of Russia.

More religious innovations were introduced during the rule of Alexander I. In particular, the idea of centralized control over the Empire's religions was implemented. This dated back to the time of Paul I. At the beginning of the 19th century, the government had a vague idea of the Empire's ethno-confessional structure, its the Christian to non-Christian ratio, and the dogmatic and administrative features of Russian churches. The legal status of various confessions was largely determined on history and the monarch's personal attitude [Vishlenkova, 1997, p. 52].

Under the Manifesto of 25 July 1810, 'Muslim issues', which had been the responsibility of an expedition of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, were delegated to the newly established General Directorate for Spiritual Affairs of Foreign Religions. It functioned as a special ministry. One of the tsar's confidants, Prince A. Golitsyn, headed the Directorate. The new authority controlled 'all subjects related to the clergy of various foreign religions and faiths related to all of their affairs except for the judicial' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 31, No. 24307].

The General Directorate for Spiritual Affairs of Foreign Religions took to developing a concept of a governmental religious policy and its legal embodiment. Its functions included

collecting statistics, studying canon and church law, and rendering information on the history of the relations between the government and the church. A big job was done for Catholic, Uniate, Protestant, and Armenian churches. Muslims got less attention. The Decree 'On the Judgment of Muftis in the Administrating Senate' of 11 October 1811 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 31, No. 24819] was nearly the only law to specify the high status of the OM-SA Chairman despite the 'middling

place in court' of the religious institution itself.

As the Emperor grew more enthusiastic about religion and mysticism after 1815, his religious policy was modified. Alexander I was inspired by the idea of building a united Christian Nation as the foundation of the Holy Alliance [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 31, No. 25943]. Thus, the initial orientation towards mutual tolerance of confessions and 'disapproval' of any missionary activities in the state was gradually replaced by ambitions to enlighten non-Russians into Christianity.

In 1817 Alexander I ordered that an annual amount of 5 thousand rubles should be allocated to the long-delayed construction of the memorial 'In Memory of the Victory over the Tatars in 1552' on the mass grave of those who fell when Ivan the Terrible was conquering the city, founded in 1813 [Zagidullin, 2002a, p. 27–33, Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 34, No. 246633]. This decision was clearly ideological because Russian historians and the public traditionally interpreted the events of 1552 as a victory of Orthodox Christianity over the 'Basurmans' (Muslims) [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 34, No. 246633].

In the same year, the government permitted mixed marriages between Lutheran Christians and Muslims. All children born in a mixed family was to be baptised [Varadinov, 1859, p. 361]. In 1818, the Kazan Branch of the Biblical Society was organized, not only

to translate church books into the languages of peoples in the Middle Volga Region but to facilitate their Christianisation [Grigoryev, 1948, p. 258]. In 1819, the strict prohibition of converting representatives of other religions into Orthodox Christianity of 1813 was in fact removed [Vishlenkova, 2002, pp. 304].

As the religious policy grew less liberal, an attempt of clericalisation in the education system was made. Under the law of 24 October 1817 the General Directorate for Spiritual Affairs of Foreign Religions, re-organized into the Religious Department, became part of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 34, No. 27106, pp. 814–834]. It was now the ministry's responsibility to ensure church control over education 'so that Christian righteousness can always underlie true enlightenment' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 34, No. 27106, p. 814].

Yet, the enactment affected the Tatars because it regulated the administrative structure for the so-called religious affairs, now controlled by the Religious Department. Its powers were as follows: '1) appointing and removing muftis and addressing claims against them; 2) issues related to Mohammedan religious authorities and their officials as reported by muftis or civil authorities; 3) issues of special importance related to mullahs and other clergymen; 4) issues related to clerical property; 5) issues related to mosques and similar institutions, information on their count; 6) collecting complete data on this subject' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 34, No. 27106, p. 818].

When the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education existed (1817–1824), the government took no radical measures in terms of organising control over Muslims. A lack of competent staff was one of the reasons along with the high priority then attached to Catholic and Protestant issues in Russia.

The Religious Department's activities were the most intense in collecting information on Islam and the Islamic clergy of Russia. It considered bills that affected its competency when

necessary. It was the case with the opinion of the State Council of 25 January 1822 on corporal punishment for mullahs found guilty of criminal offense, approved by the supreme power [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 38, No. 28891]. Officials of the Department recommended that the Decrees of 9 December 1796 Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 24, No. 17624] and 22 May 1801 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 26, No. 19885], which relived Orthodox priests from corporal punishment for such offense, should not be applied to OMSA mullahs. The decision was justified by their 'status' as 'capital tax payers' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 38, No. 28891]. Before subjecting a guilty person to corporal punishment, the local authorities were to withdraw from him the order approving his appointment as a mullah. At the same time, they were to inform the OMSA and the respective Muslim parish so that they could elect another person to the office 'to avoid suspension in divine service' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 38, No. 28891].

Thus, attempts at enhancing control over Muslims and increasing clerical trends in part of the ruling elite had no material effect on the supreme power's attitude to Islam. Religion was still viewed as being inherent to Russia. Those who professed it had every opportunity to satisfy their spiritual needs. There was an adequate legal framework and a network of institutions (*OMSA*) to settle disputes and find solutions that both the government and the Muslim community would be satisfied with.

In some aspects, Alexander I went to a greater lengths than Catherine of Russia. The Decree of 9 February 1824, under which the Neplyuev School was founded, stipulated that Muslim students could study not only their religious law but other subjects separately from Christians. They also had meals separately. Muslims studied all subjects taught at the School but for Greek Christian Law and Holy History, which were replaced by Quran Studies and Principles of Islam. 'Experts' representing

the Muslim clergy as well as civilians were invited to examine students in 'the rules of the Mohammedan faith' and Oriental languages [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 39, No. 29770].

The facts are suggestive of the government's rationalism and its intention to have constructive relations with Muslim subjects. The law maintained the status quo. Being essentially conservative, it acted as a check for anti-Islamic trends.

Another sphere of life in which the government had intense interactions with the Tatar population was commerce. Already in the 18th century, entrepreneurship became crucial to the Tatar community. Catherine II's government encouraged it. As an impetus for Tatar entrepreneurship, several serving Tatars from Kazan and the Kazan uyezd, several Tatars from Seitov Posad, and a murza from Kasimov were granted the right to free trade and, being Muslims, recognized as Russian merchants for showing loyalty during Pugachev's rebellion under a decree in 1776 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 20, No. 14540]. The rapidly growing group of Tatar merchants and burghers in Kazan acquired a self-government authority of its own in 1781, the 'Tatar City Hall', which was responsible for judiciary, economic, and administrative issues [Izmaylov, 2009, p. 15]. Under a decree of 1784, a similar body was established in Seitov Posad [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 22, No. 16089]. In 1763 and 1788, commercial privileges were approved for Kazan sloboda's Tatars [Nogmanov, 2005, pp. 77–94]. The reason behind the encouragement of Tatar commerce was broad. The Russian government was intending to use its Muslim subjects to ensure political and economic control over the Steppe and Middle Asia for a longer term.

During the reign of Alexander I, Tatar merchants continued to represent the government's economic interests in the East. This is supported by the the Edict of 16 August 1807 which enabled merchants of the Tobolsk and Tomsk guberniyas to employ yasak Tatars and laschmanns who knew 'Asian languages' as sales-

men to accompany caravans abroad [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 29, No. 22590]. They were numerous enough for an official term that did not relate to any class in particular to be coined, the 'trade Tatars' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 32, No. 22594].

The Manifesto on the New Benefits, Distinctions, and Privileges Granted to Merchants, dated 1 January 1807, was a recognition of the role that the Tatar commercial capital played in the country's economy [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 29, No. 22418]. A 'velvet book of noble merchant families' was to be opened in Saint Petersburg under the document. It was meant for Christian Russian merchants constituting the elite of the merchant class, that is, the so-called *first class merchants* (those were merchants whose ancestors in several generations were 1st guild merchants.—*A. N.*). A book like this for merchants of 'Mohammedan faith' was to be created in Kazan.

In the first quarter of the 19th century, the trade law was improved to remove groundless preferences. This did affect the dwellers of the Tatar slobodas of Kazan, who lost their commercial privileges, dating back to the early district century and enshrined in law in 1685, during the reign of Alexander I. The document granted commercial rights similar to those of Russian 'patent' merchants to sloboda's Tatars while exempting them from taxes and duties levied on merchants. The merchants of Kazan had been struggling to have the privileges abolished for two centuries when the Senate's Decree of 31 January 1821 finally did so. Dwellers of Tatar slobodas in Kazan now were to be registered as either trading peasants, or merchants, or burghers. The 1821 decree was adopted because the government wanted to universalize entrepreneurial procedures across the whole empire.

To sum up the period of Alexander I's reign, it was largely favourable for the Tatars. The legacy of Catherine II was preserved and enriched. Political priorities remained unchanged, including cooperation with the Tatar elite, religious tolerance and economic freedom. The

number of laws addressing the Tatar population sharply decreased as compared to the 18th century due to the high incorporation of Tatars into the Russian legal environment, as well as the government's approach of not bothering them with petty protective measures as

what would happen latter under Nicholas I. In the first quarter of the 19th century, the government only thought about its Tatar subjects when it was reasonably required. As a result, the legal code of the period contained few, if any, transitive and haphazard acts.

§ 2. The Tatars of the Middle Volga Region and the Cis-Ural Region during the Reign of Nicholas I

Information on Nicholas I's ethnic policies (1825–1855) in Russian literature is fragmented and largely focuses on the Jewish, Polish, Baltic, and Finnish 'questions', the Caucasian War of 1817–1864, etc. It thus focuses attention on the issues that became clear during that period of time, in the late 18–early 19th century. In the meanwhile, the government's relations with those ethnic minorities which became part of Russia at earlier stages were downplayed. This is the case with the Volga-Ural Tatars, who were very nearly the main addressees of the tsarist government's ethnic policy.

The historiographical neglect is to some extent attributable to the practice of ranking ethnic territories, which was enshrined into law during the reign of Nicholas I. According to S. Kodan, the legislative system that functioned in the Empire in the 1830s–1850s was a 'layer cake', where imperial law occupied the first layer, local enactments the second, and government approved custom the third [Kodan, 2003, pp. 178–179].

Local laws and custom, which prevailed over all-imperial regulations, remained efficient to a varying extent in the Baltic provinces, the Kingdom of Poland, the Western provinces, the Bessarabia Guberniya, the Caucasus Krai, Siberia, and the Grand Duchy of Finland, that is, in the country's periphery. As these territories were located on borders, policies were more circumspect there than in the rest of the Empire. The government was always looking for a balance between the interests of the centre and those of the local ethnic elites, who had, with a few exceptions, a 'high' culture.

Imperial law was completely effective in European Russia [Danevsky, 1857; Gulyaev,

1897]. The Volga-Ural Tatars also fell under the jurisdiction of these laws. These Tatars had come a long way in integrating into the Empire's legal environment from the mid-16th century. Characteristically, the government wanted full legal unification among non-Russian peoples in order to smooth out any authentic features in their economic, social, and cultural activities. When the achievement of certain success, the 'Tatar question' lost part of its relevance in the eyes of the government. In the early 19th century, hardly any legal documents viewed the Tatar population of the Middle Volga Region as socially or economically isolated, which is indicative of high legal incorporation.

To shed light on the Tatars' status during the reign of Nicholas I, it is generally more important to analyze Muslim-related government resolutions.

Even though the percentage of Tatars among Russia's population had decreased due to the addition of new territories (the Kingdom of Poland, Moldavia, Transcaucasia, etc.) by the second quarter of the 19th century,³ (they numbered 1, 327. 7 thousand people in 1833 [Tatar Encyclopaedia, 2010, p. 224], including 1, 019. 5 thousand people in the Volga-Ural Region [Iskhakov, 1993, p. 72], with the Empire's total population numbering 60 million), the government continued to pay special attention to them. Islam was the main reason.

Nicholas I adhered to the principle of religious tolerance as a pre-requisite of stability in the multi-religious empire. In turn, the possibility of professing the faith of one's ancestors

³ Here the Volga and Siberian Tatars, Meshcheryaks and Teptyars are meant.



Emperor Nicholas I

secured the national identity of non-Russian peoples, which was largely based on religious traditions.

The government's attitude towards the Poles was largely determined by its attitude towards Catholicism; that towards the Finnish, towards Lutheranism; that towards Jews, towards Judaism, etc. In turn, the attitude of non-Russian peoples towards the Russian monarchy was considerably determined by religious issues and whether non-Orthodox people could adhere to their traditions and customs.

Being Orthodox-oriented, the Russian government failed at times to match its laws with the canonical prescriptions of other religions that were wide-spread in the Empire, which sometimes caused conflicts. For instance, Catholics viewed the violation of their administrative canon by the Russian government as a pretext to disobey religious orders by the Russian Emperor. This eventually became one of the ideological reasons behind the Polish rebellion of 1830–1831, which was intended as protection of Catholicism [Tikhonov, 2007, p. 92].

The period of Nicholas I was a time when a large number of decisions were made concerning the lives of Muslims in Russia. We estimate

the number of documents which deal with Islam in the 'Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire' from 1825 to 1855 to be around 190. Most of them affected the interests of the Tatar population of the Volga-Ural region directly.

It was a period when the European constitutional ideas promoted by Alexander I were discarded for a new religious policy of a *national Orthodox Christian autocracy*. The place of each confession in the country's political system, as well as the rights and responsibilities of those who professed them, were specified.

Russian religious law was largely based on recognising Orthodox Christianity as dominant and superior [Ustavy' duxovny'x del, 1857, Article 1]. The government also recognized freedom of worship for 'foreign faiths', Jews, Muslims, and 'Pagans' [Ustavy' duxovny'x del, 1857, Article 2]. However, this did not ensure equal rights for confessions that were widely represented in the Empire as the law discriminated among them more tolerable and less so. Muslims, along with Jews and Pagans, occupied the third and lowest step of the Russian religious hierarchy. They were inferior to the dominant Orthodox Christianity and other Christian churches, who also held a lower status. It was the official religion, with which Islam had been historically competing in the Volga-Ural region, which influenced a number of legal restrictions on its development.

As the main evidence of its dominance, the Orthodox Church had the exclusive right to carry out missionary activities. It was the only church which could 'persuade adepts of other Christian confessions and non-Christians to accept its own doctrine of faith.' [Ustavy' duxovny'x del, 1857, Article 4].

In the late 1820s, the government began again to view missionary work as an important state function and thus attempted to aid such processes. In 1829, an amendment was introduced to the Charter of the Order of St. Anna, which entitled those clergymen who had converted at least 100 'non-Christians to the Orthodox faith' to a reward [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 4, No. 3349]. In 1830, two missionaries were assigned

to the Diocese of Kazan; they were to persuade renegades to return to Orthodox Christianity [Mozharovsky, 1880, pp. 163–188].

In 1842, the Kazan Spiritual Academy was founded on the order of Nicholas I [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 17, No. 15803], in which a dedicated anti-Islamic department opened in 1854. The academy offered classes in the Tatar and Chuvash languages to fill the lack of priests who spoke the languages of the Volga Region peoples.

The official principles of missionary activities were 'exhorting', 'lenience', and 'good examples'. However, any attempt at dominating the sphere by non-Orthodox confessions triggered the punitive mechanism of the state apparatus. The Sobornoye Ulozheniye of 1649 prohibited any propaganda of Islam—a prohibition which was not raised until 1917. The 'Seduction' of any Christian to Islam was a capital crime until the mid-18th century [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, Vol. 8, No. 5333]. The government's position in principle remained unchanged in the 19th century. It was the punitive measures that were altered. According to the Criminal Code of 1845, one of the key legal documents pertaining to Nicholas I's rule, those found guilty of 'seducing' Christians into Islam were subjected to prison and exile for penal labour for a period of 8 to 10 years. In case of violence, the period would be increased to 12–15 years [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 20, No. 19283].

Apart from prohibiting Islamic propaganda, the state impeded the circulation of its influ-

ence at the lowest levels. This policy focused on restricting Orthodox Christians' contact with Muslims. The mid-18th century prohibition to build mosques in settlements where Tatars co-resided with Russians and the newly-baptised was confirmed in 1829 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 4, No. 2902]. It was in the same year when an order was issued under which only Muslim servants could be assigned to Muslim officers [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 4, No. 3054]. In 1837, 'officers of Mohammedan law' were banned from serving in training carabineer regiments, apparently to prevent them from influencing younger soldiers [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 12, No. 9285a]. The Decree of 30 April 1838 instructed local authorities to



First page of the I volume. Complete Collection of Laws-2. Manifesto on the 'Enthronement of Emperor Nicholas I'. 1825.

take measures to ensure that Christian and Mohammedan settlements formed separate communities in volosts with a mixed ethnic composition [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 13, No. 11189]. According to a 1839 order, soldiers who converted to Orthodox Christianity in predominantly Muslim units were to be re-assigned [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 14, No. 13022]. Of note is that it was not only people but Christian sacred objects that the law protected from contact with Muslims⁴.

While putting legal obstacles to the circulation of Islam as a religion, the government encouraged Tatars to convert to Orthodox Christianity, for which purpose it employed a large and well-developed system. A number of enactments were adopted during the rule of Nicholas I under which the newly-baptised were entitled to various benefits. Most of them were the same as regulations dating back to the 18th century. According to the Decree of 17 June 1826, non-Christians who were baptised could join any Christian community they wanted and were exempted from any duties for three years [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 1, No. 409]. Payments in cash were the key form of encouragement in the army. According to a 1836 decree, Muslim and Pagan cantonists were entitled to a reward of 25 roubles in bank notes if they converted to Orthodox Christianity [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 11, No. 8812]. Lower army ranks were entitled to a reward of 7 roubles 15 kopecks for converting to Christianity beginning in 1851 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 26, No. 25314]. Of great importance for the situation in the second quarter of the 19th century was the exemption of the newly-baptised and their families from recruitment payments and military service under the Recruitment Regulations of 1831 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 6, No. 4677].

⁴ According to the edict of 1841, icons inherited by non-Orthodox people were subject to transfer to the Orthodox people or the church within 6 months [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 16, No. 14603].

An efficient way to attract people to the Christian Church was through the legal mitigation of punishment for those found guilty of criminal offenses⁵. According to the Code of Penalties of 1845, a non-Christian who converted to Christianity during investigation or trial could expect not only the punitive measure but the 'extent' and 'type' of punishment to be mitigated (that is, he could hope not only for the least severe punishment legally possible for the offense but also for the offense to qualify as less severe, meaning a different scale of punitive measures.—*A. N.*) [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 20, No. 19283]. Moreover, the Resolution by the State Council of 6 April 1849 obliged the Senate and other judicial authorities to apply to mitigate punishment for those criminals who were willing to convert to Christianity [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 24, No. 23155]. Gradually, certain forms of encouragement were replaced by others to adjust to the changing situation. For instance, the practice of issuing a 'monetary and clothing allowance' to baptised Muslims was abolished in 1837 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 12, No. 10135], though it was popular with Orthodox missionaries in the 18th century.

In spite of government's effort, missionary activities were of no great success in the 1830s–1840s. The greatest achievement of missionaries and local priests was in bringing non-Russian renegades back to Christianity formally and temporarily [Mozharovsky, 1880, pp. 195–206].

Apart from directly assisting the church's missionary activities, Nicholas I's policies were indirectly pro-Orthodox. This was manifested in enactments that imposed Christian customs on Muslims as all-state standards. One such example is the 'Decree on Non-Deviation from General Rules for Mohammedan Burial' of 1830, which defied century-old Islamic traditions and custom [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 5, No. 3659].

⁵ The first edicts of this kind have been known to exist since the middle of the 16th century [*Acty*', 1836, Vol. 1, No. 241/2].

According to it, the 1704 law that prohibited burial 'before three days had passed' applied to Muslims in Russia. When it was issued in 1830, the decree met with severe disapproval among Muslims. In 1833, 677 clergymen from the Orenburg guberniya filed a petition to the Emperor, asking him to repeal the regulation. However, their request was denied [Varadinov, 1862, pp. 559–560].

The decree of 1835, that extended the wedding age restrictions that were introduced for Orthodox Christians in 1830 to Muslims, was also received without enthusiasm [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 10, No. 7990]. The minimum wedding age of 18 years for men and 16 years for women established by the government was quite reasonable and in line with the government's concern about women's health and that of their children [Mironov, 1999, pp. 167–169]. However, it was in contradiction to the Sharia, which set an age majority of 15 for men and 9 for women [Tornau, 1850, p. 125; Kerimov, 1999, p. 116].

In terms of governmental interference in Islamic religious affairs, it should be mentioned that the conditions under which Islamic places of worship were constructed and used were the focus of intense government attention. In 1829, Nicholas I personally approved a 'model' mosque design by the Construction Committee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 4, No. 2902]. The drawings of four new 'model' wooden mosques, approved by the Tsar and authorized under the Senate's Decree of 18 January 1844, replaced it [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 19, No. 17539; Zagidullin, 2002, p. 271].

Islam and its adherents were oppressed not only as compared to the dominant Orthodox Christian Church but also in comparison to other Christian confessions. Disputes which occurred when the interests of different confessions clashed are representative of this trend. There is legislative evidence that the government deliberately referred to the country's religious hierarchy when settling such disputes. With few exceptions, it supported Orthodox

Christians over Catholics or Lutherans and the latter over Muslims or Jews. Conversion procedures are indicative of this.

According to Russian law, a Muslim convert to Catholicism, Armenian Gregorian Christianity, or any other Christian faith was subject to authorisation by supreme power [Ustavny' duxovny'x del, 1857, Article 6; Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 10, No. 8480; Vol. 17, No. 15195]. Representatives of non-Orthodox Christian confessions were entitled to carry out missionary activities among people from the Caucasus and regions bordering Russia [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 35, No. 35941]. As has already been mentioned above, it was legally impossible for a Christian to convert to Islam, and it was also a criminal offense.

The inequality of 'tolerable' confessions was especially obvious in family and marital relations. In the first half of the 19th century, mixed marriages of Muslims with representatives of certain Christian confessions became possible. For instance, the earliest mention of mixed Muslim and Lutheran marriages dates back to 1817 [Varadinov, 1859, pp. 530–531]. They were legally justified soon after Nicholas I's enthronement in the Decree of 17 June 1826, followed by the 1832 Charter of the Evangelical Lutheran Church [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 1, No. 410; Vol. 7, No. 5870]. Those willing to enter into such a marriage were to ask for the Emperor's permission. The Muslim partner was openly inferior and in fact had no voice. According to the law, it was a Lutheran priest who officiated such marriages. The Muslim husband was to undertake in writing to bring up his children as Lutherans and refrain from impeding his wife and children's professing of the faith, as well as from persuading them to turn to Islam. In case he violated any of these undertakings, the marriage was to be severed and the man subjected to judicial attainder and exile to Siberia [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 20, No. 19293; Article 192]. The procedure was essentially the same when a Muslim's wife converted to Christianity.

It should be noted that mixed Muslim and Lutheran marriage was the only type of inter-confessional marriage which the government never discouraged. For instance, Muslim and Catholic marriages were prohibited because they were viewed as Catholic proselytism. The government's attitude towards mixed Muslim and Orthodox Christian marriages varied depending on the period. In particular, the 1841 Charter of Spiritual Consistories permitted such marriages [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 16, No. 14409] but was later abolished. The government's attitude towards families where one of a Muslim's wives converted to Christianity was noteworthy. A 1836 law provided for maintaining such marriages without an Orthodox church wedding as long as the husband 1) undertook to baptize his children into Christianity; 2) promised to refrain from persuading his wife to return to Islam and impeding her religious practice; 3) undertook to divorce the rest of his wives and live in a monogamous family. Otherwise the marriage was severed, and the wife could marry a Christian [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 11, No. 9610].

Catholics, Lutherans, Protestants, and other Christian confessions other than Orthodoxy were always poorly represented in the Orthodox-Muslim-Pagan population of the Volga-Ural region. This is why Tatars were rather unlikely to convert to one of these faiths or marry their representatives. However, the very fact that a legal procedure for such disputes existed is characteristic. It indicates both that the Russian law was highly developed in the second quarter of the 19th century and that religion was a high priority for it.

Belonging to a third-rate confession, Tatars suffered from other discriminative practices that were legalized during the rule of Nicholas I. In particular, qualification requirements and other restrictions for elected positions in administrative bodies were established. It was resolved in 1835 that volosts where pagans co-resided with Christians could not elect pagan 'volost/village leaders or scribes' as they had been doing [Complete Code of Laws of the

Russian Empire—2, Vol. 10, No. 8021]. The Decree of 30 April 1838 extended this provision to Christian-Muslim villages and volosts [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 13, No. 11189]. Muslims could only be elected assistant volost administrators or leaders, etc. However, the decree was sometimes neglected in practice [Malov, 1892, Vol. 223].

At the end of Nicholas I's rule, in 1854, following the abolition of the Tatar City Hall, the State Council permitted the Muslim community of Kazan to elect their representatives to the city дума provided that they constituted no more than one third of the total membership [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 29, No. 28704].

Tatar merchant's confessional affiliation negatively affected their status. The institution of honorary citizens was established in Russia in 1832 to encourage entrepreneurship [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 7, No. 5284]. Tatars could receive the title and inherit it. However, they were legally deprived of a number of benefits that Orthodox Christian entrepreneurs enjoyed. In particular, they could not receive awards, orders, and ranks as Russian merchants did or apply for civil service for their children after 12 years in the 1st guild [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 18, No. 16599].

The status of the Muslim clergy was indicative of that of Russia's Tatars in general. Nicholas I's rule was marked by a large number of regulations concerning its rights and responsibilities.

Mullahs' low social status affected them negatively. From the 1st quarter of the 18th century, they were legally defined as state peasants and presented as tax payers in censuses in the Middle Volga region [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 25, No. 23817]. This made them stand out against Christian clergymen and the Muslim clergy of the Crimea, who constituted special clerical classes and enjoyed certain privileges⁶. Until

⁶ Benefits were provided to the Islamic clergy of the Crimea by the edicts of 9 December 1796 and 22

1850, Tatar mullahs were subjected to corporal punishment for criminal offenses [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 25, No. 23932], as well as to military recruitment.

These facts provide insight into one of the aspects of the government's relations with the Volga-Ural Tatars, namely the legal restrictions that they faced in their everyday life in the second quarter of the 19th century. Nicholas I personally approved many of the restrictions as he sincerely believed the Orthodox Christian Church to be the pillar on which the Russian monarchy rested. This belief, as well as his idea of his duty as a monarch, which included making every effort to enhance Orthodox dominance in the state, greatly influenced his decision-making and attitude towards the situation. The fact below is illustrative.

During his only stay in Kazan in August 1836, Nicholas I refused to meet representatives of the local Tatar population as Catherine II had done in 1767 [Ibneeva, 2006, p. 115]. Nicholas I had different priorities. When sight-seeing in Kazan, he paid special attention to visiting the burial vault under the church in memory of the Russian warriors who had fell during the conquest of the city in 1552 [Zagoskin, 2005, pp. 245–246].

It is beyond doubt that the events in the Caucasus, where a war was fought against the mountain peoples from 1817 to 1864, contributed to the government's negative attitude towards Muslims in general and Tatars in particular. The idea of expanding the Empire with such strategic areas as the Caucasus was popular with the Russian public. The cost, though, was high. In some periods, as many as 60 to 200 thousand military personnel were concentrated in the Caucasus, their maintenance being extremely burdensome on the treasury [Otechestvennaya Istoriya, 1996, p. 431]. Enormous financial expenditures, dramatic casualties, and periodic military failures caused irritation and dislike for Muslims in the public, which the government could not neglect.

At the same time, it would be wrong to restrict our analysis to the negative aspects of Nicholas I's policy towards Muslim Tatars, describing it in terms of government oppression. The policy was ambiguous and controversial. The law of the second quarter of the 19th century combines discriminative decrees with those consistent with the principle of religious tolerance. Such important aspects of Muslim lifestyle such as polygyny, Hajj,⁷ and oath-swearing according to Islamic formulae were tolerated⁸.

Some benefits that Christian institutions enjoyed applied to Islamic ones. When religious rites were performed directly in the houses of Islamic clergymen, they were usually exempted from the accommodation duty [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 30, No. 29483]. Islamic madrasahs and makhtabs, though up to 1 per locality, were exempted from this duty under a 1850 decree [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 25, No. 23892].

The legal status of the parish Muslim clergy was established during the reign of Nicholas I. In 1826, the Senate permitted village communities to undertake their imams' state duties [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 1, No. 564]. The follow-

⁷In 1843 the procedure for performing hajj by Muslims of the Orenburg guberniya was officially established. This was stipulated in the edict of 30 December 1856, which established this procedure for the Crimean Tatars [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 31, No. 31332]. Anyone who wanted to travel to visit sacred places had to seek support from the rural community and obtain a certificate of reliability from the local authorities.

⁸The authorities never tried to impinge on this right, and ever since the Council Code of 1649 was adopted had been confirmed repeatedly, including in the 19th century: See: The Charter of the Criminal Law of 1864 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 39, No. 41476]. The reason for this tolerance was that the authorities recognised that the oath taken should be in accordance with the religion one adheres to. Otherwise, it would fail to bond him effectively. The form of the oath changed several times. One of the last versions of the judicial oath was introduced by the Regulation of the Committee of Ministers of 25 April 1850 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 25, No. 24116].

May 1801 [see: Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 1, No. 564].

ing procedure for electing mullahs and other local clergymen was legalized in 1837: 2/3 of all family heads constituting the village community were to vote for the candidate. Elections were to be attended by volost and village leaders. All electors were to sign the resolution. When registered with the volost administration, the resolution was to be submitted to the zemstvo court and then to the provincial administration for final approval [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 12, No. 10594]. In 1855, the State Council established age restrictions for people assuming clerical offices. The minimum age for qadis, akhunds, muhtasibs, and mudarrises was 25; for khatibs and imams, 22; and for muezzins, 21 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, vol. 30, no. 29040].

The state wanted to legitimize decisions made by authorities in Muslims' eyes. It even began to encourage imams to become members of judicial and other bodies through monetary stimulation. In 1852, a compensation was established for travel costs in business trips to public institutions [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 27, No. 25972].

The rule of Nicholas I was marked by the introduction of parish registers in OMSA-controlled regions in 1828 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 3, No. 2296]. Beginning then, the government could receive accurate information on the Muslim population because the record keeping function was vested directly in parish imams. It was their responsibility to maintain dedicated books reporting births, deaths, marriages and divorces in Muslim settlements. Since most imams did not know Russian, they were allowed to keep parish books in Tatar.

Nicholas I continued Alexander I's policy of legalising certain Islamic regulations. It was during his rule that decrees permitting the application of Sharia to cases of property division among Muslims' heirs were adopted in 1826 and 1836 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 1, No. 386; Vol. 11, No. 9158]. In 1830, cases related to children's disobedience to their parents were included in the jurisdiction of Islamic religious authorities

[Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 5, No. 3559].

It was in the era of Nicholas I that the Muslims of the Volga-Ural region received access to higher and secondary education establishments, which was determined by a severe need for officials to implement government policy in the southern and eastern peripheries of the Empire. The Neplyuev Military School in Orenburg and the Department for Foreign Languages in the Kazan Gymnasium school, which began to accept non-Christians in 1836, were among such educational establishments [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 11, No. 8742]. Muslims born in Orenburg Krai could continue to study at the Medical Faculty of the University of Kazan [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 11, No. 8771; Vol. 18, No. 17136],⁹ but had no access to other occupations¹⁰. The state also reserved the right to use them for a different purpose [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 24, No. 23616].

This suggests that, being Orthodox-oriented, Nicholas I could not neglect the actual situation. In particular, he could not but admit the value of Islam as underlying public order. He did not realize it until about the second half of the 1830s. There is evidence that the 'thaw' in Muslim policy is attributable to revolutionary events in Western Europe. At some point, the Emperor and his associates came to view Islamic 'fanaticism', familiar and nonthreatening to the state's

⁹ Upon graduation from university, persons of non-Russian origin were obligated to serve as doctors in Orenburg guberniya for at least six years. The edict of 1843 established a salary for them in the amount of 257 rubles 90 kopecks [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 18, No. 17099]. But despite the existing practice in Russia, they still could not raise their social status even after having received higher education. Pursuant to the edict of 1850, people from the Baskirian and Meshcheryak class who had completed a course of study in a Russian educational institution were not to be excluded from this class [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 25, No. 24431].

¹⁰ The Decree of the State Council of 31 October 1849 prohibited Muslims from transferring from the medical department to other departments of the university [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 24, No. 23616].

foundation, as less dangerous than the atheism and revolutionary ideas that were coming from Europe. Being apprehensive about external threats, they had to search for compromise with the Muslim population of the Empire, in particular, the most well-developed and Europeanized part of it in the Volga-Ural Region.

Facts of life also motivated greater flexibility in their relations with the Islamic world. The annexation of the Caucasus and Kazakhstan increased the Muslim population of Russia greatly in the first half of the 19th century, making it too powerful to neglect.

Nicholas I took a number of public measures to demonstrate the government's respect for Muslims' religious feelings to the Muslim community of Russia in the last decade of his rule. A series of decrees was issued in 1844–1846, under which the cross on Muslim-recognized orders (those of St. George, St. Anna, St. Vladimir, St. Stanislaus.—*A. N.*) was replaced with the imperial eagle. [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 19, Nos. 18137, 118188, 18286; Vol. 20, Nos. 18650, 19227; Vol. 21, No. 20551]. Muslims in penal battalions received Fridays off to pray beginning in 1849 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 24, No. 23062].

The reason behind many regulations on the rights of Muslims and the clergy's responsibilities that appeared in the second quarter of the 19th century is not the increasing bureaucratisation of the Russian administrative system,

which was taking place, but rather the need for actual content to fill the principle of religious tolerance. When Islam was subjected to persecution, the government did not find it necessary to work out any standards for Islamic institutions.

The Crimean War (1853–1856), which the Russian government initiated on the pretext of protecting the Orthodox Church's interests in the Ottoman Empire, actually divided Russian society confessionally. Rumour spread among Tatars that the government was intending to Christianize Russia's Muslims, that the Turks were defeating the Russians, etc. [Materialy', 1936, pp. 156–161]. In February 1855, the government resolved to take aggressive measures against Tatar refusal to fulfill recruit duty. Several initiators of the movement went to prison [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, Vol. 30, No. 29033].

Thus, the policy of Nicholas I towards the Tatars of the Volga-Ural region was ambiguous and controversial. The fact that tolerant decrees were combined with those discriminating against Tatars as Muslims in the legislation of that period is indicative of the confrontation of two trends within the Russian ruling elite. Apprehensions lest internal and external threats could 'shake the foundation' largely checked the ambition to force the Tatars and other ethnic minorities' integration into the administrative, social, and cultural environment [see Islam, 2001].

CHAPTER 3

The Autocratic Government's Domestic Policy for Muslim Tatars in 1861–1905

§ 1. A Revision of Catherine II's Concept of 'Disciplining' Islam in the Empire

Anatoly Remnev, Ildus Zagidullin

In the middle of the 19th century, a new generation of public officials in the Empire's administration developed a 'new point of view' of Islam, which included a revisionist attitude towards the principles of Catherine's confessional policy. This primarily affected the confessional and socio-cultural policy for the Kazakhs. The combined ethnic and confessional self-identification of Oriental peoples and dangerous competition with the Volga Tatars, who were the most well-developed group in cultural terms, were seen as the main threat to the Empire.

The head of the Orenburg Borderline Administration V. Grigoryev attributed Kazakh protests against Russian government's measures to the activities of Tatar and Bashkir mullahs [Kharuzin, 1888, p. 96]. In terms of evolutionism, Islam was viewed as a dead-end branch. Its civilising potential was denied. Imperial experts worked out an ideological justification for seeing it as a force that impeded Kazakh integration into the Empire. The Tatars and Islam became dangerous political and ideological opponents.

It was not only the Caucasian and Crimean Wars but the aggravated 'Polish issue' that determined the political shift. Facing the threat of Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Lithuanian Polonisation and Estonian and Latvian Germanisation in the western peripheries, the Empire found the Tatars to be no less dangerous to the Russification of the Volga peoples, the Bashkirs, and the Kazakhs in the eastern periphery. K. Matsuzato classified Muslim Tatars as the Empire's 'respected enemies' [Matsuzato, 2004, pp. 450–

451], while the so-called Muslim question was burning on the list of its numerous issues [Vorobyeva, 1998, pp. 40–55; Campbell (Vorobyeva), 2001, Vol. 4 (122), pp. 132–157]. It became common to criticize the former policy of ignoring Islam and express apprehension about Kazakhs' 'Tatarisation'.

Suspicion towards the activities of the Islamic clergy developed against this political backdrop. It was a common worry that the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly would become an 'Islamic Rome' for Russia's Muslims. The muftiate institution began to be viewed as a powerful instrument for 'Muslim consolidation to enhance their autonomy, reinforce Islam, and raise it in the eyes of the non-Muslim non-Russian population that co-resides with Muslims' in the 1860s [Arapov, 2004a, p. 108]¹¹. Beginning in the middle of the 19th century, Kazan was considered central to anti-Islamic Christian missionary activities.

Several causes raised the question of changes to the Empire's policy in its Asian steppe periphery in the early 1860s. Firstly, state borders changed in the south and the east, turning the Kazakh Steppe into an inner periphery. Secondly, bourgeois transformations took place, which reformers wanted to extend to the Empire's eastern population. Thirdly, new national priorities seemed to promise a synthesis of the imperial and the national to build

¹¹ While at first the Orenburg governor-general N. Kryzhanovsky suggested that the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly should be reformed by tightening state control over its operations, in 1870 he had already advocated for its dissolution.

the ideal 'one and undivided' Russia through the Russification of peripheral peoples and territories. These reasons all dealt with the gradual erasing of legal and administrative differences between inner provinces and the periphery ('administrative Russification') and changes to the 'power geography' through the modernisation and standardisation of the Empire's administrative institutions and practices. The changes to the 'steppe policy' were most likely partly determined by the general reformist trend of the 1860s, which not only affected the administration and the judicial system but aimed at extending the contact area in which Russian and Kazakh societies interact, mainly through peasant migration, Russian merchants' economic activities in the region, and the modernisation of the educational and confessional policy. The Empire changed the rules of the game in the Steppe. It shifted from traditional cooperation with the nobility to a democratic imperialism with greater centralisation and direct administration.

The government's anti-Islamic policy in the south-western periphery, which was totally inconsistent with Catherine II's principle of 'disciplining Islam', was enshrined in the 'Provisional Regulation on the Transformation of the Administration of the Kyrgyz Steppes of the Orenburg and Western Siberian Departments and the Ural and Siberian Cossack Host', dated 21 October 1868. It was implemented in a consistent manner until the fall of the autocracy. Aggressive accusations of fanaticism replaced the tolerant vocabulary towards Muslims and Islam. The Empire came to proclaim itself the protector of those peoples who were suffering from Tatar economic and cultural expansion.

Thus, the Muslim question in the Kazan steppe included, apart from the confessional constituent, an apprehension that, lest the Empire should lose the cultural struggle on its eastern borders, the whole Kazakh Russification policy had to face the Tatar ethnic and religious project, along with the traditional Muslim threat from Central Asia. It became increasingly common to view it as a threat to the Russian people themselves to be subjected to 'Tatarisa-

tion', 'Yakutisation', 'Buryatisation', 'Kazakhisation', etc. [Sanderland, 2005, pp. 199–227].

As the imperial policy became nationalized and the range of its socio-cultural objectives broadened, new activists entered the stage. These were Orientalists and teachers, who exerted heavy pressure on diplomats and military personnel, who were the former ideologists and practitioners in the Kazakh Steppe. The most influential theorists, who largely determined the linguistic policy towards the Kazakhs, were the famous Orientalists V. Velyaminov-Zernov, V. Grigoryev, V. Radlov, N. Ilminsky, along with their associates and disciples I. Altynsarin, N. Ostroumov, A. Vasilyev, A. Alektorov, and others. V. Grigoryev's biographer N. Veselovsky gave him special credit for officially bringing the Kazakh language into use [Veselovsky, 1887, p. 217]. The Orientalist Professor N. Ilminsky from Kazan was a key figure in the new linguistic policy. Like V. Grigoryev, he insisted on the existence of a threat of Tatar cultural and religious awakening [Nishiyama, 2003, pp. 200–224].

The prominent public official D. Tolstoy, who occupied the posts of Chief Procurator of the Synod (1865–1880), Minister of Public Education (1866–1880), Minister of Internal Affairs and Chief Gendarme (1882–1889), as well as his successor to the post of Chief Procurator of the Synod K. Pobedonostsev (1880–1905), had major influence on the government's domestic policy after the reforms.

Following his visit to Orenburg in 1876, Count D. Tolstoy presented to the Emperor a programme for combating the Muslim Tatar influence in the Kazakh Steppe [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, f. 369, inv. 1, file 2040–a]¹². He divided the Muslim peoples in the east of the Empire into three groups, depending on how high their 'religious fanaticism' was. The Tatars ranked first because they were the least enthusiastic about Russian education, followed by the largely Muslimised and Tatarised Bashkirs. Tolstoy viewed the

¹² He invited N. Ilminsky to accompany him on this trip as an expert.



Count D. Tolstoy.
Photo from the second half of the 19th century

government's purpose regarding these groups as ensuring that they preserved 'their style' without turning into Tatars. The Kazakhs, who had begun to become 'Tatarised', ranked third [Materialy', 1936, p. 338].

For the purpose of resisting Muslim Tatar influence, alphabets were to be created for a number of peoples in the empire and books published in their mother tongues. Ensuring the study of Russian was also presented as an important government objective.

Thus, evolutionism and the theory of cultural progress, along with the paternalistic idea of protecting the Kazakh, Bashkir, Chuvash, and Finnish peoples from the influence of Islam and Tatar culture, gave an attractive populist tinge to the Russification-oriented activities of imperial activists. They seemed to show concern about the peoples and their authentic cultures.

When participants of the Caucasian War, who had faced the heroism and fierce resistance to Russian arms of the mountain Muslims, fighting for their independence and traditions, as well as military personnel who had served in western provinces and seen the 'national claims' of the Poles as a threat to the Empire's integrity were appointed to Muslim-populated regions

and received broad administrative powers, they introduced a policy based on discrediting Islam and Muslims. It was not uncommon for them to use methods from their experience in the Caucasian War and military service in the western provinces.

In annexed Turkestan, the 'new vision' of Islam took the form of a government policy that ignored century-old relations between the government and Islam. It consisted of denying to recognize Islamic institutions, primarily the clergy, which by no means meant a lack of government control over the local population. Its author and implementor was Turkestani Governor General K. Kaufman (in office in 1867–1882), who joined the Caucasian war in 1844 and served as Governor General of the North-western Krai in 1865–1867.

Orientalists in public offices, who were in control of the Kazakhs, developed a theory of 'state usefulness' of fragmenting the Muslim population by cultivating linguistic and cultural differences, which became common in the Volga-Ural Region, where the government encouraged the establishment of Kazakh and Bashkir schools to combat Tatarisation and founded Finno-Ugric, Chuvash, and Tatar Christian schools according to N. Ilminsky's method of combating Islamisation.

The mass conversion of Tatar Christians to Islam in the 1850s–1860s caused local bishops to throw public accusations at Muslim Tatars of Islamisation of the indigenous peoples of the Volga-Ural Region. It was not infrequent that the formal nature of the 'renegades' baptism in previous centuries and the poor efficiency of former missionaries and priests were downplayed. High-ranking officials viewed the clerical authorities' accusations of Muslims and the appeal to the public fear of an Islamic threat in the Volga-Ural Region as evidence that society had come to believe the Orthodox clergy to be inefficient because of its adherence to the 'language' and not 'spirit' of faith by the late 1850s–early 1860s [Dolbilov, 2010, p. 136].

Following the establishment by the government of Anti-Muslim Department of the Kazan Spiritual Academy in 1854, an anti-Islamic missionary school developed. Works

by its members shaped the public idea of an 'Islamic threat' to the national security of the Russian Empire and made a major contribution to the Islamophobia of Russian public officials of all ranks. Research by Russian Orientalists and Kazan missionaries was of great significance too. In 1912, V. Bartold claimed Russian Oriental studies to be 'generally backward' as compared to those of Western Europe, complaining that 'not a single more or less elaborate work on Islam has appeared in Russia as a step forward in science' and noted the Russian literature to be dominated by works written 'either to protect Islam or to combat it.' [Bartold, Vol. 6, p. 366]. However, after his trip to Turkestan in 1902, Russia's most famous Orientalist expressed doubt that Muslims would support the Russians and the Russian Empire, meaning that it was in danger of dissolution. As the revolutionary events of the early 20th century demonstrated, V. Bartold's prediction of Muslim separatism failed to materialize [Iskhakov, 2007, p. 71].

The above-mentioned factors resulted in two opposite attitudes towards Islam to form in the government in the 1860s–1870s. The first of them was popular in Turkestan, the Steppe Areas, and in the Northern Caucasus. It consisted in fully revising Catherine II's traditions of government confessional policy. Its adher-

ents viewed the establishment of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly as a defeat in the fight against Islam. They were opposed to the 'Muslim fanatics' consolidating power. The camp included N. Ilminsky, his disciples, the Military Minister L. Milyutin (1860–1881), etc. Their opponents insisted on continuing to centralize control and supervision over Islamic institutions, primarily the clergy, by establishing new religious administrative bodies like the OMSA. They suggested that Caucasian borders should be sealed, lest any religious ideas inconsistent with the Empire's interests should infiltrate the region, and that Muslims should be prohibited from studying in Islamic centres abroad, etc. Officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs were the most steadfast adherents of the approach [Severnyj Kavkaz, 2007, pp. 253–254].

High-ranking officials sought new solutions in imperial confessional engineering. They wanted to see the government to affect the religious affiliation of its subjects while remaining culturally aloof from clerical elites (especially those who were non-Orthodox Christian) and manipulating negative images of Islam as 'fanatic', 'superstitious', mercenary, excessively worldly, etc.' [Dolbilov, 2010, p. 162]. As a result, imperial regional policies for Islam caused tension to increase among Muslims.

§ 2. Tatars in Self-Governing Authorities: Zemstvo, City, and Peasant Authorities

Ildus Zagidullin

In the 19th century, the class hierarchy of the Russian Empire was the main criterion for determining the legal and, to a significant extent, socio-economic status of Russian subjects. In the post-reform period, the class-regulated scale of rights and responsibilities for Russia's multi-ethnic society was developed further. It was not contrary to the population's class status but allowance made for it that Alexander II introduced his liberal reforms. A. Kappeler rightfully remarked that even though the Great

Reforms of the 1860s–1870s did serve as an impetus for modernisation, 'the social mobility of society and its complementary function beyond class and regional limits were still in their infancy in the late 19th century' [Kappeler, 2005, p. 400]. This is why even in the early 20th century, one's social status determined one's legal standing, especially in rural communities.

It is not uncommon for historians speaking of the Tatars' status in the Russian Empire to

limit themselves to saying that local peoples lived among the titular population and were by no means legally different from that population in terms of either social status or privileges, while the specifically 'imperial' nature of government here was not quite obvious. The right approach would be not to analyze the rights of those ethnic minorities in each class group, but to compare the class scale for each ethno-confessional community over a long period, namely from the time the Tatars became part of the Muscovite State. It would also be methodologically correct to view Tatars' social and legal status in the 19th century as an outcome of the government's domestic policy in relation to them in previous centuries. In 1552, the Muscovite State conquered the Khanate of Kazan, which was approximately equal to Moscow in social and economic development. The Khanate contained all the social and public institutions characteristic of a feudal state formation. They were transformed in the following decades, while any protests and movements of the local population against discriminative government policy were suppressed cruelly.

Class groups were introduced in the new Russia within the framework of the Petrine reforms. Peter I, whose goal was to form a new Russian Christian elite, liquidated the Muslim Tatar feudal nobility as a class because most of them had remained true to their confessional identity in spite of heavy government pressure. By defining Tatar murzas as members of the rural taxable class, the government turned the Tatars into a non-privileged element within Russian society. They formed a peasant population and were to play a poor part in the country's economic and socio-cultural development with all the implied consequences of such a position. The Tatar nobility that was restored in the late 18th –early 19th century was poor and merely held an 'honourable title' [Azamatova, 2008, p. 132]. The absence of Tatar public officials was caused directly by their low class status and the small number of their nobility.

Another major influence on Tatar social development within the Russian Empire was the government's confiscation of the traditional

sources of income of Islamic institutions, including waqf and other property after 1552. Having no other funding, Tatar culture encountered a state of stagnation. It was not until a stratum of merchants formed in the 18th century, who undertook to maintain Islamic educational centres, that the Islamic education system was restored.

The development of capitalist relations, liberalized legislations, and other reform-minded circumstances facilitated Muslim integration into Russian society. These processes were most pronounced among urban dwellers and entrepreneurs. The modernisation of Russia extended and accelerated the renewal processes among its Tatar population.

A number of reasons explaining the suppression of such processes should be mentioned as well. The most important of these was that the Volga-Ural region was economically and industrially behind as compared to European Russia's average. Class restrictions and Russian educational qualification requirements also affected the implementation of liberal reforms.

Elements that most scholars believe to have been 'colonial' (personal and institutional superiority of one nation over another which is culturally different) were present in the Volga Region. Representatives of different ethnic groups within the same class had generally the same status [Werth, 2005, p. 59].

In the post-reform period, the government applied all-Russian laws to the Empire's periphery and pursued the goal of unifying its non-Russian population in terms of language and culture. Part of the measures took place under the slogan of implementing progressive Western European transformations—the liberal reforms of the 1860s–1870s—into the social and cultural spheres. The supreme authorities extended the scope of liberal reforms in pursuit of political purposes. The transformations were aimed at reinforcing and modernising the unitary multi-ethnic empire with Orthodox Christianity as its official religion. It is no wonder that the interests of privileged classes and the Russian nation enjoyed the highest priority. This trend in the country's development was

especially pronounced during the reign of Alexander III.

In fact, the government adopted consistent measures to create a national state in the European part of the country by ignoring the fundamental principles of the Empire's non-Russian administrative system.

In this respect, the abolition of the military canton system of administration and the transfer of the Bashkirs, the Mishars, and the Teptyars to the civil authorities in 1862–1865, as well the introduction of universal provincial administrative institutions in the large region, greatly affected the Muslims of the Cis-Ural region. This reform accelerated the transformation of the Cis-Ural region into an inland territory of Russia, like the Middle Volga region, through intense settlement with migrants from central areas and the introduction of Russian private land ownership. The liquidation of the institution of the Orenburg Governorate-General and allocation of its functions to different branches of power in 1881 was an important stage in the establishment of new standards. Thus, the Tatars and the Bashkirs, as the main groups of Muslims under OMSA jurisdiction, found themselves in a legal environment with a uniform administrative system.

Zemstvos. The liberal reforms of the 1860s–1870s, for which the specific character of Russian society was taken into account, were implemented in a gradual and uneven way in the periphery. In key Tatar-populated areas, zemstvos were established at the same time they were introduced in Russia's central regions, which is suggestive of deep integrative processes in the provinces. We are inclined to attribute the fact that zemstvo institutions were established in the Ufa guberniya as late as in 1874, with a 10-year delay, despite petitions by the Governor General of Orenburg (1864) and the nobility of Ufa guberniya (1865) [Azamatova, 2008, pp. 22, 23] to rapid Russian colonisation in the region resulting from the mass sale of patrimonial Bashkir land and the establishment of groups of large Russian landowners and migrant peasants.

The new class qualification requirements ensured a special status for Russian noblemen and public officials within local self-government authorities. To establish zemstvo institutions in regions where non-Russian noblemen were predominant (Polish, Belarusian, the right-bank Ukrainian provinces, the three Baltic provinces) would mean that the national elite would play a more important role in uyezds and provinces, which would turn zemstvos into consolidated bodies for the national intelligentsia, which contradicted imperial interests. The fact that no zemstvos were established in the Astrakhan, Orenburg, and Arkhangelsk guberniyas, as well as in Siberia [Istoriya Soyuza sovetskix soczialisticheskix respublik, Vol. 5, pp. 99–100], where there were hardly any landowners, also confirms our findings concerning the social and ethnic priorities of post-reform liberal transformations. In 1898, the Ministry of Internal Affairs submitted two zemstvo bills to the supreme authorities. One dealt with nine western governorates, the other covered those of Astrakhan, Orenburg, and Stavropol. Chief Procurator of the Synode K. Pobedonostsev and Minister of Finance S. Vitte were opposed to the idea of expanding zemstvo self-administration. 'The one who controls the country should control the administration,' S. Vitte said emphatically. Soon, in 1899, the initiator of the bill I. Goremykin was removed from the post of Minister of Internal Affairs for being politically short-sighted [New Encyclopaedic Dictionary, Vol. 18, pp. 662–663].

Zemstvo self-government authorities were meant to ensure cooperation among different representatives of class and ethnic groups in uyezds and governorates. Zemstvos never became true self-governing bodies for Tatars as they were viewed as part of the Russian administrative system. Tatars were only elected to zemstvos from the peasant community curia because of their low social status. Their poor knowledge of Russian and illiteracy prevented them from attending zemstvo meetings. It was more an exception than a rule for a Tatar to work in uyezd and provincial zemstvo administrations. In some governorates, it was mostly



Governorate Zemstvo Council in Ufa Photo from the early 20th century.

Tatar noble farmers who became zemstvo officials.

At first, Tatar members of zemstvo bodies were extremely passive. In the Kazan guberniya, where Tatars constituted about 1/3 of the population, about 25% of the Muslim members of uyezd zemstvo assemblies were elected from the rural community curia in 1883 and 1886. However, they constituted about 10% of the total members (289 people) [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 5836, s. 2–70; file 6930, s. 1–127. Our calculation.—*I. Z.*]. Very few Muslims were elected to provincial zemstvo assemblies. Those uyezds of the Ufa guberniya where Muslims prevailed were an exception, with Muslims accounting for about 50% of all zemstvo assembly members in the 1880s [Steinwedel, 2011, pp. 71, 72]. While in Ufa guberniya, where most of the Tatar nobility resided, cooperation began in the 1880s, in the rest of the provinces, especially where there was no guild merchant group, interaction began following the renewal processes that took place after the First Russian Revolution, especially in 1910 [Vladimirova, 2011, pp. 340–341].

It is noteworthy that Governor of Kazan P. Poltoratsky, the former Head of Ufa guberniya, suggested to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in his 1889 report that 'in order to mitigate the influence that Tatar representatives have on the Muslim masses... Russian literacy should be made a prerequisite for their participation in addition to the limit on the number of Mus-

lim Tatar members in zemstvo and city assemblies' [Russian State Historical Archive, Item No. 35 A, p. 3].

The zemstvo counter-reform of 1890 caused the number of Muslim members to decrease because zemstvo bosses preferred to appoint deputies elected by the Ortho-

dox peasant curia, and the governor approved such lists. After zemstvo deputy elections by the peasant curia were permitted in 1906, the number of Muslim assembly members once again increased [Steinvedel, 2011, pp. 71, 72].

Volost meetings in the Ufa guberniya considered proportional representation for Muslims in zemstvo assemblies during the revolution of 1905–1907. In particular, the Birskskiy uyezd and Ufa guberniya meetings addressed the issue in 1906. However, the zemstvo members who represented the Russian Orthodox majority did not accept the idea of ethnic-based elections [Sevastyanov, 2005, pp. 105–106].

It was common to violate the principle of allocating funds depending on the percentage of incoming taxes funding Muslim education at the zemstvo level [Azamatova, 2005, pp. 11–138; Vladimirova, 2009, pp. 9–34]. This meant that funding was used to meet the cultural demands of the Empire's titular population.

City Self-Government Authorities. Elections to city self-government bodies in post-reform Russia were property-based. However, the introduction of new criteria was no final solution to the national question. A dedicated law was necessary to modify the property qualification requirement. According to the 1870 City Regulations, the City Duma was to consist of 2/3 Christians and 1/3 non-Christians [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—2, Vol. 45, Section 1, No. 48498, Article 35]. Beginning in 1892, a confessional restriction of no more than 1/5 of all members was established

[Gorodovoe polozhenie, 1892, Article 44]. The restriction proved irrelevant for the Volga-Ural region because its urban Tatar population, especially the wealthy part of it, was small with few exceptions.

Peasant Self-Government Bodies. In the post-reform period, peasant self-government bodies played a major part in clergyman appointment. Raised by the administration of the local diocese, the question became widely discussed in the Kazan guberniya in connection with the mass re-conversion of baptised Tatars to Islam. For instance, the Kazan Provincial Office for Peasant Affairs issued a dedicated edict in 1867, under which all Muslim volost leaders in volosts where Tatars co-resided with Orthodox Christians were to be replaced, which caused disturbance in a number of Tatar rural communities [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 1834, s. 1–2].

In their annual reports, the heads of certain governorates (those of Kazan, Samara, Saratov, Nizhny Novgorod, Perm, and Penza) advocated 'preventing Muslim influence', in particular by restricting the voting rights of Muslim peasants. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and then the Committee of Ministers had to reject suggestions which Tatars could rightfully interpret as religious oppression and which could cause mass disturbances. The administrative division of rural communities by religion in order to isolate Christian Tatars from Muslim public officials was also found inefficient because it would have negative economic outcomes [Vorobyeva, 1997, p. 232].

A special meeting of the Committee of Ministers to discuss the Emperor's remark to the 1881 report by the Governor of Kazan concerning the prevention of further Tatar Christians converting back to Islam, which took place in 1884, declared it 'inconvenient' to take any legislative measures in terms of prohibiting Muslims from being elected to peasant public offices in order to protect Tatar Christians from Muslim 'oppression'. It was resolved to limit the measures to administrative supervision to ensure the appointment of Russian and not 'fa-

natic Muslim' peasants to peasant and volost self-government bodies where possible [Council of the Minister of Public Education, Vol. 9, Column 676–677].

It should be noted that the resolution remained in effect until the fall of the autocracy. The new law was applied in volosts where Muslims constituted the majority of the population. The local administration addressed the issue depending on the candidates' personal qualities. It was common for multi-confessional volosts to elect a Muslim Tatar assistant volost leader.

It is of note that in 1879, 1883, and 1886, the Laishev, Spassk, and Sviyazhsk Uyezds, with Tatar percentages of 43%, 30%, and 30% respectively, did not have any Muslim volost leaders. Their representation was also insignificant in the Mamadysh Uyezd, where Muslims accounted for 60% of the population. Muslim volost leaders were present in the Kazan Uyezd [Muslim percentage: 54%]—20%, Tetyushi Uyezd [Muslim percentage: 50%]—29%, Chistopol Uyezd [Muslim percentage: 33%]—14–29% [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 4882, s. 24–62; file 5752, s. 4–12, 49–49 reverse; file 7142, s. 8–16, 97–105]. Most Muslim Tatar volost leaders could speak Russian, but could not properly write in it. This was even more true among village leaders.

It was common to replace volost administration bosses in the post-reform period. For instance, in 1879, 18% of them in the Kazan guberniya had been previously elected volost leaders, associates, or had been candidates for the position, while 56% of all volost leaders had worked in peasant self-government bodies [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 4882, s. 24–62].

Few officials in peasant self-government bodies of the Volga-Ural region commanded literacy in Russian. For instance, as few as 0.03% of land captains, 3.7% of village leaders, and 39% of volost leaders were literate in the Kazan guberniya in 1880. The situation made the role of the volost administration scribe, who was appointed by the local administration, even more important. He enjoyed a lot of control because volost leaders were generally



Volost foremen from the Russians and the Tatars with the head of zemstvo
Nizhny Novgorod guberniya Photo by M. Dmitriev. 1891–1892

illiterate and frequently removed. Archival documents suggest a vast majority of them to have been peasants who had only received primary education.

The records of the First General Census of 1897 reveal Muslim Tatars to have been poorly represented in the local and uyezd apparatus of the Kazan guberniya: they constituted only 13%, with the Russian percentage being as high as 74. 1% [Pervaya vseobshchaya, Vol. 14, pp. 178, 184, 188–189. Our calculation.—*I. Z.*]. Even in volosts where indigenous peasants constituted a vast majority of the population, the administration consisted, with few exceptions, of Russians, not to mention uyezd and provincial institutions [Daishev, 1980, p. 122].

Thus, Muslim Tatars were a minority in the city and zemstvo self-government bodies

established in the post-reform period, which was caused by their small percentage of representation in the uyezds and provinces well as their social class composition and financial standing. The activity of Muslim Tatars largely depended on their class affiliation and literacy.

Rural Muslim Tatar self-government institutions operated within land communities and in volosts where Muslims constituted a majority of the population. However, Tatar leaders and members of volost administrations lacked literacy in Russian and were responsible for collecting taxes and maintaining order, which made 'Muslim' volost self-government authorities merely executors of instructions by the local administration and not protectors of their local co-confessionals' interests.

§ 3. The Observance of Muslims' Religious Rights in Government, Public and Private Institutions

Ildus Zagidullin

The ministries and various offices which coordinated and controlled the implementation of government decisions, and issued by-laws clarifying certain provisions and articles of laws approved by superior powers, were of special importance to the government's domestic policy.

At the formal level, there hardly were any ethnic-based legal restrictions in Russian law. Regulations were applied depending on a subject's confessional affiliation and Russian language skills. According to the famous expert on the ethnic issue in the Russian Empire S. Dyakin, the 'Russian state idea', that of an autocratic great power, 'denied not only Russia's largest ethnic groups' the right of administrative autonomy, but denied the very right of existence to the smaller ones, expecting them to be assimilated into the Russian nation' [Dyakin, 1998, p. 15].

Days off. The work of government and public institutions was regulated by a uniform schedule of days off and holidays specified by the government. The Orthodox Christian church ritual affected this tradition considerably. Sunday was a day off at all public offices, educational establishments, plants, and other institutions, as well among the Russian peasant community. Apart from this, the empire rested on Orthodox Christian holidays, 'tsar days' and days which were legally established as holidays in memory of important socio-political or military events. In particular, by request of the administration of the Diocese of Kazan, the Emperor's Decree of 12 April 1854 established 4 October, the day that Ivan the Terrible entered defeated Muslim Kazan and the relics of the first missionaries Archbishop Gury and his collaborator Barsanuphius were discovered, as a day off for government institutions and educational establishments in the Kazan guberniya [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 35, Section 1, No. 28160].

Muslims working at government institutions, and city and zemstvo administrations could not rest on Fridays or Islamic religious holidays. The organisations' internal work regulations or statutes did not provide for Muslims to have the opportunity to pray.

The range of government public institutions which provided opportunities for Friday services and resting on Islamic religious holidays in the Russian Empire was limited to the OMSA, Tatar and Kazakh teachers' schools, Russian-Tatar [Bashkir] schools, penal battalions and prisons. The OMSA and the previously-mentioned educational establishments also had days off on Sundays and Orthodox Christian religious holidays [Zagidullin, 2006, pp. 232–329].

Judicial Institutions. For a long time, it was the social duty of Islamic clergymen to visit hospitals, penal battalions, police offices, and other institutions when summoned by officials. In 1852, the procedure for the compensation of travel costs from the treasury of 'clergymen of Christian confessions in case of business trips', established under the Senate's Decree of 16 December 1847 for the Orthodox clergy, was extended to apply to mullahs [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 27, Section. 1, No. 25972].

According to the Circular Regulation of 6 May 1878 by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, clergymen of all confessions summoned by public offices and officials for religious services were to receive from budget of the Ministry of Internal Affairs an allowance to cover travel, daily expenses and accommodation just as officials sent on business trips or appointed by managers received one.

In 1886, the practice of rewarding clergymen for attending trials for oath swearing with 'one ruble per trial' was extended to apply to all the confessions recognised within Russia [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–3, Vol. 6, No. 4098].



Layout of prison in the city of Mamadysh of Kazan guberniya, 1869.

In the late 19th to early 20th century, some uyezd zemstvo administrations began to cover wagon costs for mullahs [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 695, s. 19].

Penitentiaries. The prison was a closed institution. Third parties were not granted entrance. The Law of 5 March 1849, according to which Muslims and Jews in penal battalions were released from work for prayers on Fridays and Saturdays respectively, but in turn worked on Sundays, was an important regulation concerning the religious practices of imprisoned non-Christians [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 24, Section 1, No. 23064].

Jews, Muslims and prisoners of other confessions remained in their cells when Christian rituals were performed in prisons. Prisoners 'of foreign confessions' were allowed to pray 'in a dedicated vacant room'. The rest of the time, the attendance of public prayer services largely depended on how crammed the cell was, relations between the prisoners, and how 'zealous' Muslims were in fulfilling their religious duties.

In 1864, prisoners who professed religions which were permitted in Russia were allowed to receive 'fasting food' [Sbornik czirkulyarny'x, 1880, p. 60]. Beginning in 1854, prisoners in civil and military prisons received three days off during annual Islamic holidays [Russian

State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1181, s. 8]. The order of the Provincial Inspector of Samara for the Samara City Prison, dated 15 December 1899, is illustrative of how the instructions were applied to Muslim prisoners: 'Provide separate praying cells so as to prevent those convicted of the same deed from being together during the Mohammedan month-long fast 'Ramazan' beginning on 21 December. Because Mohammedans traditionally cannot take meals before sunset, I suggest that their lunches be delivered to them along with their suppers during this period' [Aleksushin, 2003, p. 119].

The positive changes in how Muslim rights were observed were largely brought about by the Ministry of Justice, which was responsible for penitentiaries.

Primary School. Liberal reforms brought about positive changes in primary education for ethnic minorities. From 1870, it was made official that Muslim pupils at primary schools did not have to attend Theology classes. This also applied to reading classes, where books in Church Slavonic were used, in village and city primary schools, and Church Slavonic classes in uyezd schools. For the first time, Muslim students of private and public primary and secondary, and secondary vocational schools had the opportunity to attend classes on the Principles of Islam on a voluntary basis (at the students' or community cost). From 1878, principals of public schools had to observe the requirement, initially established for Jews, to teach Muslim theology in the afternoon [Central District Department of Education, 1878, No. 3–4, pp. 34–35].

Secondary School. Certain regulations on the religious rights of representatives of ethno-confessional minorities applied to gymnasiums. 'The Regulations on Gymnasiums and Pro-Gymnasiums' of 1864 [para. 43] provided for non-Orthodox classes only at the cost of ethno-confessional communities. The 1871 'Regulations on Gymnasiums and Pro-Gymnasiums' were the first to not prohibit the funding of religious classes for non-Orthodox students at the government's cost or from a special school fund subject to the permission of the Minister of Public Education. Textbooks were to

be published in the students' native language, while the language of instruction was to be the official language [Central District Department of Education, 1899, No. 3, p. 131].

The introduction of the Principles of Islam at secondary educational establishments met with difficulties at an early stage. In particular, the parents of students of the Ufa Men's Gymnasium made several attempts at introducing Islamic Theology (in 1872, 1884–1886). In his petition to the Trustee of the District Department of Education, dated 24 January 1887, Mufti M. Sultanov adopted a conceptual approach to the issue, emphasising that it was necessary for Muslims to fulfill their civic duties on the same level as Russians. 'It is hardly justifiable or reasonable to deprive Mohammedan youth of the opportunity to take classes in their native—and the only adequate—language apart from general subjects, which is all the more so important because this idea has long been invented and implemented at military educational establishments [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 817, s. 33–34]. This time the administration of the District Department of Education supported the mufti, and in 1888, 18 students of the Ufa Men's Gymnasium began to attend classes on the Principles of Islam 3 times a week [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 817, s. 39–43]. The fundamental principle underlying the model consisted in providing vacant rooms to various confessional groups at hours when Theology or foreign languages were taught.

In the early 20th century, the Tatars of Kazan often called the authorities' attention to the need of appointing theology teachers for schools, gymnasiums, and other educational establishments 'where Muslims would be willing to send their children' [Kazansky Telegraf, 1901, No. 2483, 21 February]. Beginning in 1903 in the Kazan Educational District, Islamic classes at the 2nd Kazan Gymnasium and the Yelabuga Non-Classical Secondary School were organised using special school funds [Czirkulyar po Kazanskomu uchebnomu okrugu, 1903, No. 867]. In the early 20th century, principals of private educational establishments were eager to fulfill the requests of students' parents, whose payment of education fees constituted their income [Makhmutova, 1982, pp. 78–79; Biktimirova, 2003, pp. 55–64].

The extent to which the rights granted to Muslims were observed depended chiefly on their parents' perseverance, the local ethno-confessional community's economic potential, and the opinion of the administration of the educational establishment and the Muslim spiritual leader.

In 1905, inspired by general democratic sentiment, the Tatar community of the Kasimov Uyezd, in Ryazan guberniya, declared that it would be 'desirable for all government educational establishments, attended by at least five Muslims to employ Islamic theologians as public officials for an adequate salary' [Zagidullin, 2006, pp. 297–298].

§ 4. Legislative Ethno-Confessional Restrictions

Ildus Zagidullin

Orthodox Christianity was 'leading and dominant' in the Russian Empire's system of religious tolerance [Svod uchrezhdenij, 1896, Article 1]. Public Orthodox religious ceremonies and other events 'were not subject to any restrictions except those determined, for instance, by police and sanitary measures' [Suворov, 1912, p. 510].

The Russian administrative, police and judicial system supported the high status of the Russian Orthodox Church. In order to secure this prestige, the Code on Criminal and Correctional Penalties contained a section titled 'On Offences against the Faith and on Violation of Regulations That Protect It', aimed at imposing a respectful and tolerant attitude towards

Orthodox Christians' religious feelings and institutions among ethno-confessional minorities [Ulozhenie o nakazaniyax, 1857, Article 192–274].

No penalties were provided for to protect Islam and Muslims' religious dignity. Thus, the autocratic government created a legal environment that caused Christians to feel like they would not be punished for offending Muslims' religious feelings, which helped form a great power attitude towards non-Russians [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 41, inv. 1, file 2195, s. 26].

It was not until the beginning of the 20th century that positive changes were introduced into the Russian law. The new Criminal Code of 22 March 1903 was the first to specify a number of penalties for violating or restricting 'the religious rights of Muslims' [Ugolovnoe ulozhenie, 1904, pp. 156–160].

It is safe to say that the government wanted to protect the religious rights of the Orthodox population in nearly all cases. In the 1890s, the Synod presented to the State Council the issue regarding 'the necessity of protecting the Orthodox Christian population of some areas in Russia from the harmful influence of Tatars, who often make their Orthodox employees work on Sundays'. As the result, Muslim Tatars followed Jews in being prohibited from impeding their Orthodox servants, workers or employees 'in worship or fulfillment of other religious duties' in 1896 [Ustav o preduprezhdenii, 1890, Article 88]. Craftsmen did not have to work on Sundays and the feast of the Great Twelve 'except when necessary'. Non-Christian craftsmen could work on such days as long as they did not engage their Christian apprentices. At the same time, Christian craftsmen could not force non-Christians to work on their religious holidays [Ustav o promy'shlennosti, 1893, Article 430]. Non-Christians who were found guilty of oppressing Christians were to pay a fine of up to 50 rubles [Ugolovnoe ulozhenie, 1904, p. 161].

As a result of the Russian Orthodox Church's exclusive right to carry out missionary activities among Russian subjects [Ustav o preduprezhdenii, 1857, Article 97], Islamic missionaries among Orthodox Christians were

subjected to prosecution [Ulozhenie o nakazaniyax, 1857, Article 114, 116, 220, 202], as were those found guilty of 'raising obstacles for their coreligionists who want to convert to Orthodox Christianity' [Ulozhenie o nakazaniyax, 1857, Article 209]. According to the Edict of 2 August 1854 on measures preventing pagans from converting to Islam, the Ministry of Internal Affairs issued instructions that such conversions should not be accepted. Any exceptions were subject to the Emperor's decision [Nacional'nyj vopros, 2009, p. 8].

The confessional approach also applied to court trials involving Orthodox Christians. According to the Decree on Prohibiting Muslims Members and Secretaries of Judicial Places to Participate in the Investigation and Judgment on Cases against the Christian Faith and Church Laws of 30 May 1866 [Opis' del, Vol. 6, p. 288], only Orthodox judges could try cases relating to religious issues. In case non-Orthodox people were present among the 30 jurors summoned, they were to be automatically replaced by reserve jurors of the right confession when drawing lots to form the jury for any case 'against the faith' [Ustav ugolovnogo, 1892, Article 1010].

During the reign of Alexander III nationalist trends in the government's domestic policies became much more pronounced. On the one hand, they were caused by the modernisation of Russia and the tsar's personal qualities. On the other hand, they were a response to the awakening self-awareness of peoples and their resistance to assimilatory government policies [Dyakin, 1998, p. 27].

When Tatars came to occupy certain administrative and public offices, the government began restricting their range of activities to prevent further contacts with the Russian element. In 1889, the government adopted a 'special procedure' for appointing non-Orthodox Christian chamber councils to judicial institutions and advisory juries. Before a law concerning this question was issued, each case was to be personally considered and approved by the Minister of Justice, and for uyezd assembly chamber councils, the Minister of Internal Affairs [Uchrezhdeniya sudebny'x, 1892, Note to Article 380].

The government attached special importance to isolating Muslims within the primary education system. Such discriminatory acts included 'prohibiting Muslims from presiding over uyezd and provincial school councils and membership in them as representatives of zemstvo institutions and city self-government authorities' (1888) [Svod ustavov ucheny'x, 1893, Article 3495 and Note to Article 3495], and the loss of rank for non-Christian family teachers and tutors of both sexes who had teaching licenses and worked among Orthodox people [Svod ustavov ucheny'x, 1893, Article 3779, 3825].

Children and Family Relations. In a clerical state like the Russian Empire, family values and relations were determined by church canons. Laws enacted under Nicholas I, which gave priority in decisions to the Christian member of a family, had remained in effect during the post-reform period [Svod zakonov grazhdanskix, 1900, Article 80].

A Muslim man could marry an orthodox woman provided that he converted, which meant losing his confessional identity. At the same time, a Circular by the Ministry of Internal Affairs No. 182 of 12 July 1888 instructed Islamic clergy to refrain from performing any Muslim and Pagan mixed marriages [Nacional'nyj vopros, 2009, p. 8].

Thus, the dominant status of the Russian Orthodox Church, police protection of its privileges nearly in every sphere of life, and impunity for oppressing or violating the religious feelings and rights of representatives of other religions brought about the religious oppression of Muslims in areas of contact between the two groups.

Legislative restrictions mostly served the purpose of protecting the interests of the Russian population, eliminating any reasons for which the existing self-government bodies could be used to protect certain ethno-confessional groups.

§ 5. Censorship of Tatar Books

Ildus Zagidullin

In the post-reform period, namely after the Polish Rebellion of 1863, the autocratic government developed a negative attitude towards Tatar initiatives that would favour national consolidation and secular cultural development. In the meanwhile, modernisation in Tatar society was marked by the establishment of periodicals in their national language. In particular, the Governor of Kazan wrote regarding a petition by the inspector of the Russian-Tatar Teachers' School Sh. Akhmerov (1894–1895): 'Developing literature and periodicals in the Tatar language among non-Russian tribes inhabiting Russia can hardly motivate the tribes to get closer to and merge with the Russian people... developing literature in their mother tongue can merely awake non-Russians' national awareness and, more than that, their political aspirations' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 9690, s. 10–10 reverse].

Tatars had filed over 20 petitions for permission to establish a periodical in the Tatar language to the Minister of Internal Affairs, the General Directorate for Publishing, and the Censorship Committee of Saint Petersburg, as well as Kazan guberniya, by 1905. Government authorities always denied permission to the potential publisher on the pretext of either his incompetence or lack of opportunities to censor periodicals in Tatar [Amirkhanov, 2002, pp. 35–36].

The first Tatar newspaper 'Nur' ('Light') appeared on 2 September 1905. G. Bayazitov, translator at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, collegiate assessor and akhund of the 2nd Saint Petersburg Mahallah, received permission to publish it after a series of refusals concerning the newspapers 'Xäftä' ('Week'), 'Çışmä' ('Spring'), and 'Nur' ('Ray') in 1891–1895.

Taking into account the practice of total prohibition, Islamil Gasprinsky's (1851–1914) Turkic-speaking newspaper 'Tärceman' ('Translator'), established in 1883, which printed parallel Tatar and Russian texts and was subjected to preliminary censorship by the Censorship Committee of Saint Petersburg, was a breakthrough. In 1884 Gasprinsky was able to break with the Committee 'by referring the newspaper to censorship in Simferopol' [State Archive of the Russian Federation, f. 102, DPOO, inv. 226 (1898), file 11, part 3, s. 3–17].

In 1865–1905, The Ministry of Internal Affairs, the General Directorate for the Press and judicial authorities banned 240 books. The list did not contain those in Tatar, except for a few. The fact is that according to the Law on Censorship of 6 April 1865, original works having a volume of at least 10 quires and translated works with at least 20 quires were not subject to preliminary censorship. It was the responsibility of judicial authorities, then within the Ministry of Internal Affairs [beginning in 1872] and the censorship authorities themselves [beginning in 1874] to withdraw books published lacking preliminary censorship. The right of publication without preliminary censorship did not apply to all Tatar books [Karimullin, 1983, pp. 142, 143]. Manuscripts of Tatar books were banned from publishing already during consideration by the censor. When the Directorate for Censorship was moved from Kazan to Saint Petersburg in 1871, significant difficulties emerged.

Some Tatar books were banned because the government would no accept any public criticism of itself. For instance, in 1879 the pamphlet 'Mäkärce bäete' ('Bait on the Makaryev Fair') was withdrawn from sales and printing because it told about a district superintendent of police who violated Tatars' dignity and religious feelings. The Russian official wanted people to call him 'khazrat' and would not allow meeting attendees go 'until prayer time was over'. The bait presented a very vivid depiction of the policeman's bureaucratism, bribery, drunkenness, and criminal behaviour [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 4467, s. 6–9]. Censor Sarruf was found

guilty of 'political immaturity' and removed for approving the pamphlet.

In 1880, the 'Erbet bäete' ('Bait on the Irbit Fair') 'criticising the law, an office, a public official, ministers, and the Senate' and the manuscript of the book 'Vasıyatnamä' ('Will') as similar to 'Mäkärce bäete' ('Bait on the Makaryev Fair') were banned [Karimullin, 1983, pp. 110, 120, 124].

A number of criteria for banning Tatar manuscripts were mostly determined by political circumstances and the censor's personal attitude.

The Censorship Committee undertook the mission of 'presenting' to Muslim peoples an attractive image of the Russians while banning Tatar translations of such classical Russian authors as A. Pushkin, N. Gogol, and L. Tolstoy ('The Kreutzer Sonata'). In particular, a translation of L. Tolstoy's story 'The First Distiller' was banned for 'forming the wrong idea of the Russian people among the Turks'. 'Qırıq baqça' ('Forty Gardens') by N. Nasyri, which described a Tatar defeating a Russian athlete in a fight on Lake Kaban, was banned for some phrases that were found to offend Russian national dignity.

Encouragement of protest was another important reason cited for denying the publication of Tatar manuscripts. In particular, Censor V. Smirnov banned 'Tärbiya' ('Upbringing') by R. Fakhretdin as 'an emotional pamphlet advocating for the establishment of new schools', and to save up capital for this purpose 'by minimising their needs in life and filing a group petition to the government...' [quoted by: Karimullin, 1983, pp. 111, 127–130].

'Äl fiker äl xosusi fi äl cälläd' ('Particular Thoughts on a Dispute') by Kh. Maxmutov was banned in 1899 because of the author's speculations that a national newspaper should be published in order for the Tatars to unite around to preserve their language and religion [Karimullin, 1983, pp. 128–129].

Publishing of Islamic religious books was inherent to the religious rights of Muslims, for whom the government guaranteed 'freedom of worship'. In certain periods of national history, 'the Islamic book issue' acquired a political

nature and triggered comparable government measures.

The Arab script and the Turkic language in such manuscripts and books limited the audience among Muslim readers. However, phrases in these publications that told Muslims they should know how to pray were often viewed as Islamic propaganda and consequently resulted in this works being banned. The first case like this was initiated in 1845–1849 by the administration of the Diocese of Kazan, which believed publishing Islamic religious literature to be the same as Islamic missionary activities among Christian Tatars. Banning the Quran and other Islamic religious books, which were at that time being published in many countries, damaged Russia's image beyond repair. According to A. Karimullin, one of the main reasons why religious literature began to appear in Russia again was the autocratic government's apprehension, lest English commercial companies came to control the trade in Islamic literature and thus influence the Muslims of Russia. When the ban was lifted in 1845, it was accompanied by instructions that the supervision over book publishing in Kazan should be strengthened. Apart from official censorship, 'Orientalist professors of the University of Kazan were to engage in censoring Tatar works', which could not contain '... any sayings against the government and the ruling Christian church' [Karimullin, 1983, p. 100].

Authorities consulted the OMSA in considering religious books. After mistakes were made while printing the Quran in Kazan publishing houses, Sh. Marjani was obliged in 1860 to ensure the 'completeness and absolute accuracy' of the text of the Holy Islamic Book [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 831, s. 24–27]. Sh. Marjani was involved in this work, with breaks, for over 20 years. On Mufti M. Sultanov's petition in 1889, the Ministry of Internal Affairs turned the function of preliminary censorship of the Quran and the Haftiak over to the OMSA [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 829, s. 182, 189–189 a].

In 1889, the Petersburg priest B. Dalton published a book addressing the Ober [Chief] Procurator of the Synod K. Pobedonostsev, stating that Muslims in Russia had more rights than Lutherans did. As evidence, he cited three Tatar books containing the words 'kyafer' and 'jihat'. Censor V. Smirnov challenged the statement by reporting the Islamic usage of 'kyafer' to traditionally denote all non-Muslims and non-believers, and claiming the word 'jihat' to be a similar traditional cliché [Karimullin, 1983, pp. 112–115].

In his expert opinion on Dalton's 'open letter', N. Ilminsky reported to the Ministry of Internal Affairs on 30 October 1889, that 'Fanatic ideas such as holy war are contained directly in the Quran and essentially belong to the very foundation of Islam despite civilised decorators' attempts at presenting Islam in a poetic manner. Therefore, the fanatic excess in the books in question is not novel to Islam. However, I believe it to be reasonable and timely to protect the censorship from intrusive claims by Mohammedan publishers with guidelines that would prohibit the publishing in Russia of articles, chapters, or thoughts of a fanatic nature which are not appropriate for Muslim Russian subjects, whether in Tatar or in Turkish. These cannot but include the duty of holy war as well as equal payment for wrongs committed—mutilation or murder for an act of mutilation or murder—or calling the sultan our padishah to mix his dogmatic, religious leadership with the secular tsar. Taking into account the current agitation of the Tatars, the nascent Tatar-Muslim nation, which shows an inclination towards Turkish tastes and sympathies, thanks to a Tatar newspaper [meaning 'Tärceman'—*I. Z.*], such places in books can be noticed by credulous Muslim Tatars and confuse their Mohammedan conscience' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 829, s. 196 reverse–197].

The government refused to adopt such guidelines. However, authoritative as he was in government circles, the missionary from Kazan N. Ilminsky succeeded indirectly. Beginning in 1890, Censor V. Smirnov consistently crossed out words and sentences (especially those on

Jihad) from religious works dating back to the 10–12th centuries and Quranic ayats, words or sentences containing 'jugat', 'kyafer', 'giaour', viewing them, whether rightfully or not, as bearing the disguised humiliation of or intolerance towards Christians and Christianity, often associating them automatically with the inter-confessional situation in the Russian Empire, which brought about numerous individual and group complaints by Tatar publishers in Kazan as well as clergymen. Legally speaking, V. Smirnov took appropriate the measures. According to Article 184 of the 'Charter on Censorship and Printing', calling for the elimination of 'all books of [a foreign] spiritual nature which contain speculations and opinions inconsistent with the principles of the Christian faith, or challenge the Orthodox Christian religion, or cause godlessness, disrespect of the Holy Scripture, etc. ' [Ustav o cenzure i pechati, Article 184]. It is also important to note that public officials were affected by the policy of national conservatism which determined the domestic policy of Alexander III.

Tatar publishers were able to inform the global public of Russian censorship's persecution of Islamic religious literature and the

Quran with the help of the London newspaper 'Times'. Censor V. Smirnov's measures motivated Tatars to search for publishing opportunities abroad. The first time that the government paid attention to the tension was after 27 clergymen from Orenburg and Kargala filed a complaint. In 1892, the government prohibited the censor from abridging the Quran, 'its parts and extracts from it'. Beginning in 1893, religious books were printed according to former requirements [Karimullin, 1983, pp. 120, 124, 140, 141].

To sum up, despite the liberal reforms, as well as social and political modernisation, the Russian government's domestic policy for Tatars relied on pre-reform principles. Importantly, the Tatar issue in the Volga-Ural Region did not bother the government as much as the Polish, Jewish, Ukrainian, and Armenian national issues did, because the territory had long been a part of Russia, the Tatars held low social and class status, and ethno-confessional elites were too passive to protect their civil rights. This is also attributable to the particular path of development that Tatar society and culture followed. These factors influenced the nature and vector of the government's domestic policy directly.

§ 6. Conversion to Christianity and the Christianisation of Muslim Tatars

Radik Iskhakov

Throughout the 19th century, the government pursued a goal of religious unification (Christianisation) among the empire's non-Christian population by providing administrative, legal, and financial support to the Orthodox church to facilitate the advancement of its faith. However, the views of political elites concerning the government's participation in Christianisation and the methods of its implementation changed significantly. The establishment of an institutional network of a 'confessional' state made it possible to employ instruments for integrating non-Orthodox believers into the Empire's social environment through cooperation with their elites. However,

organs of higher power continued to view Christianisation along with Russification as the most efficient method of incorporating non-Russian peoples into Russian society. The cultural and historical background of the Russian Empire, where belonging to the ruling confession had been viewed as the key criteria of being Russian and a mark of loyalty to the Orthodox tsar, corroborated this idea.

The period of the Great Reforms became a new stage in non-Russian Christianisation. The religious policy polarised during this time. On the one hand, it was admitted that active secular interference with church affairs, such as the abolition of enactments granting

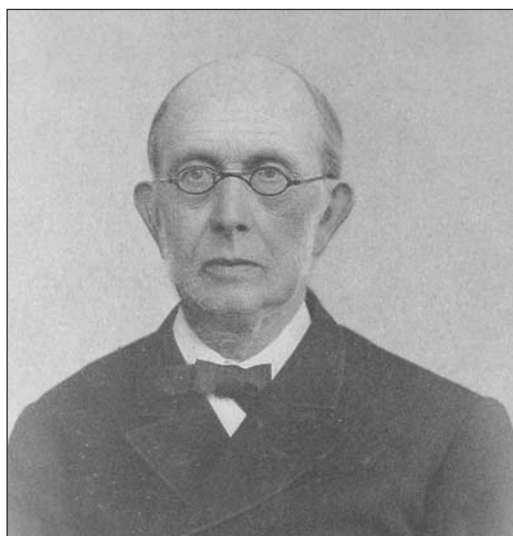
benefits and exemption for converts into Orthodox Christianity, had to be abandoned as they had become inconsistent with the morals and the vision of the objectives that westernised state's legal policy pursued, as well as those of Russia after the liberal reforms [Rimsky, 1996, pp. 32–48]. On the other hand, strengthening Russian nationalism and the accelerated integration of the Empire's population following the rebellion in Poland (January 1863) brought about the active employment of a confrontational method of incorporating non-Russian peoples through religious, cultural and linguistic unification through administrative coercion.

The key acts introducing new forms of controlling missionary activities were the Procedure for Performing Holy Baptism for non-Christians of 14 December 1861 and the 'Procedure for Establishing Orthodox Brotherhoods' of 8 May 1864. The former introduced more open and civilised forms of conversion into Christianity. It was forbidden to baptise Muslim, Jewish, and 'Pagan' children under the age of 14 without their parents' permission (paragraph 1); under-aged non-Christians could only be converted following six months of confirmation (formerly the requirement was up to 40 days) (paragraph 3); baptism could only be performed in a church and had to be attended by reliable witnesses or the local administration, for which purpose the witnesses were to make sure that the neophyte was sincerely converting into Orthodox Christianity and was aware of its principles (paragraph 5) [Rukovodstvenny'e, 1879, pp. 339–348]. The latter act specified a new system of Orthodox missionary activities in the Empire's multi-confessional regions. Its key bodies were to be made up of missionary religious associations consisting of Orthodox members prepared to serve 'the needs and use of the Orthodox Church against non-Russians and religious dissenters [raskolniki] infringing upon the Church's rights and in order to instill and reinforce the Orthodox faith' [Rukovodstvenny'e, 1879, p. 37]. The organisations were founded on private initiative and

funded from donations and dedicated charity and church fees. The government took no official part in their activities and provided no financial support to them.

The regulations enshrined the renunciation of active government interference in missionary activities and established educational forms of Orthodox proselytism as the priority. However, central and local administrations often violated the declared course deliberately in accordance with their political interests. In particular, official statistics for the period of Governor General K. Kaufman's administration in the Northwestern Krai reports 70,000 Catholics to have converted to Orthodox Christianity in 1863–1868 [Dolbilov, 2010, p. 366]. The cases, which are by no means attributable to religious enlightenment and voluntary conversion to Orthodox Christianity, were rather of an administrative and political character, or, 'official missionary work'.

The government policy was more consistent in the Volga-Ural Region. Unlike in the Lithuanian and Belorussian guberniyas, where imposing the ruling religion on the local population was viewed as restoring its rights to the 'native Russian land' and bringing renegades back to Christianity, in the Volga Region, where mass conversion to Christianity in the 18th century had left Muslims as the only non-Orthodox confessional group, the problem of further extending the influence of the Orthodox Church was a less pressing political issue. Thus, the policy for Christianising Muslim Tatars was of ideological rather than practical importance for the imperial government [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 594, s. 178]. Due to Islam's stable religious outlook and the important role it played in preserving their ethnic and cultural identity, Muslim Tatars were not prone to missionary propaganda. Being ready to put up with increasing fiscal pressure and government control, as well as the deterioration of peasant households, Muslim Tatars would not stand a foreign faith being imposed on them. Any attempts, whether obvious or implied, by the church and the government to intensify



K. Pobedonostev.

Photo from the second half of the 19th century

Christian propaganda triggered their resistance and open protest. Having realised this, secular authorities and the most pragmatic ideologists of the Orthodox mission had to admit that they could not succeed in Christianising the Muslims¹³. Given these new cir-

¹³ The evolution of views on the 'Islamic question' for governor-general N. Kryzhanovsky is just one such obvious case. After accepting the position of head of the Orenburg Territory (Orenburg and Ufa guberniyas) in 1864, Kryzhanovskiy, using the management experience he obtained during his service in the Western region, advanced a number of initiatives aimed at the facilitation of the Christianisation of local Muslims, public support for the missionary activities of the church, the active fight against 'Islamic fanaticism', the abolishment of the mufiyat institute (OMSA), etc. [see: Kryzhanovsky, 1866; 1870]. Moving forward, after he obtained more knowledge about the ethnic and cultural situation in the region with a prevailing Islamic population and lived through some new experience in his relations with those of the Islamic faith, Kryzhanovsky changed his stance. In the 1870s while following the interests of social and inter-confessional stability in the territory, he advocated for the restriction of any form of ministry activity among Muslims. In view of this, in 1875 he had an outright conflict with the high-powered leader of the Orthodox church, the 'Apostle of Alaska' Metropolitan of Moscow Innokenty (Popov), who had initiated the establishment of Orthodox Missionary Society Committees in Ufa and Orenburg guberniyas. Kryzhanovsky vehemently disagreed with this initiative, pointing out that it was not reasonable to create any missionary organisations in a territory where 'about two-thirds of Muslims lived, so as to avoid any

cumstances, the new objective was to ensure greater loyalty among previously baptised non-Russians and combat the cultural and religious influence of Islam which had gained momentum following the reforms, resulting in the mass conversion of Christian Tatars and the increasing Islamisation of indigenous non-Russian peoples in the region.

Laws that guaranteed benefits and preferences to converts to the ruling religion were repealed under the liberal reforms in the Volga-Ural Region. On 24 March 1866, Alexander of Russia approved the State Council's opinion concerning repealing those laws under which penalties were to be mitigated for non-Christian convicts who converted to Orthodox Christianity during their investigation or trial [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-2, Vol. 41, No. 43138]. While continuing to financially encourage conversion into Orthodox Christianity among non-Christians in the periphery (Jews, Kazakhs, Kalmyks, Siberian peoples), the government refrained from providing such aid to former Muslim Tatar proselytes [Otchet, 1898, p. 8]. In 1874, the most significant benefit formerly granted to Muslim for conversion, namely exemption from recruitment, was abolished within the framework of military reforms and the introduction of universal military service [Zagidullin, 2004, p. 238].

Still, the abolition of discriminative regulations did not mean the complete renunciation of support of the Russian Orthodox Church's missionary work among Volga Muslims. It rather took more open and civilised forms. The imperial government actively facilitated the establishment of missionary societies and brotherhoods in the region, to which it provided financial aid in the form of donations by the ruling house and monetary grants from the Synod and the Ministry of National Education. The key bodies of the region's mission became the Orthodox Missionary Society

disturbances and propaganda among them' [Nikolsky, 1895, p. 43]. Only when the Spiritual Department and central authorities interfered did he give his approval to establish missionary institutions in those areas.

(and its committees), reorganised in late 1869, and the Brotherhood of St. Gury, established in Kazan in 1867. These missionary unions, whose members included representatives of the local and central administrations, spiritual department, and zemstvo organisations, worked with local Muslims; they supported Orthodox missionaries and provided financial aid to new Christians.

When Alexander III came to power and the conservative wing of the government, led by K. Pobedonostsev, became more powerful, multiple attempts were made at ensuring intense Muslim Christianisation. In the 1880s the office of district, and in the 1890s–1900s diocesan, anti-Islamic missionary was introduced in a number of Volga-Ural dioceses. To train skilled Orthodox preachers according to the new 1885 Statute, named after K. Pobedonostsev, anti-Islamic missionary classes and departments re-opened (they had been closed in 1868) at synodic educational establishments in the region. In 1889, special missionary courses with a Tatar department opened at the Theological Academy of Kazan [Iskhakov, 2011, pp. 104–133].

Government and church authorities had to take a cautious approach to these matters due to apprehension of the negative outcome of forced missionary activities, caused by intensified Tatar social movements in the 1870s–1890s, partly brought about by the allegedly planned mass conversion to Christianity. The attitude of Muslim Tatars largely prevented this course from even becoming a consistent policy or having any real outcome. Muslim Tatars were flatly opposed to any forms of external religious proselytism; so missionaries and the administration had no opportunity to change the situation. By converting to Christianity a Tatar lost his coreligionists' support and acquired a marginal social status. Muslim Tatars continued to view Islam as their 'native' faith, inherited from the ancestors, and fitting their spirit, culture and everyday life. They were not only reluctant to betray it but could not do so because this would mean losing their way in life [National Archives of the

Republic of Tatarstan, f. 4, inv. 94, file 22, s. 57 reverse]. Though cases of conversion into Christianity occurred in that period, they were never of mass proportions and did not affect the demographic and confessional situation within Tatar society in any material way. A total of 5, 893 Muslims converted to Christianity in the 10 dioceses (provinces) of the Volga-Ural Region, where most Tatars lived, from 1866 to 1905 (Table 46). The average annual number of Muslim converts in all the dioceses was 147. This yields a ratio of one convert to Christianity per 20, 516 Muslims. By comparing this data with pre-reform statistics, we can conclude that much fewer Muslims were baptised in 1866–1905 as compared to the previous period (5, 021 Muslims converted in the dioceses from 1837 to 1861, yielding 201 converts annually), which is attributable to the suspension of active government support for Russian Orthodox missionaries working with Tatars and the abolition of benefits for converts to Christianity.

Unlike the pre-reform period, the main reasons why Tatars changed their confessional identity were connected with living standards, the cultural influence of the Russian population, mixed marriages, the prospect of improving one's social status by converting to Christianity, and religious educational activities by Orthodox clergymen.

In sum, in the latter half of the 19th to early 20th century, religious unification was of little importance for the tsarist government's general domestic policy for Muslim Tatars. The policy's results satisfied neither church nor government authorities. As a more substantial outcome of such policies, social and inter-confessional tension in the region grew. The Tatar public grew increasingly opposed to the idea, bringing about anti-government movements and intensified migration to Turkey. All these factors, together with changes in the country's political situation, caused by increased revolutionary and social activity in the population, as well as adjustments to ethnic policy upon the enthronement of Nicholas of Russia (1894) motivated the government

Table 46

**Number of Muslims who accepted Christianity according to eparchies
in the Volga-Ural region in 1866–1905**
[Otchety ober-prokurora, 1838–1862]

Eparchies	Number of people baptised	On average per year	Share of those baptised out of the total number of Muslims, in accordance with data from 1897
Vyatka	282	7	1: 18, 978
Kazan	580	14	1: 45, 216
Nizhny Novgorod	78	2	1: 20, 666
Orenburg	1, 700	42	1: 9, 149
Penza	130	3	1: 19, 548
Perm	471	12	1: 12, 624
Samara	791	20	1: 14, 433
Saratov	125	3	1: 32, 000
Simbirsk	269	7	1: 19, 131
Ufa	1, 467	37	1: 29, 614
Total:	5, 893	147	1: 20, 516

to revise its attitude towards its relations with the Russian ummah. By attaching primary importance to social stability and keeping Muslim Tatars loyal and not uncertain due to prospects of religious unification, the imperial government essentially abandoned the goal of imposing Orthodox Christianity on Mus-

lim Tatars [Vsepoddannejshij otchet, 1908, p. 148; Russian State Historical Archive, f. 796, inv. 191, section 6, column 3, file 163, s. 1–7]. Any intense missionary activity among Muslim Tatars died out after the Manifesto on the Freedom of Conscience was declared in 1905.

§ 7. The Legal Status of Christian Tatars Who Converted Back to Islam

Ildus Zagidullin, Radik Iskhakov

The Russian system church-state relations included a differentiated approach to supporting the Empire's recognised religious communities, protecting their rights and church discipling. The country's dominant religion and its social institutions enjoyed the widest privileges. The government's paternalism towards the Russian Orthodox Church is attributable to the special relations that had been established between secular power and the Orthodox hierarchy in the process of the long formation of the Empire. It was essential to the imperial order and official ideology. It

was the criterion of 'truthfulness', that is, a specific belief's affinity to Orthodox dogmas, that determined the status of each confessional group in the imperial environment [see: Krasnozhen, 1900; Reisner, 1905]. The government used this criteria to define its attitude in terms of the administrative and criminal prosecution of religious dissidents and violators of religious laws.

The law provided for preventative and restrictive measures for the following 'church offenses': the evasion of confession and the Holy Communion (not excluded from the

list of 'church offenses' until 1903), failure to observe church status by new converts, parents' failure to bring their children to confession, 'falling' from Christianity to other religions, concerning from Orthodox Christianity to other confessions, negligence of religious holidays, Orthodox recreancy, etc. [Suvorov, 1912, p. 281].

The Empire's religious law did not provide for individual rights of free choice of confessional status (except for the right to convert to Orthodox Christianity). Deeds related to proselytism by non-Orthodox religious communities, 'falling' from the dominant church and apostasy were traditionally viewed as the most severe crimes. Legal codes prohibited conversion from Orthodox Christianity to non-Christian religions and rendered such an act void. It was the government's prerogative to administer final judgment in such cases [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 9, No. 7440]. The commencement of prosecution for 'seducing' Orthodox Christians or if they themselves began to leave the Church, was up to spiritual leaders [Ustav ugolovnogo, 1892, Article 1006]. In the first half of the 19th century, a procedure was established in Russia for extraordinary trials for 'seducers and those seduced to convert from Orthodox Christianity' [Zakony' o sudoproizvodstve, 1892, Article 576] to ensure prompt response by secular authorities. Converts from Christianity were to be sent to the parish clergy 'for admonition'. Criminal proceedings were commenced in case the person was adamant in their decision. Even after judgment had been administered, the Orthodox clergy could bring the 'fallen' person back to the church. As M. Reissner rightfully remarked, 'the entire Russian apostasy process is essentially missionary activity by secular authorities' [Reisner, 1905, p. 276].

The 'fallen' were not entitled to use their class-specific rights until they converted back to Christianity. The government took their property in custody for the time [Ulozhenie o nakazaniyax, 1885, Article 185]. Individuals tried for such crimes lost other civil rights.

They could not be elected to village self-government authorities and other public offices. Those found guilty of burying a baptised person without proper religious ceremonies were subjected to arrest from three weeks for up to three months [Ulozhenie o nakazaniyax, 1885, Article 209, para. 1]. The body was to be re-interred in an Orthodox cemetery [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 221, s. 53]. The Orthodox Church did not recognise marriages between 'fallen' people. The police were entitled to discharge them following a report to the secular administration. Those whom the clerical court found guilty of 'lawless marriage' were subjected to penance and, in some cases, a specific penalty. Orthodox Christians who married non-Christians were subject to a prison term of 4 months [Ulozhenie o nakazaniyax, 1885, Article 1564]. They were accused of 'adultery' and illicit cohabitation [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 4, inv. 101, file 23, s. 61 reverse–62]. Even if such individuals had adult children, their passport was marked single. Such couples' children were assigned to the maternal grandparents' family. Their surnames were derived from their mother's first name. It should be emphasised that the clerical court would declare such children adulterate and thus not entitled to inheriting their parents' property according to the law or their father's family and status [Berdnikov, 1889, p. 437].

Seduction of Orthodox Christians encompassed a special category of crimes. It was not only active and passive propaganda but the refusal to suppress it that was punishable. In particular, if one family member did not take measures to prevent others from converting from Christianity, he or she could be arrested 'for a term from 3 days to 3 months' [Ulozhenie o nakazaniyax, 1885, Article 209, para. 1]. The following penalties were established for encouraging conversion from Orthodox Christianity: 'attainder and exile for hard labour for a term of up to 10 years' [Highest Provision, 1845, Chapter 2, Section 1, Article 191].

The protection of the Orthodox Church's interests was not the only reason why the imperial law was so relentless in these matters. Viewing promotion of Orthodox ideology as an important channel for integrating the non-Christian population into the Russian community, the political elite interpreted giving up the dominant confession as undermining the existing religious situation. In this context, the government believed conversion to be a form of renouncing not only one's confessional (Orthodox) status but one's national (Russian) one as well, which caused other religious (Catholic, Protestant, Muslim) and ethnic groups ('Polonisation', 'Germanisation' in the Western Krai, 'Tatarisation' in the Volga Region) to become more powerful.

In the Volga-Ural region, the main object of the above-mentioned regulations were the so called 'fallen' Christian Tatar converts to Islam, who had formed into the 'New Christian' and 'Old Christian' Tatar movement for conversion [back] to Islam. The secular and clerical administrations' main motive in working against this movement was their aspiration to preserve the existing confessional structure which became established in the region in the latter half of the 18th century, and the dominance of Orthodox Christianity, to which any expansion of Islam's sphere of influence posed a threat. The situation did not favour the further cultural and religious incorporation of the local population into Russian society and the imperial environment.

The most active anti-conversion phase in the latter half of the 19th century took place in 1866–1867, when the Volga Region witnessed the mass conversion of Christian Tatars to Islam. In spite of the local complicated social situation caused by the abolition of serfdom and the declaration of liberalisation of the domestic policy, the government took unprecedented measures to coerce 'fallen' Tatars to convert back to Orthodox Christianity. Fearing that the mass movement could cause the majority of Christian Tatars to give up the Orthodox faith, the threat of which local missionaries confirmed, the authorities did not limit themselves to broad legal opportuni-

ties for prosecuting renegades and opted for intense administrative measures [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 231, s. 6]. Apart from attainder and arraignment, 'fallen' Tatars were subjected to mass execution, arrest and imprisonment. The police disavowed their 'illicit' marriages, sending wives and children to former places of residences, exhumed dead bodies to re-bury them in accordance with Orthodox rules, as well as closed and destroyed 'secret' Muslim places of worship in such settlements [Zagidullin, 1990, pp. 66–78]. The government prosecuted active members of the movement under the most severe articles of the criminal code, namely as 'seducers', and sent them to Siberia using an administrative procedure. For instance, in Kazan guberniya a total of 31 people, including 4 Muslims, were sentenced to exile in 1867 and 1870 for participating in and organising the movement of 1865–1866 [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 1823, s. 11, 74, 83–86].

The 'fallen' Tatars' stubborn assertion of their right to profess the faith of their ancestors in spite of aggressive measures made the government change its attitude. The government de facto had to recognise the existence of the 'fallen', which did not mean their official legalisation as members of the Muslim community. An ambiguous approach in relation to them developed in the 1870s. While demonstrating tolerance to New Christian Tatars who converted from Christianity and refraining from interference in their religious life, the secular administration and the spiritual department continued to actively employ aggressive legislative measures to 'Old Christian' Tatars and representatives of other non-Russian peoples willing to profess Islam. This is attributable to the confessional situation in these groups. Unlike 'New Christians', who tended to give up Christianity in village communities, it was mostly younger 'Old Christians' who performed seasonal labour in Tatar settlements that converted to Islam. When youth officially converted from Orthodox Christianity, two separate religious communities, New Muslims and Christians, emerged in



Those 'returned' back to Islam near their 'secret' mosque in the village of Bolshiye Kibyak-Kozi, Laishevo uyezd, Kazan guberniya. Photo, 1904.

settlements. Since there was no clear confessional border and it was entirely possible that other members of the rural community would follow their example, the local secular and clerical administration took all kinds of radical measures to stop the process, scare those who hesitated to convert and force the 'fallen' back to Christianity. During a new wave of mass conversion in the Kazan, Vyatka, Samara, and Ufa guberniyas in 1871–1872 and 1881, the local authorities commenced the prosecution of the most active participants of the movement. In particular, in 1875 the Kazan District court sentenced 2 peasants from the village of Verkhniye Otary, Mamadysh Uyezd, who were found guilty of 'seduction to the Mohammedan faith', to hard labour for 6 years. 8 dwellers of the village of Apazovo in Kazan Uyezd, were found guilty of the same crime and exiled to Siberia in 1881 [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 6541, s. 1]. The police took every measure to exclude Old Christian Tatar converts from normal religious life. They viewed any attempt at integrating them into society as 'tempting' to those still true to Orthodox Christianity. 'Secret' Islamic prayer houses, confessional schools were shut down in such settle-

ments, and their founders arrested and put to trial. For instance, in the 1870s–1880s, Islamic confessional educational establishments were closed in the villages of Yelyshevo, Bolshiye Kibyak-Kozi, Verkhniye Otary, Pochinok Shemordan of Kazan guberniya [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 3697, Otchet Bratstva, 1883, p. 34].

Due to the mass conversion of Christian Tatars to Islam, which created a special category of individuals who had broken with the church but had not yet been recognised by Muslims, the local bureaucratic system was facing the question of what this group's legal status was and what regulations applied to them. Without recognising their civil rights, the authorities still imposed on them all universal civil duties, like military service, state duties and taxes. Moreover, 'unofficial' Muslims were to make contributions towards Orthodox church maintenance and pay other church fees up until 1880 [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 788, s. 34]. This required clear forms of government control and registration procedures for this population group. Since 'fallen' Tatars refused to declare themselves, even formally, Orthodox Christians, the Orthodox clergy could not do

this either. The experience with Old Believers proved useful in solving the problem. A procedure for registering Christian converts to Islam began to be developed in the 1870s. In the Samara guberniya, the functions were vested in the local police department; in that of Astrakhan, in village administrative bodies (village heads); in those of Kazan and Vyatka, in volost administrations [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 788, s. 21]. Under the Special Decree of 20 December 1890, volost administrations (in rural localities) and the police (in cities) were responsible for recording the births, deaths and marriages of such individuals [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 788, s. 47]. Beginning in 1887, the Ministry of Internal Affairs officially permitted unbaptised children to be recorded in family lists under the names given to them by their parents, though with a remark stating that these children were not baptised 'due to their parents' obstinacy' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 788, s. 44].

Another issue was how 'fallen' Tatars should take the oath of citizenship. In the 1860s–1870s, the local administration, based on their belief that the 'fallen' were still Orthodox Christians, tried to force them to swear a Christian oath, which often engendered violence, open conflicts and acts of disobedience [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 1837, s. 1–2 reverse]. In the following decades, when a younger generation of the 'fallen' had come of age who were not baptised, never went to church, and had had no contact with the Orthodox clergy, the authorities were forced to recognise their right to swear an oath according to Islamic rules, despite church protests [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 41, inv. 1, file 1, s. 41].

Despite some governmental concessions, Christian converts to Islam remained until the early 20th century the most deprived and legally marginal population group in the region. They could not follow Islamic prescriptions freely, go to mosques, turn to appointed mullahs for occasional services

or send their children to Tatar confessional schools. The 'fallen' could not marry 'official' Muslims openly and had to keep their 'adulterate' children in secret. They could be subjected to administrative and judicial prosecution and attainer at any time on the initiative of the Orthodox clergy and local public officials. Moreover, this group had difficulties dealing with representatives of other Tatars groups (baptised Tatars and Muslim Tatars) due to their special religious and social status, which in some cases caused inter-confessional conflicts. The complicated status of large rural groups, whose essential religious and civil rights were denied, brought about intense social tension and inter-confessional instability in the region. The authorities had to search for solutions. As confessional limits between the 'fallen' and loyal Christian Tatars stabilised and a new generation of 'unofficial Muslims', who already were not members of the Orthodox Church, appeared, the state bureaucracy came to believe that to keep them Orthodox by coercion would be inefficient and that their confessional and legal status had to be determined.

According to an Imperial Manifesto of 24 November 1894, the prosecution of non-baptised 'fallen' Tatars was halted [Chicherina, 1906, p. 133]. In 1894, 1895, 1896 and 1898 the first formal clearance was issued to allow the 'fallen' to be admitted into Muslim communities [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 788, s. 110–111, 120–123]¹⁴. All restrictions for this part of the region's Muslim population were finally eliminated in 1905, when the Manifesto of 17 April 1905 enabled them to enter mahallahs and profess Islam openly.

¹⁴ Residents of a number of settlements of the Chistopol and Spassky uyezds of Kazan guberniya whose ancestors had crossed over to Islam as early as in 1820s–1840s received the right to be considered 'official' Muslims. Due to the fact that they had been 'out of church' for a long period of time and absent from all church documents from 1860s–1870s, and due to the absence of any reliable information about their Christian past, the Synod did not find any formal reason to deny their petitions on the legalisation of their actual confessional status.

§ 8. Autocratic Policies in School Education

Ildus Zagidullin, Chulpan Samatova

Methods of Promoting Russian Education Among the Tatars. The government viewed the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional population's composition as 'one of the weak spots' in the empire's structure, which had to be eliminated. Apart from traditional elements based on maintaining socio-political stability and the external security of the state, a trend towards administrative and cultural unification had appeared in imperial policy by the latter half of the 19th century [Kappeler, 1996, p. 203]. This motivated the government to interfere more actively in the life of ethnic communities and integrate them into Russian socio-cultural environment. Authentic cultures were viewed as obstacles to homogenisation.

The new government school policy was part and parcel of Russian modernisation. It put the necessity of forming bilingualism among Russian subjects through educational institutions, which also meant interfering in the national education of non-Russians, on the agenda.

In 1869, the general regulations on public schools were extended to apply to all Evangelical, Lutheran, and Reformed schools of the North-Western Krai, turning the study of Russian into a compulsory subject. While addressing the 'Polish issue', the government introduced Russian Reading and Writing to all ethnic schools in the Kingdom of Poland, including primary ones, in 1871. In 1879, Russian became a compulsory subject at indigenous schools in Transcaucasia, and in 1884, in Armenian schools in the Caucasian Krai. Beginning in 1885, Russian was made compulsory at all educational establishments of the Derpt Educational District [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 816, s. 42–43].

Against the backdrop of aggressive measures in the Russian periphery, especially its western part, the situation in the inner provinces, populated primarily by Tatars, Bashkirs, Chuvashes, and Finno-Ugric peoples, created the impression that government measures were

seemingly delayed. The radical steps in the western provinces were driven by the aggravated national issue and were clearly political. They demanded an extreme and highly efficient response. Those reforms which were applied to Tatars were brought about by the implementation of liberal reforms which prioritised the Russian population's interests and the development of an outline of a nation-state in the region in a clear break with imperial tradition. This necessitated courses of written Russian for the titular population as a means of eroding those patches of land which were 'alien to the Russian population' and forming a uniform state cultural environment in order to stop the Tatarisation of Turkic and Finno-Ugric peoples.

It is noteworthy that the Ministry of Public Education analysed global colonial experience in this sphere before taking any specific measures [Materialy', 1936, pp. 282–283]. The information collected was processed and discussed, first by the Ministry's Learned Committee and then by school councils in educational districts. The ultimate authorities to address the issues of state concern was the Council of the Minister of Public Education, whose meeting—2 February 1870—was attended by Council members, the Director of the Department of Religious Affairs of Foreign Faiths, and the curators of the Kazan, Odessa, Saint Petersburg and Moscow Educational Districts [Materialy', 1936, p. 281].

The resolution passed by the Council of the Minister of Public Education on 2 February 1870 was embodied in the Regulations on Measures for the Education of non-Russian Inhabitants of Russia, approved by Alexander of Russia on 26 March 1870, which lay the legal foundation of school policy in the Kazan and Odessa Educational Districts [Sbornik postanovlenij po Ministerstvu narodnogo prosvesheniya, Vol. 4, Column 1556–1557].

The 'Regulations' introduced a new system of secular Russian education for Tatars

which consisted of bilingual primary, Russian primary and higher education. The first stage offered the following two variants for Muslim primary schools: 1) a Russian-Tatar primary school where Islamic subjects were minimised, while Russian and Mathematics were the focus; the students' mother tongue was used as an instrument for teaching them Russian; 2) Russian classes were to be introduced in all newly established Muslim educational activities and funded by the community; all shakirds under the age of 16 were obliged to attend Russian classes and master the curriculum [*Inorodcheskie i inovercheskie uchilishha*, 1903, pp. 14–16].

Thus, in 1870 the government initiated a shift towards the compulsory study of Russian at traditional ethnic schools in regions with compact Tatar and Bashkir populations.

The 1870 'Regulations' recommended preparatory classes to be established at Russian primary schools and gymnasiums to increase the proportion of Tatars in them. No preparatory Tatar classes were established in the Kazan Educational District because they were unnecessary. What they would need preparatory classes for was higher education. In 1887, the Ministry of Public Education canceled the Muslim privilege. In 1888, it permitted preparatory classes at secondary educational activities to accept 'non-Russian Christians' [Central District Department of Education, 1887, No. 7–8, p. 213; 1888, No. 11–12, p. 360].

The territory of the Kazan Educational District [KED] shrank in 1874 because Tatar and Bashkir confessional schools were subordinated to the Educational Department [*Sbornik postanovlenij po Ministerstvu narodnogo prosveshheniya*, Vol. 5, Column 1753]. The autonomous Orenburg Educational District [OED] was established to include the Perm, Orenburg, Ufa guberniyas and the Ural and Turgay regions. The KED eventually consisted of the following six guberniyas: Astrakhan, Vyatka, Kazan, Samara, Saratov and Simbirsk. In 1893, the Inner Bukey Horde, which used to belong to the OED, became a part of it. Having been withdrawn from the KED, the Nizhny Novgorod and Penza guberniyas were trans-

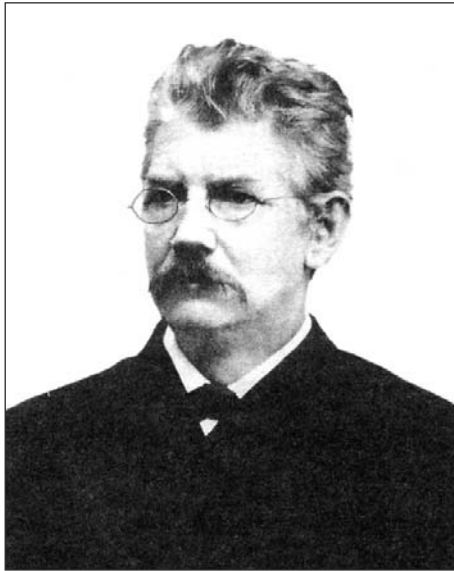
ferred to the Moscow and Kharkov Educational Districts respectively.

As a deviation from the 1870 'Regulations', an inspection of Bashkir, Kyrgyz, and Tatar schools was established in the KED and the OED. Its responsibilities were as follows: opening Muslim schools of the new type 'through persuasion', supervising over and managing them, considering existing books and making up publishing plans to meet the establishments' teaching needs [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 21785, s. 4]. In the KED, V. Radlov was appointed to the office. He took up his duties in 1872. Nobody in the newly established OED seemed to have a profound understanding of Muslim education. In 1875, V. Katarinsky (1875–1902), an alumnus of the Theological Academy of Kazan, Candidate of Theology, expert in non-Russian languages, was appointed inspector for Muslim schools on the recommendation of N. Ilminsky [Central District Department of Education, 1902, No. 5–6, p. 291]. However, he was 'inadequately prepared' for his duties. Therefore, Curator P. Lavrovsky (1875–1880) prompted him to focus on establishing Christian schools for non-Russians [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 171, file 656, s. 76].

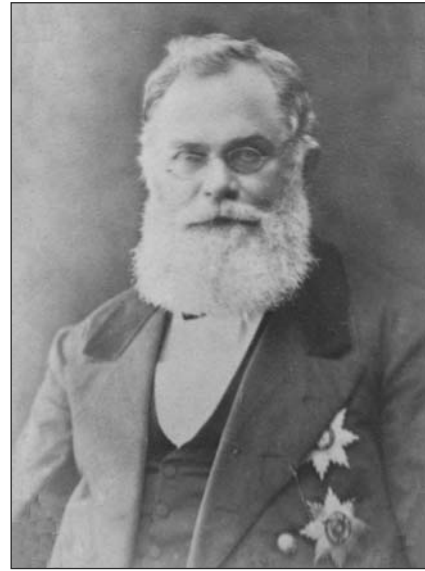
After V. Radlov went to the Imperial's Academy of Sciences in the capital (1884), KTTS Inspector Sh. Akhmerov became Assistant Inspector on a part-time basis. Lacking both time and money to cover traveling expenses, he was only able to undertake two inspection trips during his five years in office [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 172, file 2271, s. 29].

In the time of V. Radlov and Curator P. Shestakov (1865–1883), the KED employed a model where the 'Muslim school inspector was the district curator and public school principals and inspectors merely carried out their orders'.

The liquidation of the position in the KED in 1889 was initiated by N. Ilminsky, who believed it to be necessary for establishing new educational establishments and creating textbooks for them only. Thus, 'the dedicated office is not necessary anymore' [Russian State



V. Radlov.
Photo from the early 20th century.



P. Shestakov
Photo from the second half of the 19th century

Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 171, file 656, s. 85 reverse–86]. A new administration system was thus established in the district, made up of inspectors—management of public schools—district curator.

The positions of the OED inspector for Muslim schools and KED inspector for Chuvash schools were abolished in 1903 [Central District Department of Education, 1903, No. 4–5, pp. 171–172]. This happened on the initiative of the Chief Procurator of the Synod K. Pobedonostsev [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 733, inv. 172, file 2287, s. 7]. Supervision over Russian-Tatar schools became the exclusive responsibility of the inspector for public schools.

To quote V. Radlov, 'their establishment was a failure where local administrations were reluctant to cooperate, and success was only ensured with support from and influence of the police... the classes were introduced almost by force' [Materialy, 1936, p. 323].

One of the deviations from the 1870s 'Regulations' was connected with adjustments to the funding model. It was common for parish people to justify their refusal to establish Russian classes based on financial difficulties. Therefore, the authorities introduced government

sponsorship for Russian classes and Theology teachers for Russian-Tatar schools, which were also financed using zemstvo, municipal, factory, and private (curators', custodians', patrons') funds [Vladimirova, 2009, p. 9–34; Samatova, 2010, p. 144].

In the 1880s–1890s, each Russian-Tatar school received funding of 460 rubles in the KED [St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences Archive, f. 177, inv. 2, file 11, s. 22–22 reverse] and 300–400 rubles in the OED [Central District Department of Education, 1885, No. 8, pp. 261, 262; 1886, No. 3, p. 112; No. 9, p. 384; 1888, Nos. 11 and 12, p. 362].

In 1887, OED Curator D. Mikhaylov mentioned many Tatars to be aware of how useful the Russian language and the ability to read and write in it are, and have a 'craving' to know Russia, which had been prevented by 'Mohammedan punishments and fanatic accusations'. He suggested that Russian classes should be compulsory at all Tatar classes, as they were in the Orenburg Cossack Host. The official conviction was that mullahs believed voluntary study of Russian to be a sin, while attending compulsory classes was not and could be permitted to 'appease the enemy', because the

enemy was so much stronger that they could not fight against it [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 171, file 656, s. 109–109 reverse].

The authorities tended to establish Russian classes at major urban religious education centres¹⁵. Nearly all Russian classes were held in buildings other than the madrasah, which is explained by the principals' attitude. The Khushainiya Madrasah in Orenburg was an exception. It should be noted that many madrasahs could not afford desks and other school furniture in a separate building. Moreover, school administrations soon came to realise that placing Russian classes in a separate building increased the number of students who attended them [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 21060, s. 7]. New Tatar educational establishments could be founded in cities provided that they had Russian classes. For instance, the maktab of the second Mahallah in Chistopol closed in 1897 despite its principal's written undertaking 'to send students to Russian classes of the first Mahallah madrasah' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 160, inv. 1, file 815, s. 21–21 reverse].

Russian-Tatar schools operated in Kazan, Astrakhan [Budilovich, 1905, p. 180], the uyezd centres Tetyushi (1885), Guryev, Ilets-kaya Zashchita (Ural region) [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 171, file 656, s. 168], etc. Russian-Tatar schools in workers' settlements were an innovation [Central District Department of Education, 1887, No. 1, p. 36; 1903, No. 12, p. 466].

Most madrasah principals would not permit local children to go to the new type of schools on the pretext that they could eventually be baptised [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 160, inv. 1, file 619, s. 66–67 reverse].

¹⁵ In the madrasahs of Kazan (1872), Orenburg (1880) [Central District Department of Education, 1880, Nos. 3–4, p. 46], Uralsk, uyezd towns of Chistopol (1881) [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 8321, s. 121], and Troitsk [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 817, s. 922–922 reverse] (transformed into a Russian-Tatar two-year training school with 50–60 students) [Budilovich, 1905, p. 120], Belebey, Sterlitamak, Verkhneuralsk, etc.

However, nearly all schools had students, meaning that Russian was in demand. Russian teachers often asked the authorities to support them against the Kadimist. As a result, the Mullah of the first Mahalla in Chistopol Abdulvagapov was sentenced to administrative exile. However, he died in 1893 before the sentence was carried out [Amirkhanov, 1996, pp. 43–53]. In 1900, Tetyshi Mullah M. Bikchentayev was exiled from the province for 3 years [State Archive of the Russian Federation, f. 102, inv. 98, file 48, s. 1–5]. The repressive measures were a scare tactic against other imams.

It should be noted however, that not all Muslim clergy were opposed to Russian education. For instance, mullah Muhammadzyan Yakhin from the village of Novy Shinar, Mamadysh uyezd, initiated the establishment of a Russian-Tatar school in 1877 [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 13147, s. 1–4 reverse].

Most Muslims viewed compulsory Russian classes as infringing upon the traditions of the confessional school, which affected the 'nascent interest in the Russian language among Tatars' in a negative way [S'ezd direktorov, 1907, p. 61].

In order to mitigate local resistance, the OED administration began to close down some rural Russian classes in the 1880s, causing their number in the Orenburg and Ufa guberniyas to decrease to 9. Some madrasah Russian classes were transformed into one-year Russian-Muslim schools. In a number of cases, the funds of closed Russian classes at madrasahs and Russian-Muslims schools were used to establish schools for non-Russian Christians [Central District Department of Education, 1882, No. 12, p. 503; 1887, No. 4–5, p. 131; No. 9–10, p. 267; 1888, No. 11–12, p. 362; 1895, No. 5, p. 233].

More Muslims were appointed honorary school custodians in the Trans-Ural Region. They were awarded citations by the curator [Central District Department of Education, 1896, No. 6, pp. 196–197] and received government rewards [Central District Department of Education, 1899, No. 2, p. 60; 1904, No. 3, p. 73]. The KED did not appoint honorary

school custodians and curators that often [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 160, inv. 1, file 698, s. 190].

In 1882, the administration of the Orenburg Cossack Host adopted the most radical measure possible, by introducing compulsory education at Russian schools for Muslim Tatars¹⁶ [Russian State Historical Archive, Collection, f. 733, inv. 171, file 656, s. 109 reverse]. In 1892, the administration used the pretext that attendance of daytime classes at a Russian school affected students' academic performance in a negative way, and prevented school-age children from taking studying their native language and the Principles of Islam delivered by the mullah, which in fact isolated them from primary ethnic school [Fäxretdin, 1907, p. 26]. As a result, 1895 statistics reported the OKH to have as few as 14 'Tatar schools', offering instruction in Russian [Sevastyanov, 1895, p. 20].



Classes in Russo-Tatar School, Tetyushi. Photo from the early 20th century.

¹⁶ Starting in 1882 the children of Muslim Cossacks were taught to read and write in Russian from 9 am till 2 pm, and as for the mektebe, they were only able to attend during their 'free time': from 6 to 8 am and from 7 to 9 pm, leaving almost no time for rest. Once they officially decided that studies in a mektebe inhibited their ability from an early age to learn Russian and read and write, which was necessary for Cossacks serving their time in the army, the major-general Ershov, by the order of 9 September 1892, instructed to close all Tatar schools, and prohibited boys from attending mektebe. Instead, it was decided they were now to learn the fundamentals of Islam in village Russian schools three times a week on specially appointed days. The Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly of 16 and 30 January 1893 lodged a complaint to the Ministry of Internal Affairs with six petitions from Muslim Cossacks of the Tatishchevo and Nizhne-Ozersk Cossack villages, with 10 reports of imams from various settlements of Cossack troop attached. However, the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Internal Affairs recognised the actions of the Orenburg authorities as 'correct' [Sbornik czirkulyarov, 1905, pp. 101–102].

Some OED Russian-Muslim schools were attended by both Russians and Tatars (Bashkirs) [Budilovich, 1905, p. 121], which would have been impossible in the KED.

A breakthrough in the establishment of Russian-Tatar schools took place at the turn of the century. Zemstvos played an important part in this event. While in 1895 the KED had 11 Russian-Tatar schools and 10 madrasah Russian classes [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 21785, s. 5], in 1902 there were as many as 41 Russian-Tatar educational establishments, including 9 madrasah Russian classes [Samatova, 2010, Appendix 7].

One of the key reasons behind the dramatic increase of Russian-Tatar schools in the OED was the absence of any opposition between Muslim communities and missionary institutions in the region. In 1902, there were 95 innovative schools in the region [Budilovich, 1905, pp. 119–120, 135, 145].

Free innovative Muslim schools mainly targeted the poor social strata—the peasantry and the burghers. They were not the only educational establishments that taught Tatars to read and write in Russian. Merchants' and clergymen's children had private teachers to help them learn the official language. A small group of Tatar youth went to Russian primary



Iskhak Kazakov while working in Tetyushi Russo-Tatar school. Photo, 1897.

schools. Mullah candidates tended to avoid such schools, preferring private teachers.

Russian teachers played a major part in the development of innovative schools. The average annual salary of teachers at government-funded Russian-Tatar schools in the KED was about 300 rubles [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 160, inv. 1, file 619, s. 8, 12]. At zemstvo schools it mostly depended on what zemstvo institutions could afford [State Archive of Kirov Oblast, f. 205, inv. 2, file 2388, s. 72 reverse–73; inv. 4, file 3739, s. 1]. Teachers of Russian enjoyed the 'right to work as parish teachers' [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 21785, s. 4] and the same right of pension and benefits as teachers at public schools. However, no procedure had been established for receiving these benefits [Mir islama, 1913, Vol. 2, p. 268]. Dutiful teachers of Russian were awarded government rewards [Central District Department of Education, 1895, No. 11–12, p. 456; 1897, No. 1, p. 7; 1902, No. 9, p. 337] and a citation by the educational district curator [Central District Department of Education, 1897, No. 8, p. 295; 1897, No. 12, p. 404].

Some OED teachers did trade. They waited for the compulsory six years' term in office to

be over and then gave up teaching [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 171, file 656, s. 109]. KTTS alumni received jobs as cashiers, office clerks, and book-keepers for private commercial and industrial enterprises or worked as private teachers for wealthy Tatar families [Gorokhov, 1941, p. 42].

Four-year Tatar teachers' schools were established in Simferopol (1872) and Ufa (1872–1876) within the new school policy. They offered training to teachers of Russian and mathematics. They enjoyed the status of educational establishments and as well as all the benefits and privileges granted to pro-gymnasiums [Sbornik postanovlenij po Ministerstvu narodnogo prosveshheniya, Vol. 6, Column 1255–1260]. Russian was the language of instruction for all subjects except for Islamic Theology. Studying was continuous except for Sundays as well as key Christian and Muslim holidays and summer vacation. All school graduates were obliged to work at a school for 6 years or repay the government's cost of their four-year education. After 12 years of service they could petition for the title of honorary citizen [Sbornik postanovlenij po Ministerstvu narodnogo prosveshheniya, Vol. 4, Column 752–758, 2139–2146].

In 1876, Count D. Tolstoy, who was inspecting the Ufa Tatar Teachers' School, found the first alumni to have poor knowledge of Russian and improper ideological orientations. Besides, he believed the rented building to be unfit for academic activities [Sbornik postanovlenij po Ministerstvu narodnogo prosveshheniya, Vol. 6, Column 1705–1706].

When the Tatar Teachers' School moved to Orenburg (OTTS) in the summer of 1877, it occupied the then-vacant building of the Bashkir Feldshers' School. The allowance for students of the school was increased from 90 to 120 rubles per person in 1881 because the number of students had been officially reduced from 40 to 30 [Central District Department of Education, 1883, No. 1, p. 9].

In 1890, the OTTS was closed because the Ministry of Public Education was dissatisfied with its performance 'in promoting Russian education among Muslims and bringing them

closer to the Russian nation'. 12 of its students were transferred to the KTTS [Enikeev, 1948, pp. 201–202].

In 1872, V. Radlov suggested establishing the Tatar Teaching Institute in Kazan to train teachers for madrasah Russian classes who would be able to 'raise Russian science in the eyes of the shakirds and make them want to grow closer to us... win the moral struggle against the learned tutors at Tatar schools' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 10961, s. 12]. When the project was rejected, V. Radlov declared that a teaching school had to be established in the KED. In 1876, the KTTS opened to host 40 students at the government's cost. It was to become the 'key breeding ground' for teachers to work at innovative government funded Tatar and Bashkir schools.

The first KTTS Inspector was a Tatar teacher at 1st Kazan Gymnasium M. -G. Makhmudov, replaced by Russian teacher Sh. Akhmerov (1881–1900), who M. Pinegin (1900–1907) succeeded after his death.

A gradual increase in the number of KTTS students, including those studying at their own cost, lecture attendees, and zemstvo scholarship awardees (in 1876–1, in 1901–5, in 1903–10) [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 142, file 74, s. 63] was indicative of improved credit with the Tatars, who were becoming increasingly interested in secular education for their children. In 1902, an attorney at the Kazan District Court S. Alkin was appointed Curator of the KTTS, whose office had been re-established.

The government allocated an annual maintenance amount of approximately 20, 000 rubles to the KTTS in the 1880s. K. Pobedonostsev was opposed to 'spending on Muslims' such a significant amount and submitted numerous suggestions to Minister I. Delyanov (1882–1897) and Alexander III, that the KTTS should be transformed into an educational establishment 'like the Kazan Teachers' Seminary' [St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences Archive, f. 177, inv. 2, file 11, s. 10].

External examinations were an alternative to attending a Tatar teachers' school for a Russian teaching license. Over the period that the KTTS existed, 128 men and 8 women were made teachers in primary Russian-Tatar educational establishments [Khakimov, 1972, p. 12]. The Bashkir Girls' Orphanage in Ufa also prepared students for external tests. In 1899 a teaching class for Russian-Muslim school teachers opened at the Belebey Four-Year Municipal School [Budilovich, 1905, p. 135].

As Muslim educational establishments were established, officials in educational district administrations and the Ministry of Public Education began to think that Russian literacy would make mullahs improve their attitude towards new schools and even teach Russian to community children [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 171, file 656, s. 42 reverse]. They even believed that knowledge of Russian among mullahs would even calm down community resistance to establishing innovative Muslim schools.

Mullahs who knew Russian and could write in it enjoyed greater authority within the community and the local administration, where officials could not speak local languages. He could be confident in a Russian environment, for instance, in government institutions. Inspector V. Radlov believed mullahs to be the group of rural dwellers that had the best knowledge of Russian [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 21060, s. 5 reverse].

The Minister of Public Education D. Tolstoy suggested in 1875 that knowledge of the Russian-Muslim school curriculum should be 'made compulsory' for candidates seeking Muslim clerical offices. The count offered the following justification: mullahs tell their parishes that studying Russian is 'sinful and inconsistent with the Quran and the Sharia'. When knowledge of the official language became mandatory, the ridiculous argument against Muslims' attending Russian classes or Russian-Tatar schools would cease to be valid [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1051, s. 50 reverse–51].



Kazan School for Tatar Teachers.
Photo from the early 20th century. Modern-day: 73 Tukay St.

However, feedback from heads of the Taurida, Orenburg, Ufa, Samara, Kazan guberniyas, Turgay and Ural regions, and the Inner Bukey Horde prevented the Ministry of Internal Affairs from enforcing this rule. The recommendation was issued that the beginning of the introduction of educational requirements should be established for each province individually. When approving clergymen in the OMSA District, knowledge of Russian was to be viewed as an advantage, etc. [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 10464, s. 38–46 reverse].

Taking into account the suggestions, D. Tolstoy submitted the following recommendations to the State Council in May 1877: 1) a Russian educational qualification requirement (primary school level) should be established as soon as possible for those seeking secular and public offices (in zemstvo, city, or village institutions); 2) teachers at Muslim schools and candidate clergymen should be required to be able to 'write and read in Russian clearly' from 1878 and know the curriculum of madrasah Russian classes beginning in 1880; 3) the establishment of new Muslim schools should be permitted provided that the community funds a Russian class. Geographically, the new regulations covered the whole Empire except for Siberia, the Turkestan Gov-

ernor-Generalship, the Caucasus and Transcaucasia [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 171, file 656, s. 162–162 reverse].

The main reason why the authorities did not venture to implement the plan was the Russian-Turkish War of 1877–1878. Public officers were apprehensive, lest restrictive measures could trigger Muslim disturbances in the Crimea and the Volga Region. So they recommended reconsidering

the measures of the Ministry of Public Education 'under more favourable circumstances' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 15539, s. 39 reverse].

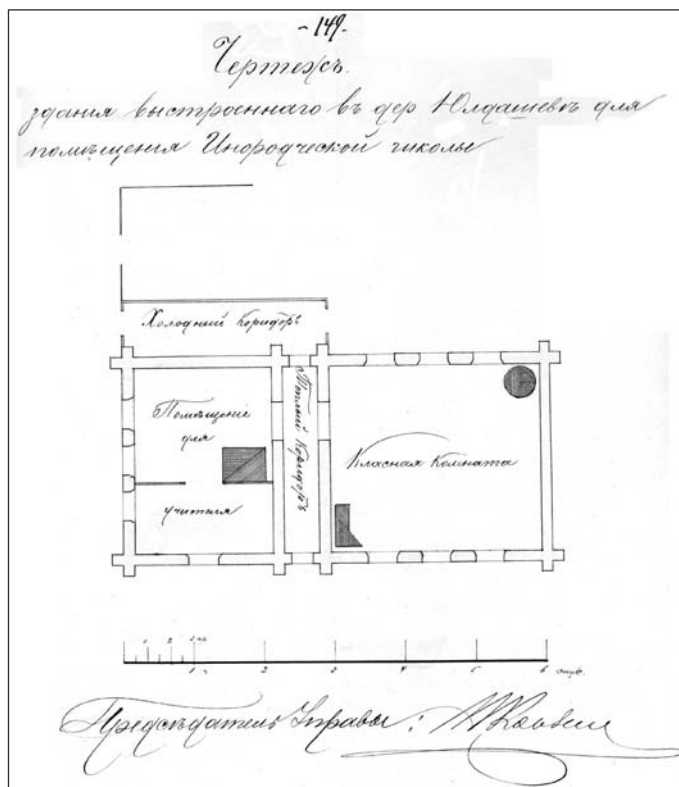
Orenburg Mufti S. Sultanov (1886–1915), re-appointed in March 1886, found OMSA members (village mullahs) to have inadequately poor knowledge in religious studies and records management skills, which were chiefly attributable to their Russian illiteracy. He found it necessary to set the requirement that all OMSA members were to be literate in Russian in accordance with the curricula of Tatar teachers' schools and uyezds primary schools, and for akhunds and hatibs (senior mullahs) of city mahallas as well as full-time military mullahs in regular and cossack troops, in accordance with the programs of public primary schools. The mufti found it premature to apply the requirement to most of the Tatar clergy in village parishes. He suggested that Russian literacy should be an advantage when several candidates competed for an office [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1074, s. 5–6 reverse].

The law enforcement and educational departments 'enhanced and developed' the mufti's suggestions. They resolved that the requirements should be totally mandatory and apply to rural clergyman candidates as well.

Under the Law of 16 July 1888, candidates seeking membership in the Spiritual Assembly were to take examinations on the curriculum of the first four years at gymnasiums/the KTTS/uyezd, municipal, and two-year primary schools beginning in 1891. Urban akhund and hatib candidates had to prove their knowledge of the curriculum of the one-year public school, while mullah candidates in rural communities were to provide certificates issued by the uyezd school councils stating that they knew 'spoken Russian' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–3, Vol. 8, No. 5419].

It should be noted that the Russian educational qualification requirement had become well-established for clergyman candidates in the Roman Catholic, Protestant, Armenian and Jewish faiths. They were expected to have completed a course at Russian educational establishments. Only the Muslim clergy (except for 'Shamanists' and Buddhists) enjoyed the 'privilege of non-mandatory Russian knowledge'. Thus, the government wanted to establish equal requirements for Muslim clergymen and those in other confessions.

Apprehension of possible disturbances and the mass Muslim petition campaign of 1888–1890 motivated the government to work out new, simplified requirements [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1071, s. 85–86], which constituted the Tsar's Edict of 11 October 1890 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–3, Vol. 10, No. 7120]. Beginning in 1891, those seeking OMSA membership were required to have a certificate confirming their ability to read and write. It was not until 1896 that it became mandatory for them to present certificates of course completion at a municipal school, while village mullah candidates were required to have



Layout of Russo-Bashkir zemstvo school in the village of Yuldashevo, Samara guberniya, 1873

a certificate confirming their ability to read and write in the Russian language. The new rule applied to 21 provinces, 4 regions, and the Inner Bukey Horde¹⁷. At the behest of the Ataman of the Orenburg Cossack Army, requirements for mullah candidates were simplified to the level of village mullahs. That is, they had to merely prove their ability to speak and read. Mullahs in the Ural and Siberian Cossack Armies, as well as municipal akhund and hatib candidates, were required to be literate in Russian equivalent to the curriculum of a one-year school. A board of the principal of the educational establishment and two

¹⁷ These included the Kazan, Orenburg, Ufa, Astrakhan, Samara, Saratov, Simbirsk, Penza, Vyatka, Nizhny Novgorod, Perm, Tambov, Ryazan, Tomsk, Tobolsk, Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Kherson, Kostroma, Yenissey, Irkutsk guberniyas, 4 regions (Urals, Semipalatinsk, Akmolinsk, Turgayskaya) and the Inner Bukey Horde.

teachers of secular subjects was to examine the candidates.

The government made further concessions. In 1892, re-examination was permitted after 6 months [Central District Educational Department, 1892, No. 10, p. 423], and in 1900, candidates were allowed to take examinations for a third time [Central District Department of Education, 1900, No. 4, p. 88]. The requirement that all candidates must submit two photos was established in 1896. From 1902, clergyman candidates were to pay a fee of 3 rubles, the same as had been imposed on seekers of teaching jobs [Central District Department of Education, 1903, No. 2, p. 50].

Mild as they were, the Russian qualification requirements for village mullah candidates minimised the possibility of them becoming Russian teachers.

Muezzins did not have to take the Russian tests that mullahs had to take and could be appointed provisional mullahs as long as the latter office remained vacant, provided that the term did not exceed half a year [Sbornik czirkulyarov, 1905, p. 12].

The Russian educational qualification requirements made madrasah Russian classes and Russian-Tatar schools more prestigious, but did not cause the number of their students to increase in that period. Private teachers often prepared students for Russian examinations [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 160, inv. 1, file 794, s. 3–4].

That is, it was common for Russian-Tatar schools and madrasah Russian classes to open under administrative pressure from the educational department in the first decades. This also had the reverse effect, as the population grew increasingly suspicious of the government's school policy. Tatars' interest for and willingness to obtain Russian education were often suppressed from the very beginning.

During this period, a system for training teachers of Russian was established, teaching aids developed and a local network of schools, funded by the government, zemstvos, city self-governing authorities, other institutions and concerned individuals.

Despite resistance from mullahs and the conservative part of rural communities, Russian classes and Russian-Tatar schools always had students, which suggests that literacy in Russian was in demand. However, locals did not allow Russian classes at maktabas. Only madrasahs offered such classes, which was no coincidence. In fact, studying the official language became characteristic of the intellectual side of Tatar society. Shakirds were the most learned Tatar group who study in madrasahs, while Russian-Tatar schools offered education to children whose parents could not afford a private teacher.

The few Russian-Tatar schools and the KTTS had become integral in Tatar national education by the turn of the century. Though Jadidism had been gaining momentum, their number increased steadily after 1905.

The teacher played a major part in introducing their students to Russian social life and culture. They taught them to see events in Tatar society and in Russia from a different point of view. Teachers were gradually able to persuade parish parents that innovative schools were 'harmless' to Muslims.

Governmental Control over Muslim Educational Institutions in the Volga and Ural Regions. The modernisation of Russian society made the national issue even more complicated. It was not all about an increased national awareness and booming cultures of ethno-confessional minorities. The issue was largely pre-determined by the actions of the imperial government, which had been working to establish police control over various national institutions, in particular, the education system. Its invasion into the closed, cultural space, segmented by confessional, national, and social borders, was usually accompanied by coercion and, sometimes, repression. Russification and pressure on secondary and primary schooling in the Kingdom of Poland began soon after the 1863 rebellion. In 1881, the Ministry of Public Education was given responsibility over central and village schools in former Bulgarian and German colonies, as well as schools in Jewish landowners' colonies in six provinces. Under the Tsar's Edict of 25 November 1885,

Baltic Evangelical-Lutheran schools were subjected to governmental supervision. They were followed by Protestant church schools in the Transcaucasian Krai in 1892 and Roman Catholic Church schools across the Empire in 1893 [Zagidullin, 1992a, p. 62].

Governmental measures for maktab and madrasahs in the Volga and Urals were entirely consistent with the policy of ensuring total control over non-Russian education systems. The question of establishing supervision over Muslim schools by the Ministry of Public Education was first raised in early 1866. 'Tatar schools are noteworthy. They circulated across Tatar villages in the Volga provinces to such a degree, that it is not Russians but Tatar mosque clergymen, trained by mentors with Bukharian education, who teach a large part of the Tatars to read and write. Therefore, this Muslim breeding-ground, hostile to us and fanatic as it is, has been determining and influencing the education of up to 1 million people in the Great Russian provinces' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 806, s. 1]. This is how the educational department justified their ambition to control maktab and madrasahs in the Volga-Ural Region.

It should be noted that Muslim community public schools had previously hardly received any governmental supervision. In the pre-reform period, the Ministry of Internal Affairs controlled all schools except for military and religious ones. Russian law contained no provisions for Muslim schools in the OMSA District [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 806, s. 2–3].

Following the dissolution of the irregular Bashkir Army, Governor General N. Kryzhanovskiy in 1866 was the first to declare that 'some kind of administrative control' had to be ensured over Trans-Ural educational establishments. His suggestion was that conciliators should execute supervision, while governors would be responsible for authorising new Muslim schools [Dyakin, 1995, pp. 812–814].

The 'Regulations' of 1870 put the objective of subordinating maktab and madrasahs to the government on the agenda. Under the Law of

24 November 1874, all Tatar, Bashkir and Kazakh schools in KED and OED Muslim communities, as well as in the Nizhny Novgorod (Moscow Educational District) and Penza (Kharkov Educational District) provinces were subordinated to the Ministry of Public Education [Rozhdestvensky, 1902, p. 596].

The recommendation was that supervision over Muslim schools shall not begin until the dedicated instruction establishing procedural controls had been approved. Count D. Tolstoy entrusted the Instruction to KED Curator P. Shestakov, and V. Radlov authored the draft.

The Academic Committee of the Ministry of Public Education met on 26 January 1876 to discuss the Kazan draft [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 170, file 971, s. 1–1 reverse]. A new edition of the draft Instruction was thus prepared following the meeting, and was submitted to the Committee of Ministers in May 1876, after which the authority recommended its preliminary agreement with the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This occurred because the draft combined two separate provisions on supervision over Muslim school activities and coercive measures for the promotion of Russian education. Meanwhile, governmental supervision was not determined directly by the need for active coercive measures to establish Russian classes. Each of these aspects had specific features of their own.

The measures suggested for establishing governmental supervision ignored deep-running eastern maktab and madrasah traditions, and consisted of rapid and radical changes in the sphere. The requirements were radical because a number of internal regulations were suggested that were similar to those of Russian schools. Namely, the school principal was to formulate student lists, prepare annual reports on student and teaching staff contingencies, and build a curriculum to be approved by the educational administration. Starting in 1880, school principals had to be in correspondence with the controlling bodies of the Russian educational administration. Communities funding ethnic schools were prohibited from addressing school issues and the instruction methods

of the younger generation. Mudarris certificates could only be issued to individuals who knew Russian (reading and writing), and from 1880 to those who had mastered the curriculum of madrasah Russian classes. To implement these requirements would have formed a gap between traditional schools and mosques; most madrasah teachers would have been unable to work there because they did not know the official language.

It is especially noteworthy that only religious textbooks approved by the censors (§ 4) were established to be acceptable. Handwritten books were common in madrasahs at that time. Printed textbooks on Russian subjects were extremely few.

The recommendation was that mahallahs intending to establish new educational institutions bore the costs of Russian teachers regardless of the community's economic standing. If community or a madrasah/maktab principal openly resisted the establishment of Russian classes, the educational institution was to be shut down. The suggested administrative regulations discredited the idea that knowledge of the official language was useful.

It is also noteworthy that the inspector was not expected to deal with the nature of Islamic theology. He could only 'ensure dogmatic instruction without any interpretations that are inconsistent with loyalty to the Emperor and the Most August House or love for our Motherland—Russia—and inspire loathing for the Christian population' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 773, inv. 170, file 971, s. 122–127].

The provisions in the draft Instruction on the management of other Muslim schools, funded by the government, communities, institutions, and private individuals, as well as on home and private teachers came from the Instruction to Instructors for People's Schools of 29 October 1871, which meant they were part of a uniform administrative system.

The 1876 draft Instruction represented the peak of the educational department's ambition to establish supervision over Muslim schools. Its provisions were gradually implemented, to varying extents, in the late 19th to early 20th century.

Discussion on the bill led the Emperor to approve the Circular Guidelines to KED and OED curators by the Minister of Public Education, which referred to the suggestions of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on 5 February 1882. The first paragraph of the Circular enabled officials at the educational department to start exerting practical control over Muslim schools. They were instructed to exercise caution when visiting educational establishments, collect statistics, and render spoken advice without setting any mandatory requirements. Officials were to prepare reports for the district curator following school inspections. The second paragraph of the Circular dealt exclusively with precautions. It recommended that officials start visiting and inspecting schools in areas where Muslims co-resided with Russians or non-Russian Christians. Only after the inspection of such educational establishments and areas were they permitted to proceed gradually into all-Muslim areas [Central District Educational Department, 1882, No 4, pp. 72–74].

In summation, the pragmatic approach of the Ministry of Internal Affairs dominated the discourse between enforcement and educational departments. This brought about a school policy that was different from the model implemented in the western governorate because it consisted of a circumspect approach to the promotion of Russian education and supervision over traditional Muslim educational establishments in the Empire's inland.

In the 1880s–1890s KED and OED Curators filed several suggestions to the Ministry of Public Education that a 'firm statement' should be made to mullahs to make them follow instructions received from inspectors of people's schools [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 171, file 656, s. 3], the Decree of 5 February 1882 should be abolished, and control over Muslim schools enhanced. However, the government was adherent to a gradual and cautious approach.

A number of factors complicated inspector control over Muslim schools. In fact, this occurred because European requirements for accounting and control had already been established in schools, which were originally

founded according to the medieval Middle Asian model. Since in small villages maktab operated in the mullah's house, invasion by a representative of the authorities would mean infringement on the private property of the imam (principal).

Having proceeded with his new functions, V. Radlov addressed the mullahs of Kazan through the Circular of 15 April 1882, suggesting that they should provide statistics on their schools [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 15539, s. 32–33]. V. Radlov thus violated the law of 1882, which stipulated supervision over Muslim schools but offered no requirements for them to ensure greater efficiency. His written address caused the imams to protest, which the city's Tatar community supported.

Following V. Radlov's departure for the capital, KED officials were in fact removed from supervision over Muslim educational establishments.

A total of 85 schools were inspected in the OED in 1883–1887 [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 171, file 656, s. 168–169 reverse]. It should be noted that V. Katarinsky became personally convinced of the confessional schools' 'religious and scholastic orientation' that by no means included any political influence on shakirds and parish people [Farkhshatov, 1994, p. 49].

OED governors instructed mullahs to annually submit data on their educational establishments' status (maktab or madrasah) and number of students to the inspectors of people's schools for reports 'on public education'. However, mullahs provided such data only very rarely. In 1887 the OED Curator asked the governors and Mufti of Orenburg to obligate mullahs to report several kinds of data on their schools to Inspector V. Katarinsky¹⁸. However, Mufti M.

Sultanov refused the offer by referring to the mullahs' subordination to the Spiritual Assembly exclusively on religious issues, suggesting that it was not his responsibility to deal with schooling [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 171, file 656, s. 171–171 reverse].

After the office of Muslim school inspector was abolished in 1889, the KED administration did not transfer the function of supervision over maktab and mardasahs to anyone [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 21785, s. 12]. N. Ilminsky convinced the KED administration that the institutions did not deserve any attention and that they would practice 'the time-tested approach of governmental indifference to Mohammedan schools, at least until the enlightenment of non-Russian Christians is well-established enough to eliminate the threat of re-conversion into the Mohammedan faith' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 21785, s. 14 reverse].

In order to rectify the situation, the Ministry of Public Education issued the Circular of 31 July 1891, which required the KED Curator to provide the following data on Muslim educational establishments: school count, teaching staff, shortcomings and measures to be taken to rectify them [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 21785, s. 17].

In his letter to D. Tolstoy dated 16 October 1886, N. Ilminsky recommended that future mullahs be banned from pursuing education in Turkey, Egypt and Arabia. He warned the influential official: '... our Tatars can be subjected to the influence of all kinds of rascals in these countries, Poles, Hungarians, and other enemies of Russia. Education and civilisation of Western Europe, which has been developing rapidly in these countries and bringing about new institutions and a literature that follows the western European model, can affect the schools of the Muslim East and, indirectly, our Tatar seekers of higher knowledge. This is how I see the distant future: the Tatar school

¹⁸ 1) name of the place, number of residents with an indication of their ethnic origin and confession; 2) names of the school principals, halfas, mudarrises and other persons associated with the school; 3) names of the institutions and places where these persons received education; 4) number of boys and girls attending the school with the names of their settlements; 5) school opening date, including dates of the beginning

and end of the academic year; 6) school building (rented, owned, etc.); 7) funding of the educational institution, whether waqfs (religious trusts) are available.



V. Katarinsky (sitting in the centre)
with the staff of the Education Ministry.

Photo from the second half of the 19th century

will exchange the Bukharian medieval scholasticism for the splendour of the Ottoman-European enlightenment and civilisation; the Tatar hostility to Russians will then shift from the religious sphere to culture and probably even politics... ' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 171, file 656, s. 71 reverse–72]. This idea of N. Ilminsky, although worded differently, was included in the KED Curator's petition to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of 1891, in which he asked it to exclude mullahs who had received religious education abroad.

It was under the KED Curator's petition that the Ministry of Public Education agreed with Internal Affairs to issue the Circulars of 30 June and 10 July 1892.

In all educational districts the inspectors of people's schools were only responsible for Tatar-Russian schools [Budilovich, 1905, p. 187]. By the Circular of 30 June 1892 the Ministry of Public Education informed the Curators of

the KED, the OED, and Moscow¹⁹ and Kharkov²⁰ Educational Districts that new maktab and madrasahs could only be established subject to approval by people's school principals [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 19936, s. 1–3]. Thus, the legal framework for governmental control over Muslim educational establishments over a vast territory was officially established.

The Circular of 10 July 1892 on the introduction of new regulations was communicated to the Curators of the Kazan, Moscow, and Orenburg Educational Districts. It referenced the fact that maktab and madrasahs often used handwritten books promoting ideas that were 'adverse to Russian state-building principles' as a pretext to restrict the choice of textbooks to printed books that have been pre-approved by Russian censorship. Thus, the requirements to other primary educational establishments accountable to the Ministry of Public Education also applied to Muslim schools, which unified the administration. Mullahs who had received education in Muslim countries were ac-

cused of undermining 'the rapprochement between the Muslim population and the Russians' and impeding the promotion of the Russian language and Russian literacy. For this reason, only Russian subjects who had received an education in Russian were allowed to teach [Inorodcheskie i inovercheskie, 1903, p. 21].

Using handwritten textbooks was a medieval tradition that could also compensate for the lack of printed books and the shakirds lack of funds to afford expensive foreign reference materials. Copying books in the beautiful script of eastern calligraphy was a Muslim art in the world of Islam. Handwritten books were extremely important to the national culture and were passed on from generation to generation.

¹⁹ The Vladimir, Vologda, Kaluga, Kostroma, Moscow, Nizhny Novgorod, Orlov, Ryazan, Smolensk, Tver, Tula and Yaroslavl guberniyas.

²⁰ The Voronezh, Kursk, Penza, Tambov, Kharkov governorates and the Province of the Don Military Region.

When implemented, the Circular by the Ministry of Public Education threatened to derail the entire academic process.

In fact, the Ministry of Public Education began in 1892 to ignore the requirement to take a 'cautious and gradual approach' to controlling Muslim schools provided for in the Decree of 5 February 1882.

OED schools were inspected for books published in Muslim countries and handwritten works.

The special meeting (May 1894) called to address the issue of printed and handwritten materials used at Muslim schools resolved that the regulation on printed books would remain in effect, while existing handwritten textbooks could still 'be kept at schools', though the government would 'rely on its inspectorate to consider their copies when necessary' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 816, s. 211]. In 1895, the Ministry of Public Education approved the list of foreign books acceptable at Muslim schools [Central District Department of Education, 1895, No. 7, pp. 230–231]. However, the authorities still failed to confiscate all foreign literature from schools. It should be noted that this enhanced control over textbooks motivated Tatars to prepare and publish maktab and madrasah textbooks that were in large part adjusted to the Russian requirements.

Under the Circular by the Ministry of Public Education of 30 June 1892 the KED administration obligated people's school administrative offices to collect data on Muslim schools without providing them uniform forms to do so [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 10495, s. 9–10].

This revealed that in 1892 KED had a total of 1, 108 schools. The data was collected with the help of uyezd police officers, with whom the Tatar population was more used to interacting. Inspectors were rightfully apprehensive, lest the Tatar people become dissatisfied with their visits [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 160, inv. 1, file 977, s. 27 reverse].

The Order by the Ministry of Public Education of 29 August 1899, under which maktab and madrasah principals were to submit an-

nual reports and student lists to inspectors for people's schools, was crucial to establishing the practice of regular inspector visits to confessional schools [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 24602, s. 5]. However, it was only principals of city schools who provided such data at first, while the rural clergy completely ignored the order [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 23954, s. 11–13, 38, 52]. Mullahs sent numerous petitions to the KED administration asking it to stop the inspection of Muslim schools by educational department officials.

OED Kazakhs welcomed the inspector as a guest of honour, while Tatars took an 'indifferent attitude' [Budilovich, 1905, p. 180]. Inspector V. Katarinsky never found out how many Muslim schools were in the OED, as Mullahs would not provide complete data or ask for permission to establish new schools. It was not until the inspectorate office for Muslim schools was abolished in 1903 that the management of primary schools was confronted with the fact that control was to finally be exercised over the numerous maktab and madrasahs [Budilovich, 1905, pp. 122, 123, 134–135].

Throughout the 1890s the government was attempting to regulate the internal organisation of maktab and madrasahs. The Circular of 31 July 1891 by the Ministry of Public Education obligated educational district administrations to ensure that proper sanitary conditions were maintained at maktab and madrasahs [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 19380, s. 2 reverse]. This was natural given the increased concern about school hygiene. However, no funds were allocated to improve any improper sanitary conditions at schools, and no schools were reported closed for this reason either.

The Ministry of Public Education made an attempt at using Muslim donations meant for confessional schools to develop the network of governmental educational establishments specialising in the promotion of Russian. All cases of donations to Muslim schools were referred immediately to the administrations of the educational districts under the Circular by the Min-

istry of Public Education dated 30 November 1896. In fact, the government prohibited the use of donations for ethnic schools and enabled the principals of primary schools to fund madrasah Russian classes from such donations [Sbornik zakonov, 1899, pp. 53–55]. However, the imperial government never achieved its ultimate goal. What prevented it from doing so were the miniscule donations in rural localities, which were in fact too scant for Russian classes. Therefore, the Ministry of Public Education stopped interfering in these affairs.

In its Order of 29 August 1899 the Ministry of Public Education restored the requirement that handwritten literature must not be accepted, which was provided for in the Circular of 10 July 1892. However, officials and imams agreed unofficially that handwritten textbooks could still be used in schools. The same order stipulated that Muslim schools could accept only Russian subjects who had obtained adequate permission from the local inspector with reference to their license to the effect that they can carry out such activities [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 160, inv. 1, file 907, s. 1–1 reverse].

In the latter quarter of the 19th century, the government did not interfere in the socio-cultural processes of the Tatar community. The first blow to the fledgling Jadid movement came in June 1901: the authorities closed down the All-Russian Innovative Teaching Courses at Mosque 9 of Seitov settlement, Orenburg guberniya, which the merchant Gabdulgani Khusainov had been running every summer since 1899 without obtaining any official permission [Shaydullina, 2010, p. 81–82].

In summation, in the post-reform period the KED and the OED became an experimental platform on which the government developed a mechanism to exercise control over traditional Muslim schools. The 'Regulations' of 1870 did not apply to the Odessa Educational District. Tatar disturbances broke out in Crimea in 1874 as a response to the government's attempt at introducing universal military service, and mass emigration was starting out of Russia.

The authorities failed to ensure control over maktab and madrasahs in the Volga and Ural Regions in the period in question. One of the root causes for this was their realisation that the Islamic scholastic education system was posing no threat to the state's interests. Tatar disturbances and mass protests against governmental interference in the sacred sphere of their religious life, namely confessional education, was another factor of no less significance. The all-Russian importance of the Volga and Ural regions' 'Muslim Tatar schooling issue' was a third reason. Peripheral Muslims had been watching the situation closely to see any signs of approaching restrictions regarding the autonomy of religious education as their integration became more intense.

The control over maktab and madrasahs could only be formal in nature because they were numerous, and the Russian primary education system was just a fledgling and required enormous funding and other efforts from officials at the educational department, who were too few and had inadequate Tatar skills. While in the early 20th century KED inspectors visited about 1/5 of all Tatar schools, in the OED officials at the educational department faced the fact that they were expected to exercise supervisory control over maktab and madrasahs following the abolition of the office of Muslim School Inspector (1903). It is thus safe to say that a mere outline of the control system had taken shape by the beginning of the 20th century. The educational department primarily collected statistics on student count and teaching staff, while visiting few schools.

Therefore, when the Muslim schools of the Volga and Ural regions became subordinate to the Ministry of Public Education in 1874, this formed the legal basis for control over and interference in the internal regulations and educational activities of confessional schools. Moreover, the governmental management of traditional Tatar, Bashkir, and Kazakh schools did not mean governmental funding to improve their conditions.

CHAPTER 4

Observance of the Religious Rights of Muslim Military Personnel

Ildus Zagidullin

The concept of the Russian military according to Peter I did not include any ethnic, that is, non-Russian unions. However, administrative control over the Empire's periphery indeed required adjustments to be made to local social relations. Historically, the country had the following three types of ethnic units: irregulars (regiments, hundreds, divisions), ethnically recruited regular units, and armed forces of autonomous territories [Lapin, 2001, p. 110, 113].

Tatars in Irregular troops and the Uhlan regiment. The first irregular Muslim units were probably the Taurida Division Mounted troops, founded in 1784 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 30, Section 1, No. 23362].

The Teptyar and landless peasant regiments formed in 1798 to guard the Orenburg Border included a 'regiment mullah' with a monthly salary of 12 rubles, equal to that of a scribe or a common Cossack [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 44, Section 1, No. 18701]. The same conscription procedure was applied to Bashkir and Mishar cavalry regiments founded after the canton administrative system was introduced in the Cis-Ural region in 1798 [Kratkaya e'nciklopediya, p. 150]. Mullahs conscripted to regiments (of 500 people) received 300 rubles instead of 150 starting in 1833 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 7, Section 1, No. 5885].

Military mullahs were responsible not only for occasional services, but also for keeping morale up, which was especially important during wartime, and also admonitions according to the 'code of honour', which meant humane treatment of the prisoners of war, etc. In 1850 the office of the Chief Akhund of the Bashkir and Meshcheryak Army was established, and

the imam of the Caravanserai Mosque of the Irregular troops in the City of Orenburg G. Altynguzin was appointed to it. His responsibilities were confined to translations for the chancellery and the collection of information on the commanding staff's order [Azamatov, 2002, p. 745].

Following the partition of Poland and the annexation of the former Duchy of Lithuania by Russia, the Lithuanian and Polish Tatar Mounted Regiment was founded in 1797. During the reign of Alexander I the regiment gradually ceased to be multi-ethnic as a result of a lack of Polish and Lithuanian conscripts. In 1803 the regiment was divided into two confessional parts, and both of the regiments were renamed ulhan in 1807. The Lithuanian and Tatar regiment had a full-time military mullah. In 1832 the 15th Ulhan regiment, which consisted only of Tatars, was dissolved to help support the Polish Rebellion of 1830, only to be restored under the same name in 1853 with Russian conscripts only [Grishin, 1995, p. 42].

Ethnic Tatar and Bashkir units in irregular troops where favourable religious conditions were ensured therefore existed in the pre-reform period only.

In the Orenburg and Urak Cossack armies, as well as the Siberian Tatar Cossack regiment established in 1822, which included Muslim soldiers, there were no field or military mullahs.

Muslims in the Regular army. Among the Empire's Muslim peoples in the 19th century, Tatar tax-payers from the Volga-Ural region (from 1722) and Lithuanian-Polish Tatars were conscripted to the regular army. Bashkir, Mishar, and Teptyar ethnic and class groups were also added to the list in the post-reform period.

The regular army was filled in a manner to ensure a Russian percentage of 75% in each military unit [Zajęzkowski, 1973, p. 119].

The autocratic government viewed universal military service as the perfect opportunity to assimilate and Christianise ethno-confessional minorities. 'After universal military service was introduced, the army was used more consistently as a tool for the forced assimilation of non-Russian peoples into Russian culture and the Orthodox environment' [Kravchuk, 2005, p. 14]. When soldiers were first accommodated in barracks in the latter half of the 19th century, this increased Muslim 'participation' in Christian rituals: group Orthodox prayers in the regiments took place 5–6 times a day [Kotkov, 1999, p. 45].

The military oath was the most illustrative in terms of the extent to which religious rights were observed. According to the 1831 'Recruitment Regulations', clergymen were allowed to administer the oath to Muslim conscripts at recruitment offices in their native language. Where no clergyman was available, the oath could be administered by giving the printed version of the oath and the Quran to a literate Muslim; 'in case the one to take the oath was illiterate and no literate Muslims were available, the person appointed to administer the oath to him was to read out the oath written in Russian' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1159, s. 4–4 reverse].

The text of the military oath was an abridged translation of the uniform loyalty oath into high-register Tatar [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 25, Section 1, No. 24117] and a Russian invention that disregarded Quranic requirements and Islamic law. A number of places in the text of the oath could be interpreted in several ways, especially where Christian obligations were imposed on Muslims. The new text of the military oath developed by the officials of the Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1861 combined Islamic rules with requirements established by the autocratic government. It contained no discrepancies between civil and Islamic law, and provided no opportunity for the evasion of military service, referring to a

'Quranic text' to impose the liability of observing the Muslim military serviceman oath [Tikhonov, 2008, p. 185]. At the end of the 19th century, the government gave up the practice of using indigenous languages. The Senate's Decree of 17 February 1899 emphasised that the Russian language was to be used for all state acts, in particular the military oath.

The political aspect of the religious issue in the army was determined by military campaigns that helped improve the observance of Muslim servicemen's religious rights. For instance, in the long-fought Caucasian War (1817–1864), namely in 1819, a three days' rest was granted to Muslim servicemen on the occasion of Kurban Bayram and Ramazan Bayram. Before the Crimean War was initiated, the Military Ministry re-specified the Islamic religious holidays that were days off. The Edict under which the regulations on the religious and ritual responsibilities of Jewish soldiers applied to Muslims was signed by Alexander of Russia on 26 June 1877, when the Russian-Turkic war broke out [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 52, Section 1, No. 57518]. Starting on that date Muslims were able to hold praying sessions subject to the commander's permission, especially on religious holidays, 'under the supervision of a reliable comrade that they elect'. 'In the Russian–Japanese War, or more specifically in the spring of 1904, the commanding staff permitted appointing two soldiers to perform 'occasional divine services' for wounded Muslims at each hospital, and the offices of front military mullahs were introduced during the military campaign [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1064, s. 75].

Compulsory divine service 'for the health and prosperity of His Imperial Majesty and His Most August House' ²¹ also made collective Muslim prayer well-established in the army.

²¹ At the end of the 19th century this list included the following dates: 1 January—New Year's Day; 23 April—the Name Day of Empress Alexandra Feodorovna; 6 May—Birthday of Emperor Nicholas II of Russia; 14 May—the day of coronation of Emperor Nicholas II of Russia and Empress Alexandra Feodorovna; 25 May—Birthday of the Empress Alexandra Feodorovna; 22 July—the Name Day of the mother

However, the issue was entrusted to unit commanders with the connivance of the Military Ministry because there was no procedure for securing Muslims' religious rights in military regulations.

The observance of Muslims' religious rights was the best and most thorough in *burial ceremonies*. Starting in 1834, the Military and Naval Ministries awarded an annual sum of 100 rubles to non-Christian clergymen, in particular mullahs, for occasional service in hospitals [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 11, Section 1, pp. 465–466]. It should be noted that it was uncommon for the military department to deny such remuneration.

The observance of Islamic burial ceremonies much improved after D. Milyutin's military reforms began to be implemented. In particular, military hospitals specified the exact size of the canvas to replace the typical coffin and, where necessary and when so demanded by the mullah, also the boards to put around the body [Svod voenny'x, 1869, Ed. 4, Vol. 16, Article 189]. In 1871 remuneration for each religious ritual performed at medical institutions was established for clergymen. However, in some cases non-Orthodox soldiers were buried without religious ceremonies [Petrovsky-Stern, 2003, p. 85]. From 1880 mullahs received specified remuneration for 'sick rites' and 'burial rites' [Kotkov, 1999, p. 42]. In the Kazan Military District in 1902, the following cost was specified for one non-Christian service by a non-Christian clergymen: 1 ruble 50 kopecks—in the Kazan Military Hospital and the Samara, Perm, Yekaterinburg, Syzran and Izhevsk Steel and Weapons Plant; 1 ruble—in

hospitals in Irgiz, Turgay, Aktyube, Karabutak, Uil, Saratov, Astrakhan, Orenburg, Troitsk and Simbirsk [Prikazy', 1902, p. 9].

The fact that Muslim servicemen could rest on annual *Islamic religious holidays Kurban Bayram and Ramazan Bayram* and participate in collective holiday prayers were the main indicators of the observance of Muslim religious rights in the army. On an empire-wide scale this problem was resolved by the 'supreme' order of 10 July 1819: after receiving three days off, military Muslims had the opportunity to participate in festive public prayers in the closest mosques or perform rituals where they were stationed, provided the commander approved of it [Zagidullin, 2006, pp. 63–66].

However, as early as in the early 20th century the circulars of the military department no longer had compulsory days-off in the calendar of Islamic holidays during this time. It is clear the reason why the War Ministry changed its attitude to this issue was that the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly provided a new list of Islamic religious holidays, increasing their number up to 9 (13 days off). The circular of the main headquarters No. 1 dated 1 January 1902 [Fabrika, 1997, pp. 179–180] stated the following Islamic holidays: Kurban Bayram (Id al-Adha, Festival of Sacrifice) and Ramazan Bayram (Id al-Fitr)—3 days each, Arafah, Ashura, Mawlid an-Nabi, Ragaib, al-Isra wal-Miraj un-Nabi, Baraat, Laylat al-Qadr—1 day for each holiday, with indication of the day of celebration. The final decision regarding when days-off should be provided was made by the chiefs of the military district staffs [Spravochnik, Book 2, p. 302]. Thus, only in Kazan did the Kazan military district provide conditions for public praying that honoured Kurban Bayram and Ramazan Bayram, while the rest of the recommended Islamic holidays were ignored [Prikazy' i prikazaniya, 1902, p. 127].

In the Russian army mutual assistance between enlisted men and officers of different confessions was common: during the Christian Festivals duties were imposed on non-Christians, and vice versa.

In the army two models of public prayer during religious holidays were used: if there

of Emperor Nicholas II of Russia the Empress Maria Feodorovna; 17 October—the day when the deceased emperor Alexander Alexandrovich and all his august family escaped from the danger of being killed during the train crash; 21 October—the day of ascension to the throne of Emperor Nicholas II of Russia; 14 October—Birthday of the Emperor's mother Empress Maria Feodorovna; 22 November—Birthday and Name Day of the heir and Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovich of Russia; 6 December—Name Day of Emperor Nicholas II of Russia; the first day of Shawwal, upon the performance of Eid al-Fitr; the tenth day of Dhu'l-Hijjah, upon the performance of Eid al-Adha.

was no mosque in the settlement a building for the praying assembly was provided by the commanders; if a mosque was available the military Muslims used it or gathered together in a building rented by civilians [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I-295, inv. 3, file 5944, s. 2-4] until the troop units were transferred to the barracks [Lapin, 1991, pp. 151, 152], and some Islamic soldiers satisfied their religious needs at the place of their own accommodation. The Friday festive prayer required complete ablutions, but the military bathing day fell on Sunday. The only opportunity for a Muslim to perform this ritual was if he had the day-off or at night [Nasyrov, 2005, p. 62]. *No special building was provided for military Muslims to perform the Friday and five daily Islamic prayers.* Perhaps the only exception are the institutions where military servants convicted of offenses served [Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire-2, Vol. 24, Sec. 1, No. 23062]. The Resolutions on military correctional troops and serf military prisoners (1867) specified the days on which Islamic and Jewish prisoners were released from work for prayer, and the location where prayer was required to take place. In addition, non-Christian prisoners could not use more holidays than the Christians [Svod voenny'x, 1869, Part 4, Book 17, Article 86, 307].

Thus, one of the main 'impairments of religious rights' of Islamic soldiers should be considered the absence of the legal right to perform the Friday afternoon and five daily prayers. Their situation was in sharp contrast with the enlisted Orthodox men, who saw the performance of religious rituals to be an integral part of military duty.

Eating in troop units was regulated by the respective Charters, and there was an established food ration for soldiers and officers. Enlisted men had the right to receive money instead of wine, yet this rule was not complied with everywhere. A traditional source of food for soldiers was pork, which was prohibited for Muslims.

Before enlisted men settled in the barracks they had ample opportunities to organise their nutritional intake on an individual basis. In or-

der to comply with the Islam canons regarding nutrition, an enlisted Muslim living in the barracks was doomed to a half-starved existence.

After the discussion on 6 February 1906 in Ufa on the question on respecting the religious rights of Muslims, the public Tatar men requested the authorities exclude pork from the food ration of Muslim military servants and not provide them with alcoholic drinks. The Main Headquarters stated in its defense that it was impossible to arrange 'separate cooking' for Muslim soldiers due to their small number. When battalions and regiments were housed in various scattered locations, if Muslims ate from a common kitchen, in the commanders' opinion, the result would be the frequent absence of enlisted men from their troops and teams, which could adversely impact discipline. As regards drinking wine, it was stated that enlisted men were to be given money instead of their 'portion of wine', provided that 'they submit a statement of their refusal to drink wine' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 633, s. 13, 32-32 reverse].

The internal order and common procedure for taking meals were the main obstacles in keeping fast for military Muslims.

Islamic Clergymen and the Military Department. In each troop unit Islamic soldiers formed a local ethnic confessional unit that elected the public clergyman. The Emperor's edict of 7 March 1849 declared for the field army sent to suppress the Hungarian Revolution established extremely simplified rules for taking exams to hold the position of public mullah for enlisted men: 1) the examination was conducted by a local civilian mullah; 2) 'attached the certificates issued, while making entries in the forms of the enlisted men being examined, to the exam sheets when they were qualified to be commissioned as officers and receive one and two thirds of an officer's salary'; 3) the military supervisors had no right to subject 'enlisted men who had successfully passed the test' to this procedure again [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-2, Vol. 24, Sec. 1, No. 23064].

The Emperor's edict of 26 June 1877 specified that in troop units situated in locations

where no civil imams were available, enlisted men shall elect public mullahs from their own environment [Arapov, 2003, p. 73].

However, public mullahs were only called up to perform public namaz and other occasional services as needed. Record keeping for deceased soldiers was the responsibility of commanders, who were to notify the local police to the fact of death.

In the first quarter of the 19th century the satisfaction of Muslim religious needs in military institutions was a matter of conscience of the local civil imams, and in no way the responsibility of the officers. In the second quarter of the century regulations on the allocation of funds to 'perform spiritual services' for the military ranks of non-Orthodox confessions started to be adopted.

The first staff military mullahs (received salary and retired with a pension) came to their positions not later than in the beginning of the 19th century in the Baltic fleet and guards units that remained in the capital. They were appointed from the ranks of enlisted Muslims who were familiar with Islamic rituals and could read and write in Russian.

In 1846 the legal position of Islamic clergymen in Guards troop units fell under regulations [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 25, Section 1, No. 20036], and their number increased in 1850. The additional positions of staff assistants to the senior akhund (salary was 428 rubles per year), imam (294 rubles) and two muezzins (195 rubles each) were also created [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1064, s. 11].

In 1848 military mullahs made an unsuccessful attempt through the Spiritual Assembly to obtain the right 'to wear religious clothes' instead of the soldier uniform, and a beard, as was practiced among the troop's Orthodox churchmen [Azamatov, 2002, p. 746].

In 1855 the regulation 'on the provision of travelling allowance to mullahs and rabbis' who were sent on missions to various troops to perform spiritual services and administer the oath to enlisted Muslim and Jewish men began to be enforced. Their allocations were the following: for trips, a travelling allowance (two

horses per person) and food allowance of 60 silver kopecks per person [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 30, Section 1, No. 29904]. The new strategy of the authorities to some extent helped attract mullahs to hospitals, infirmaries, prisons, troop units, and judicial and other institutions. However, due to the fact that enlisted men of the Islamic confession were scattered across military districts that had no Islamic enclaves, these means could never be used to their full extent. The enforcement of the laws on the payment of services to civil mullahs depended fully on the availability of funds and the political will of the leadership of the military district and commander of the troop unit.

In places where the troop units of the Internal Guard of the Volga and Urals region (until 1866) were located, the positions of salaried mullahs were established in Kazan (1838), Simbirsk (1838) and Ufa (1844). Subject to the approval of the local military supervisors, and the good behaviour, initiative and persistence of enlisted men, a local parish imam could be granted a salary and become a staff military mullah who visited non-Christians at the time agreed with the commander to render spiritual services.

Military mullahs received parish registers from the Spiritual Assembly in which they entered information on the births, deaths, marriages and divorces in the families of military servants.

From 1870s–1890s the governorates and regions of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly district had several military clergymen: in Saint Petersburg there was the senior akhund, his assistant imam and two muezzins, and one mullah in Helsingfors (Finnish Military District), Nizhny Novgorod, Kostroma (Moscow Military District), Warsaw (Warsaw Military District) [Zagidullin, 2006, pp. 22–29].

Over time the privileges of priests of other confessions began to be applied to military mullahs [Spravochnik, Book 1, p. 410; Priказы', 1887, p. 414; Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–3, Vol. 10, Section 1, No. 6528].

In 1896 the staff positions of military mullahs were eliminated in the regular land forces [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 30, No. 29903].

In 1845 the Navy Department instituted the staff positions of mullahs with an annual salary of 142 rubles 85 kopecks in silver for all Russian ports.

After the positions of military mullahs had been eliminated in the 1890s due to the small number of Muslim sailors in the Black Sea Fleet (Nikolaev port (Kherson guberniya) and Sevastopol), clergymen staff were only kept in the Caspian flotilla and in the Baltic fleet in Baku (imam) and Kronstadt (imam and assistant) [Zagidullin, 2006, p. 30].

In the early 20th century the Islamic community began to view the absence of salaried military mullahs as an impairment of the rights of co-religious military servants. Only in 1908 were the staff positions of military mullahs approved: 2 positions per district in the Vilna, Warsaw, Kiev, Amur river districts, and 1 position in the Moscow military districts. In finan-

cial terms, for the first time they were also now equal with the clergymen of other confessions [Abdullin, 2007].

Thus, the Military Department tried to meet the religious needs of confessional minorities, while at the same time observing the Orthodox religious traditions already integrated in the internal order of troop units. This was the main reason for the secularisation of the spiritual and ethical education of Muslim military servants in regular forces. In an institution as closed as the Russian army, completely incompatible principles did sometimes coexist. For instance, the principle of reduced religious tolerance (providing an opportunity to military servants to perform certain Islamic rituals) and the principle of the assimilation of co-religionists through baptism.

In the clerical state impairment of the religious rights of Muslim military servants was observed. Muslims paid state taxes and could hypothetically look to use these funds for the religious needs of their co-religionists in the army, as was the practice among enlisted Orthodox men.

CHAPTER 5

N. Ilminsky's Missionary System of Religious Enlightenment and the Peoples of the Volga-Ural Region

Leonid Taymasov, Radik Iskhakov

Throughout their centuries-long history in Russia, non-Russian peoples have witnessed varying degrees of unification among the multi-confessional population upon the foundation of Christian (Russian Orthodox) values. It was in the Middle Volga region where a number of novel missionary ideas were tested before they contributed to the promotion of Orthodox Christianity in the eastern periphery of the Russian Empire and beyond. The Orthodox mission's goals and methods changed depending on the epoch; after major shifts started taking place in the multi-ethnic society, the autocratic government continued to view Orthodox Christianity as crucial to the formation of an all-Russian identity. Intensified Orthodox missionary activities in the second half of the 19th brought about material changes to the nature and course of ethno-cultural processes in the Middle Volga region. Each epoch has its own heroes. Nikolai Ilminsky (1822–1891) made a special contribution to the Orthodox mission by developing and introducing the new concept of religious enlightenment known as the Ilminsky System.

He developed it largely because the government was searching for the best forms of a complete and powerful integration of local peoples into the Empire's social, legal and cultural environment. Other factors that played a part in the development of new approaches to missionary work and schooling and their adoption as official policy in the region was the need for efficient measures to check the cultural and religious influence of Islam. Increasing Orthodox conversion into Islam in the second half of the 19th century among not

only Christian Tatars, but also other non-Russian people of the region residing in contact areas, though of a local nature, could not but instill apprehension in the church and secular administrations who wanted to keep the Orthodox faith dominant, which the further territorial expansion of Islam could threaten. It was therefore permitted to engage Orthodox missionaries in the development of new measures to confront Islamic influences. A dedicated anti-Islamic department was established at the Kazan Theological Academy (KTA) in 1854. Starting in the 1840s Kazan missionaries carried out intense research on the status of Orthodox Christianity and Islam in local ethnic groups, and searched for new academic approaches that could make the Orthodox faith more influential among non-Russians, which eventually brought about this new ideology of enlightenment by N. Ilminsky. Chiefly because the author gave up on forced Russification and Christianisation, which had proven inefficient, and instead took into account the socio-cultural features of the non-Russian peoples, relying on their willingness to develop spiritually and culturally, his approach proved the most consistent with the goal of a stable and relatively quick promotion of the Orthodox ideology and Russian cultural identity among the non-Russians of Eastern Russia. This is why N. Ilminsky enjoyed complete support both locally (KED Curator P. Shestakov, Archbishop Antonius (Amfiteatrov) of Kazan) and at the state level (Minister of Public Education and Ober Procurator of the Synod D. Tolstoy (1865–1880), Chief Procurator of the Synod K. Pobedonostsev (1880–1905)). In the early 1870s his ideas



N. Ilminsky. Lithography from the 2nd half of the 19th century

underlay the basic educational and religious policy of the imperial government for non-Christian non-Russians in the region.

The bourgeois reforms of the 1860s and a certain degree of social democratisation in Russia awoke non-Russians' interest for history, culture and education. K. Ushinsky's teaching system, which was based on the idea of wide access to education, had a significant impact on the development of schooling. Taking into account the current socio-economic processes, N. Ilminsky estimated the ethno-confessional situation accurately and suggested certain ways of modernising and developing non-Russian education that were to become the main channel that brought Orthodox Christianity and Russian culture to the non-Russian population. In 1864 Ilminsky wrote that 'Christian peoples have been craving education recently'. He wanted to take advantage of the movement by 'turning it where we need, and proving the superiority of our education and religion in practice' [Ilminsky, 1865, p. 89]. Believing that school had an influence over one's 'mindset', he ad-

vocated for a new school that would not repel non-Russian Christians, but instead be 'intelligible and appealing' to them. He suggested instruction in their native language, as he believed it to be 'most efficient to translate educational books that are useful and edifying for common people into non-Russian languages' [Ilminsky, 1865, p. 7]. N. Ilminsky viewed using the native languages of non-Russian peoples as a way to attract them to Christianity as the first stage of their spiritual Russification. 'The religious motion of one's heart is so much more powerful and profound when non-Russians hear the Christian truth in their native language rather than in Russian... As soon as Christian custom and rules are instilled in non-Russians with the help of their own language, they will be Russified', he wrote [quoted by: Znamensky, 1892a, p. 204]. Spiritual Russification was viewed not as a transformation of non-Russians into Russians, but as a spiritual unity of Russia's peoples within an Orthodox framework.

Elaborate speculations and missionary experience led N. Ilminsky to realise that the familiar religious images of New Christians 'are the essence of their thinking and the foundation of their morals' [Ilminsky, 1864, p. 30]. He wrote, 'A simple man thinks and feels in a holistic manner, in one consistent direction, and he values his religious beliefs, whatever they are, because they are his life. Should we look down on non-Russians and despise their ideas as nonsensical? To make sure that the truth we teach to the common man takes deep root in their mind, we have to try on their own mindset, take their beliefs for granted and develop them. Christianity is capable of assimilating the obsolete, simple and unsophisticated beliefs of Shamanist peoples...' [Ilminsky, 1864, p. 8]. N. Ilminsky viewed native languages as the only solution to complicated missionary and educational issues. 'Those who speak to non-Russians in their mother tongue, ' he wrote, 'is understood by them and can persuade them, because with their words he uses elements of their thinking' [Ilminsky, 1864, p. 8]. N. Ilminsky described his system in a nutshell as a well-known triade in his let-

ter to K. Pobedonostsev: 'My armaments are non-Russian books, non-Russian divine service, and a non-Russian parish headed by a priest' [Ilminsky, 1898, p. 178].

The first step towards the development of his new missionary and educational approaches was the establishment of an educational institution guided by N. Ilminsky's theory. In 1863 the first tatar Christian to become an Orthodox leader and disciple of N. Ilminsky, Vasily Timofeev, started to provide instruction in Tatar to dozens of Kryashen children. In the following year the Kazan Central Christian Tatar School (KCCTS) was granted official status thanks to N. Ilminsky. It went on to become the model for schools opening in other localities in the Kazan guberniya and beyond. After Ilminsky's system had been introduced officially, all instruction in the first grade (2 years) of people's schools—one class, four years—was in the native language, while Russian was a subject. Russian then became the language of instruction in the second grade. N. Ilminsky believed people of the same ethnic origin as their students made the best teachers at non-Russian people's schools. He maintained that Russian teachers must know their students' mother tongue and use it for educational purposes. Ilminsky believed that textbooks 'should be written in the students' mother tongue' in cyrillic script. He wanted to adjust the organisational structure of Russian schools, their educational methods and how they were adapted to meet the population's ethnic features.

Despite support from outstanding members of the political elite, Ilminsky's theory always had numerous opponents among public activists and in the bureaucratic system. The confrontation between advocates for the system and its adversary peaked in the late 1860s. The fierce dispute had to answer the question of how indigenous peoples in Eastern Russia were to be integrated, whether through cultural and linguistic unification or Christian enlightenment. This would largely determine both the government's ethnic policy and the Russian Orthodox missionary movement.

One of the first forces to criticise the system was the Orthodox clergy, who viewed attempts at introducing divine services in non-Russian languages as debasing to the Orthodox Church [Grigoryev, 1948, p. 263]. Their protest motivated advocates of the new system to attract members of the local peoples to the clergy, ruining the traditional practice of parish inheritance and increasing competition.

Apart from purely missionary issues, the discussion on Ilminsky's system addressed educational methods for ethnic minorities. But the language of instruction as non-Russian was a real stumbling block. Even Ilminsky's friends and associates sometimes disapproved of his teaching experiments. For instance, E. Malov, who had been working with him for years and managing the KCCTS, was opposed to offering educational instruction in languages other than Russian to Christian Tatars. His diary contains a curious remark on this fact: 'Why force children to study in Tatar when their parents want Russian to be the language of instruction? We should accept this wish happily and make sure that non-Russians forget their language completely and become Russified; otherwise they will always be our enemies' [Malov, 1993, p. 41].

Apart from N. Ilminsky, the Chairman of the Buinsk School Council priest A. Baratynsky also raised the question of education for the indigenous peoples of Eastern Russia. In 1864 he filed two documents to the Ministry of Public Education, namely the 'Project for Organising Village Schools in the Buinsk Uyezd' and the 'Memorandum on the Introduction of Russian and Russian Literacy in Tatar Schools' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 170, file 143, s. 1–28 reverse]. A. Baratynsky's suggested that Russian should be the only language of instruction at missionary schools because he believed language to be the key to ethnic identity. He believed that the development of non-Russian culture and written language could cause them to form an intelligentsia, create a culture, and eventually



Former Kazan Seminary
for Non-Russian teachers. Photo, 1892.
Modern-day: Marjani Street, 24

demonstrate increasing national awareness and 'separatism' [Sbornik, 1869, p. 16]. In A. Baratynsky's opinion, 'the artificial reinforcement of the Tatar element in the eastern periphery of Russia (through the development of school education), and the merging of different non-Russian groups into a homogeneous non-Russian mass, even with considerable Christian enlightenment, is by no means welcome' [Sbornik, 1869, p. 15].

A. Baratynsky was supported by officials from the Ministry of Public Education, headed by a Member of the Academic Committee and Professor at the University of Saint Petersburg V. Grigoryev. Most of them expressed their opposition to further extending the use of Ilminsky's system at the Committee's extraordinary meeting on 20 February 1867. They believed that education for non-Russians should become the main channel of their Russification: 'the fact that education can only be successful when provided in a language intelligible to children does not mean that a non-Russian language should be the language of instruction at school. If we let this happen and publish special books in this language but with cyrillic characters... it might awaken tribal vanity and respect for their own language, which would be a nuisance to the Russian government and society' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 10, inv. 2, file 1119, s. 138]. As an alternative to N. Ilminsky's ideas, educational Russification methods were suggested that were popular before the system

was established and used to be at the core of non-Russian education in the Empire. This approach was widely used in the Caucasus, where it was introduced in the 1850s on the order of the Curator of the Caucasian Educational District Baron Nikolai. The suggestion was to extrapolate this experience to the Middle Volga Region, while adding another year to the curriculum for Russian classes [Iskhakova, 2001, p. 170].

Members of the Kazan Committee for non-Russian Education, headed by P. Shestakov, Chairman of the School Council priest M. Zefirov, and Inspector of Chuvash Schools N. Zolotnitsky, disagreed openly and presented their own opinion to the Ministry of Public Education in early 1868.

Another reason why the dispute on Ilminsky's system was so complicated and tense and involved so many public officials and social activists who were not directly concerned, was its connection with an important issue that was on the agenda in the post-reform period and dealt with growing Russian national awareness and a search for Russian cultural and its ideological framework. The question was this: What is the key, fundamental indicator of being Russian in a modern society undergoing secularisation, cultural and linguistic affiliation (ability to speak Russian) or existing as Orthodox Christian? Lively literary polemics between representatives of the first approach (The editor of 'Moskovskiye Vedomosti' ('Moscow Newsletter') M. Katkov) [Sobranie, 1897] and Slavophile journalists like Yu. Samarin and I. Aksakov [Samarin, 1997] triggered an intense public response and was crucial to the government's decision. However, advocates for total cultural and linguistic unification, namely officials in the Ministry of Public Education who had experience in administration in the Western Krai and in the Caucasus, would not put up with the vision of N. Ilminsky and his associates, who believed Orthodox Christianity to be the 'cornerstone of both the Russian national identity and the Russian state', the acceptance of which would make non-Russians become culturally and spiritually 'Russian' [Ilminsky,

1883, p. 34]²². The polarisation in public education and the different ideological and conceptual approaches motivated the Ministry of Public Education to initiate a wider discussion on this complicated issue. Feedback was collected from 36 school councils in seven multi-ethnic governorates and published as a separate book in 1869 [Sbornik, 1869]. The information collected was discussed by an extended meeting of the Council of the Ministry of Public Education, which took place of 8 February 1870, presided over by D. Tolstoy and attended by the Curators of the Kazan and Orenburg Educational Districts.

Ilminsky's system there was officially recognised as the primary method of instruction for Christian representatives of the non-Russian eastern peripheral population of Russia. Though many activists were opposed to using languages other than Russian for missionary and educational activities, N. Ilminsky's associates prevailed. This is highly attributable to the administration of the Synod and the Ministry of Public Education, which relied on the intensification of Christian enlightenment for the region's indigenous peoples by developing missionary schools with the native languages of the population for instruction. As they realised the 'danger' of introducing Ilminsky's system on a large scale, which was capable of causing an increase in the national awareness of non-Russians, the religious and secular authorities still knew this to be a prerequisite for a breakthrough in the imposition of Orthodox Christianity on non-Russians and their integration into the Russian cultural environment.

The use of Ilminsky's system in educational missionary activities was enshrined in the Regulations on Educational Measures for non-Russians Who Inhabit Russia dated 26 March 1870 [Svod glavneyshix, 1882, pp. 42–45]. They notably mentioned: 'a) native languages

must be the instrument of primary education for each tribe; b) teachers at non-Russian schools must come from non-Russian tribes and have good Russian skills or be Russian and able to speak the non-Russian language... Textbooks include ABC books, appropriate prayers, short narratives from the Holy History, the Old and New Testament, and books edifying religion. To facilitate the transition to studying Russian for non-Russians... the books shall be printed in the non-Russian language using cyrillic, with or without translation into Russian, with the exception of prayer and other worship books, which must contain translations into Russian' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 9940, s. 57 reverse–58].

The system became full-fledged in 1872 after the Kazan Seminary for Non-Russian Teachers (TSK) was established and N. Ilminsky was appointed its principal. The authors of the project expected the Seminary to facilitate a 'union between the non-Russian tribes and the Russian people through (Christian) enlightenment' [Voronets, 1873, p. 319]. As a closed-type educational establishment, the Seminary accepted both Russians and members of the indigenous peoples of the Middle Volga region. A large number of Russians were expected to ensure the Russification of the rest of the students by imposing Orthodox traditions and culture upon them. Four primary schools (Chuvash, Mordvin, Udmurt, Mari) opened on the premises of the TSK, where teaching practicums were offered to seminary students. N. Ilminsky remained in office until his death. He contributed to the establishment of the teaching schools in Ufa (1872), Birsik (Mari-Chuvash, 1882) and Orsk (Orenburg Kazakh School, 1883).

N. Ilminsky was also one of the co-founders of the missionary Brotherhood of St. Gury (1867) and the head of its Translation Board. Cyrillic alphabets were created for those peoples in Eastern Russia who did not have writing systems in order to 'deliver the truth of the Christian faith to them in their native language'. This was assisted in large part by

²² One such public figure was the author of the depolonisation and inculcation of the 'Russian concept' in the Western region and trustee of the Vilna school district (from 1868 also a member of the Board of the Ministry of National Education) I. Kornilov [see: Russian State Historical Archive, f. 970, inv. 1, file 99].

Kazan missionaries headed by N. Ilminsky, who developed the theoretical and scientific foundation for the new alphabets and translations of Orthodox texts into local languages. He translated not only into Tatar, but also into Chuvash, Mari, and Udmurt; he was an astonishingly quick learner when it came to languages. N. Ilminsky's activities were aimed at ensuring a 'powerful unification between non-Russians and the indigenous population by means of enlightenment', a term that primarily referred to Orthodox education. While promoting the Gospels to all peoples, he wanted to integrate non-Russians into the Russian and, indirectly, global culture to make the values of other peoples in Russia available to Russians. He often engaged members of the nascent ethnic intelligentsia in his translations. V. Timofeev and KCCTS students edited Tatar translations; G. Yakovlev, I. Kedrov, and P. Eruslanov handled Mari, while K. Andreev, and also I. Mikheev from the 1890s, worked with Udmurt, and A. Yurtov, M. Yevseyev, and others with Mordovian. Thanks to the development of public education, regional periodicals provided better coverage of the culture and religion of the Volga peoples, and a translation of the Holy Scripture was begun.

The fundamental principles of Ilminsky's teaching system as he described it in a number of works were as follows: 1) provide instruction to children in their native language and create reference materials—ABC books, readers, arithmetic and theology textbooks—in their native mother tongues; 2) teach Russian as a subject in Russian with the help of high-quality textbooks depending on the ethnic group of the students; all students were expected to possess enough knowledge of Russian 'to be able to understand further instruction in Russian' after four years of primary school; 3) high standards for teachers, who could be either the same ethnic group as their students or fluent in their native language, also Orthodox; 4) Ilminsky also attached great importance to girls' education, believing mixed sex study groups to be possible at secondary and higher educational establishments. According to the enlightener,

missionary primary schools were to undertake certain family functions, as non-Russian families could not provide a Christian upbringing. Ilminsky viewed Christian upbringing at school as opposed to being brought up in a Pagan or Islamic family. Therefore, academic activities had to make allowances for the ethnic group's national traditions, custom, lifestyle, and mindset. Teachers were expected to be at least fluent in the students' language, and preferably of the same ethnic affiliation. They were also expected to know Russian. Primary education was to combine instruction in the native language with Russian classes. Russian would only become the dominant language of instruction when mastered well enough. N. Ilminsky expected the educational programme to be of an exclusively religious missionary nature. He declared frankly that it is religious sense and not intelligence that he wanted to develop, and that he expected each student 'to develop a Christian spirit and be able to fathom Orthodox dogmas' [Yakovlev, 1998, p. 301].

Apart from the pedagogical constituent of Ilminsky's system, the church missionary aspect was also important, namely the use of native languages in divine services, and engaging indigenous clergymen to cooperate with missionary teachers in supporting the church among local residents who were not loyal Orthodox Christians. N. Ilminsky emphasised that Christianity can only take deep root in the mind of non-Russians if they came to understand its content and became full members of the parish. This required a divine service that would be intelligible in the congregation's native language. The chief conductor of church reforms in an ethnic parish was expected to be a spiritual leader who knew the local language enough to use it for missionary and educational activities. N. Ilminsky believed that a priest of the same ethnic group as his parish people would be the best candidate because 'apart from language skills, tribal affinity is important to meet the people's spiritual, that is, mental, moral, and Christian needs. This is why Russian priests and teachers who are fluent in the native language cannot have as

much influence on the non-Russian population as authentic non-Russians do' [quoted by: Mashanov, 1892, p. 174].

The possibility of appointing indigenous, non-Russian priests was enshrined in 1867, when D. Tolstoy submitted the suggestion to the Synod on N. Ilminsky's initiative that Christian Tatar priests should be assigned to Tatar Christian parishes. The Synod agreed with its Chief Procurator and permitted under the Order of 19 July 1867 to accept the alumni of missionary schools as ethnic parish priests upon the following conditions: mature age (at least 30), knowledge of the key Orthodox dogmas, divine service procedures, and Russian language [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 797, inv. 36, section 2, file 251, s. 17–20 reverse; *Izvlecheniya*, 1867, p. 46–47]. Later, the Synod's Order of 15 January 1883 officially permitted 'performing divine service in the languages of the non-Russian peoples of Eastern Russia', which de facto became common missionary practice of the Kazan and Altai missionaries in the late 1860s. The enactment specified the following scope of use for non-Russian languages in divine services: a) both public and private divine services in native languages was acceptable 'where a more or less significant number' of representatives of non-Russian Christian peoples were present; b) such a divine service was to 'use translations by the Translation Board' of the Orthodox Missionary Community under the Brotherhood of St. Gury; handwritten texts it approved were temporarily acceptable; c) wherever Russians attended the divine service, it was to be delivered in both the non-Russian language and Russian [O *czerkovnom*, 1883, pp. 14–15].

N. Ilminsky and his associates' efforts gradually caused non-Russian languages to become more common in church practice, and the indigenous Orthodox clergy grew. In particular, in 1904 the Bishopric of Kazan employed 68 indigenous priests, which accounted for 9.1% of its total clergy [Bobrovnikov, 1905, p. 178]. When Ilminsky's system was introduced, it turned the Russian

Orthodox Church into the centre of the social life for members of the region's nascent ethnic intelligentsia (except for Muslim Tatars and Bashkirs), offering them opportunities for social, educational and financial promotion. The activities of most representatives of the ethnic intelligentsia, especially in the latter half of the 19th century, showed a close connection to the church. It was not uncommon for them to start their careers at educational establishments founded by Orthodox Christians, where they received a primary Christian education that enabled them to later teach at confessional educational establishments and work for their nation's cultural and religious enlightenment, until they eventually joined the clergy. The most talented and active Chuvashes, Maris, Udmurts, Christian Tatars, and Mordvins succeeded in ethnic education and enlightenment, forming a non-Russian intellectual elite. They proved extremely helpful to Orthodox missionaries as active Christian enlighteners. Thanks to Ilminsky's system, Christianity and Russian Orthodox institutions became key to the cultural mobilisation of non-Russian Christian peoples; their 'high' culture and literary traditions all stemmed from Orthodox values. N. Ilminsky's first disciples and associates led the ethnic Orthodox missionary movement, including the Chuvash I. Yakovlev and D. Filimonov, Mordvin A. Yurtov and M. Yevseyev, Mari S. Chavain and V. Vasilyev, Udmurt G. Vereshchagin and K. Andreev, Christian Tatar V. Timofeev, and others. This was a strong team of professionals, and the most dedicated adherents to N. Ilminsky's ideas.

The terms 'assimilation', 'Russianisation', and 'Russification' have been much discussed in literature, mostly from abroad, in recent years [Matsuzato, 2003, p. 5]. Most authors are inclined to view the Russianisation of non-Russian peoples as a complex and controversial process that is best studied at the most profound level of its dynamics. To quote A. Kappeler, 'the umbrella term 'Russification' cannot account for every aspect of the complex notion it references... '[Kappeler, 2000,



I. Yakovlev (sitting third from the right) with lecturers of Simbirsk School for Chuvash Teachers. Photo from the early 20th century.

p. 204]. He thus agreed with M. Slavinsky that imperial policies in this sphere were 'as motley and diverse in their manifestations' as was the Empire's population [quoted by: Kapeler, 2000, p. 204]. It is impossible to shape this diversity into a coherent system, not to mention unity, as no unity in reality actually exists. N. Ilminsky viewed 'Russianisation' as the shift in the confessional orientation of non-Russian peoples when they adopted the Orthodox faith, the Russian language, and finally Russian customs. He did not anticipate any ethno-cultural unity of Orthodox peoples; only in the long-term perspective did he see this as a possibility. Being opposed to aggressive short-term measures he believed to be generally ineffective, he insisted on a spiritual Russianisation that could attract the leaders of the fledging ethnic intelligentsia and clergy. I. Yakovlev shared a memory from the very first week after they met, about how Ilminsky gave him his letter to the Minister of Public Education and Chief Procurator of the Synod Count D. Tolstoy, which read that 'whatever good things the Russians have should be imposed on Russia's indigenous peoples while preserving their positive historical ethnic features' [Yakovlev, 1998, p. 179]. However, KED Cu-

rator P. Shestakov convinced Ilminsky not to send the letter, lest it irritate D. Tolstoy, as the approach to Russification consisting of the direct implementation of Orthodox Christianity, the Russian language and its culture, was popular among the high-ranking officials of the time. N. Ilminsky attached great importance to ensuring tolerance for co-education. Children from different peoples of the

Volga-Ural region studied together in the TSK. It had a total of 554 graduates while Ilminsky was the principle, including 332 Russians and 222 non-Russians (56 Tatars, 68 Chuvashes, 47 Maris, 12 Udmurts, 30 Mordvins, 2 Kalmyks, and 4 Altaians) [Bezzubov, 1960, p. 23; Rogachev, 2002, pp. 28–29]. The Seminary aspired to instill humanism and high moral standards in its students. Its teaching staff attached primary importance to inter-ethnic relations among students. Other educational establishments also widely employed the TSK model. For instance, I. Yakovlev practiced co-education among the Chuvash, Russian and Mordvin, believing it to facilitate their mastering of the other groups' languages and culture. I. Yakovlev's work describes numerous cases of cooperation between the Chuvash, Russians and representatives of other ethnic groups to address educational issues.

N. Ilminsky found it necessary to ensure a deep religious rebirth for each non-Russian person: 'We have a more profound idea of Russianisation. We take the ideal Russian person and try to impose that image on non-Russians. The Russian ideal is essentially Orthodox Christianity, which is the reason why we are insisting upon it. A non-Russian who

Non-Russian
Orthodox Clergy
at the Congress
of Missionaries in
Samara, 1899



has deliberately fathomed the Orthodox faith mentally and accepted it with their heart has been Russianised' [quoted by: Znamensky, 1892, p. 204]. Still, it should not be forgotten that the Russianisation of non-Russian peoples in the latter half of the 19th –the beginning of the 20th century depended more on the large-scale socio-economic transformations of the country, which dismantled the patriarchal order and undermined the monolithic peasant community, engaging it instead with new economic and cultural contacts, than on how effective Christian enlightenment was. A. Kappeler was right to state that 'unification required the Russian language to be introduced to the administrative and education system, which determined the disadvantaged status of non-Russians compared to the "official people"' [Kappeler, 2000, p. 204]. A 'Russianised non-Russian' was regarded as having a higher social and cultural status both by his own ethnic group and by other peoples. Therefore, many Christian non-Russians viewed eagerness to be 'Russianised' as a progressive trend. It should be added, however, that bourgeois modernisation also increasingly made Russian an instrument for inter-ethnic communication. It was life itself that

ultimately motivated Russia's peoples to learn the Russian language and adopt the culture.

In summation, N. Ilminsky established a missionary and enlightenment system resulting from his many-year search for the best forms and methods of influencing the religious sense of the non-Russian population and the confessional orientation of Christian non-Russians. The missionary enlightenment theorist founded the following missionary enlightenment institutions to see his ideas through to the end: the KCCTS, the TSK, and the Brotherhood of Saint Gury, along with its network of missionary schools.

The reception of N. Ilminsky's activities was polarised, as the missionary enlightenment system developed in the midst of fierce disputes. Attacks 'from both the right and the left' did not prevent N. Ilminsky's system from operating until the 1917 Revolution, which is undoubtedly indicative of the fact it was thoroughly developed.

The wide range of opinions on it today is attributable to a number of subjective and objective reasons, namely the political situation, the authors' ideological and ethno-confessional affiliation, etc For example, Soviet literature presented N. Ilminsky and his mis-

sionary and enlightenment system in a negative light, although popular education ideologists often used his ideas without knowing it. Muslims of the Volga-Ural region rightfully criticised Ilminsky's system for being anti-Islamic and largely causing a confessional rift in the Tatar ethnos by narrowing its ethno-cultural sphere. Traditional believers were no less categorical: they accuse N. Ilminsky and his associates of ruining the traditional religion and national culture of 'Pagan' peoples. Russian patriots criticised N. Ilminsky for giving rise to separatism and anti-Russian nationalism. The region's Orthodox population has been immensely grateful to the missionary and enlightener for fostering a unification between Russian and non-Russian peoples, enabling the former to become familiar with

the Christian and global civilisation, and creating a writing system and professional culture of their own. N. Ilminsky acted within the ideological, moral, and ethical framework of the time to ensure progress for all of Russia's peoples as he imagined it. He viewed the Russianisation of Christian non-Russian peoples as a spiritual unity determined by the Orthodox faith, and both inevitable and progressive.

As anti-Islamic as it was, N. Ilminsky's system had a positive effect on the ethno-cultural mobilisation of the Tatars, where some elements of it were used for the modernised Islamic education system, and then in the Soviet education system. It is beyond any doubt that smoothing out the educational and cultural differences among Russia's peoples was crucial to inter-cultural communication.

Section VII

Anti-Governmental Campaigns and a National Movement



CHAPTER 1

Campaigns of the Tatar Rural Population

§ 1. Social Protests of Various Groups of the Rural Population in the Pre-reform Period

Ilshat Fayzrakhmanov

In the Russian reality, any disobedience to the authorities was perceived as resistance and an anti-governmental campaign. There were various forms of social protest among the peasant masses, and as to the 19th century, they can be called ‘protests by deviation’—a method in which rural communities or groups of peasants ‘tried to alleviate the hardship of their life and to express dissatisfaction by a short-term refusal to perform the prescribed as well as other activities minimising the probability of colliding with those whom they considered to be their oppressors’ [cited from: Werth, 2005, p. 55].

Villagers also enjoyed the possibility of filing petitions to express their dissatisfaction with the actions of individual government representatives and governmental innovations, as well as unpopular measures.

In the first half of the 19th century, peasants’ campaigns took place in rural communities belonging to a particular category of a rural tax-paying class. Such campaigns were usually a protest the invasion of the authorities into the economic life of the community. Carrying out reforms ‘for the benefit of peasants’, all the costs associated with the implementation of the innovations were laid by the government on the rural population, which increased the tax burden and control over the internal life of the land community. As the institutional ‘control’ over social and economic relations in peasant communities was growing, there were several campaigns of peasants of various categories. Peasants of various ethnic groups and social classes protested, but there was no ‘unified single movement’ [Zagidullin, 2011a, pp. 215, 216].

In the first quarter of the 19th century, there was increased exploitation by landlords of their peasant serfs, therefore, the most significant unrest occurred in the estates of the chernozem zone of Russia, Ukraine, Lithuania and Belarus [Ignatovich, 1963, pp. 10, 466].

The status of the residents of a state village was much better than the economic and social position of peasants living in an appanage village. Cases of transferring state serfs to the appanage department, which worsened their social position and led to stricter control over their life, provoked anti-governmental campaigns.

In 1835, state-owned peasants (including lashmans) of Simbirsk guberniya were transferred to the appanage department. The new administration subjected their life and economy to administrative regulation and forced them to introduce public ploughing. Lashmans responded to this with a massive protest that included 40 thousand peasants in 1836, mainly in Buinsk, Kurmysh and Simbirsk uyezds [Druzhinin, 1946, pp. 221–222].

Lashmans were afraid that they would be deprived of their former benefits and ownership of the land which they had purchased. In periods of heightened social, political and economic problems in Russia, there were rumours that clearly reflected the peculiarities of the peasants’ mentality and ploughmen’s attitude to the events in the country. Tatar rural communities spread a rumour about the forced conversion of Muslims to Christianity. Bezdna village in Buinsk Uyezd became a centre for the mass movement, where there were meetings and conflicts with the administration. One after

another, rural communities refused to fulfill the orders of their administration to allocate and plough public land plots. Armed with knives and bludgeons, peasants traveled all over their fields. Some detachments of the local garrison and the horse gendarmerie were sent to the region of unrest. In several villages whose residents did not obey, there were mass floggings of activists; 25 peasants were made soldiers, exiled to Siberia, etc., without any trial [Druzhinin, 1946, p. 222].

In 1834, after another crop failure, the appanage department ordered the planting of potatoes on the state ploughed land, where each peasant family was granted 30 square sazhen of land for the crop, leading to protests of the rural population in the Vyatka and Vladimir governorates: the peasants refused to plant potatoes.

The mass social protest of the rural population in the Ural region in 1834–1835 should also be considered as a response of the rural communities to the management reform. The main motivation for the campaign of the state village residents in the region was based on rumours about the governments' intention to transfer them to the appanage department. Shortly before the events of 1834–1835, volosts in the Perm guberniya introduced a new seal with the guberniya's coat of arms which depicted a bear. On this basis, it was concluded that the Tatars and Mari people had already been assigned to the appanage department and transferred to a widely-known landowner by the name of Medvedev, and that the tribute would be paid in his favour [Druzhinin, 1946, p. 226].

There were rumours among the Tatars, Bashkirs and Meshcheryaks that there would be forced conversion of Muslims to Christianity, for which purpose a mission was supposedly established in Perm guberniya. These rumours in various versions caused mass unrest among peasants not only in Perm, but also in the neighbouring Orenburg guberniya, especially among the Tatars, Teptyars and Mishar Tatars of Ufa, Belebey and Troitsk uyezds.

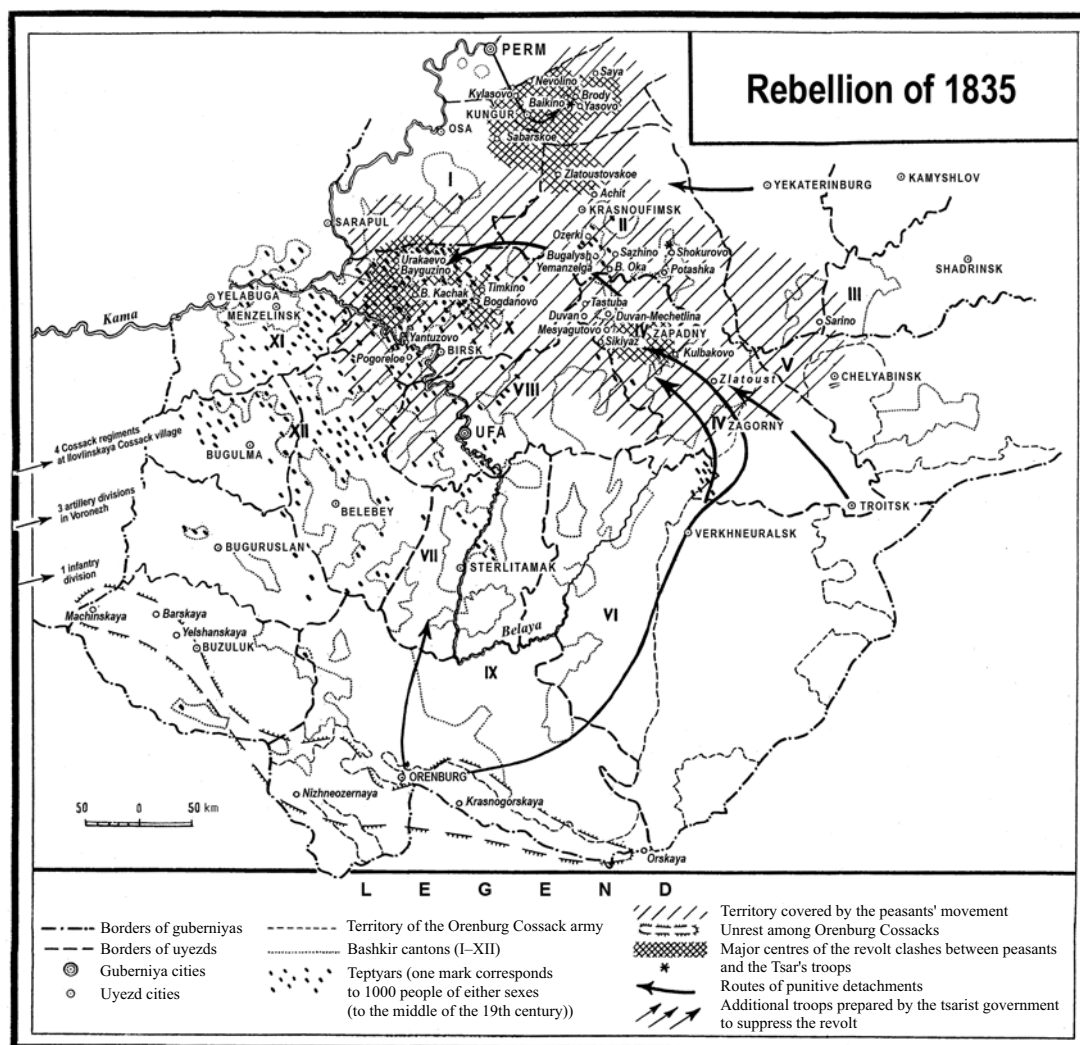
During this period, bread reserve stores were planned to be built in the villages of state peasants, Mishar Tatars and Bashkirs. Vo-

losts were sent corresponding drawings with an image of the granary's cross-section. The Muslim population saw that the crossbars and posts in the drawing were shaped in the form of a cross. It was concluded that the buildings to be erected were Christian churches. This interpretation further intensified fears that forced Christianisation was being prepared [Druzhinin, 1946, p. 235].

By the beginning of 1835, a huge area consisting of three uyezds of Perm guberniya and five uyezds of Orenburg guberniya was covered by mass unrest. Crowds of people carried out searches in the volosts' management departments in order to find decrees about their enslavement by the landowner Medvedev and to deal with those who were guilty in the alleged sale—volost heads and, especially, clerks. The movement included six cantons of Bashkir troops: the 2nd (Krasnoufimsk Uyezd of Perm guberniya), the 4th Zagorny (Troitsk Uyezd), the 8th (Ufa Uyezd), the 10th (Birsk Uyezd), the 12th (Belebey Uyezd of Orenburg Guberniya), the Mishar Tatars of the 3rd and 4th cantons, as well as Teptyars of several commands in the north-eastern Ural region. 'Outrageous letters' were sent from one canton to another, Muslims agreed on a joint campaign against the 'main administration'. Just in Birsk Uyezd, there were 20 thousand revolting Teptyars. The most significant unrest was observed in Shakurovo village of Krasnoufimsk Uyezd and Mesyagutovo village of Ufa Uyezd [Istoriya Bashkortostana, 2004, pp. 340–341].

In general, the unrest of social groups and classes of the multinational population of the Ural region was reduced to a refusal to fulfill the authorities' orders to construct bread reserve stores and the beating of several representatives of the local administration. Actions of the rebels were uncoordinated; the management of cantons and officials tried to prevent any coordinated campaigns among the population [Istoriya Bashkortostana, 1997, pp. 417–426].

Suppression of the peasants' movement in the Ural region was entrusted to the Orenburg Governor-General V. Perovsky. He subjected thousands of peasants to flogging, carried out



Map 1. Revolt of the multinational rural population of Orenburg guberniya in 1835.

raids in the woods, and arrested hundreds of participants of the social protest. By the end of August 1835, the population was pacified [Istoriya Bashkortostana, 2004, pp. 342–343].

After crop failures in previous years, Nicholas I issued a decree in 1840 prescribing to cultivate potatoes all over the country to act as a substitute for grains in years of bad harvest. The Ministry of State Property immediately started to implement the emperor's decree, but the innovation was perceived by ploughmen as an attempt to assign them to the appanage. In 1841, the authorities ordered the introduction of compulsory public ploughing, without an agreement on the issue with the rural commu-

nities. Meanwhile, public ploughing became a common phenomenon in the appanage village since 1827, which reinforced the idea among the peasants that the authorities were intending to infringe on their legal status and worsen their social and economic position.

In 1841, the main cause of disaffection of state peasants in the Ural region was a law on the exchange of impoverished appanage peasants from central guberniyas with state peasants from large guberniyas, including Perm and Orenburg guberniyas, dated 16 January 1840; this meant the transformation of relatively free ploughmen into serfs of the imperial court who were close to landowner's peasants in terms

of their position. Bashkirs and Mishar Tatars of the Ural region were dissatisfied with an increase in labour tributes; they saw this as a governmental attempt to deprive them of their personal freedoms and to take away their patrimonial lands [Istoriya Bashkortostana, 1997, pp. 430–432].

In 1841–1842, a severe peasants' revolt against planting potatoes broke out in Petrovsk uyezd of Saratov guberniya and several neighbouring uyezds, where there were Russian, Mordvinian and Tatar villages [Druzhinin, 1958, p. 466].

In Kazan guberniya, especially acute disaffection among peasants was caused by the forced introduction of public ploughing lands, which was accompanied by the confiscation of their best land, the forced exchange of land plots, and untimely and unequal work orders. Already in 1841, there was remote 'unrest' in all of the uyezds of Kazan guberniya; there were continuous discussions about the 'appanage' in the markets [Druzhinin, 1958, p. 467]. In 1841 and 1842, peasants from Yadrinsk, Cheboksary, Tsivilsk, and Kozmodemyansk uyezds of Kazan guberniya began a revolt against the planting of potatoes. Particularly severe unrest was observed in Akramovo volost Of the Kozmodemyansk uyezd [Vosstanie chuvashskogo krest'yanstva, 1942, pp. 6–7]. The campaigns were uncoordinated and spontaneous and were aimed at the abolishment of some of the innovations [Tokarev, 1939, pp. 72–73].

During the Crimean War, along with emergency recruitment into the army, a moving state militia was convened on the basis of a

manifesto dated 29 January 1855. The militia was convened from 32 guberniyas in three conscriptions, lasting until September 1855. Altogether, the militia comprised 364, 624 people.

The disturbances became especially acute among the Laschmann Tatars in 1855 in response to their conscription. Prior to this, Laschmann Tatars were not obliged to serve in the army. The Tatar population did not want to serve and strongly opposed it: in Timergalinsk volost of Malmyzh uyezd 'the Tatars altogether launched a revolt during the verification of recruiting lists for the conscription, with beatings of members of the volost and village authorities and an intent to beat the district head, who was also there'. Twelve leaders of the movement in Timergalinsk volost were arrested [Linkov, 1952, p. 141].

In Nizhny Novgorod guberniya, unrest connected with recruitment was observed in three uyezds—Sergach, Vasilkov, and Knyagin. By the end of May 1855, the movement was suppressed.

Thus, the 'cholera' and 'potato' revolts, and the anti-governmental campaigns of the population against the innovations were a result of the aggravated contradictions between the authorities and the peasants. Peasant unrest could be observed in various forms: from individual protests to the refusal of whole villages to enter into the state military service. Muslim Tatars and Bashkirs associated the reform with the threat of losing their confessional identity. The campaigns of rural communities resulted in some relaxation of the administrative pressure in conducting reforms.

§ 2. Campaigns of Peasants Caused by Socio- Economic Reasons in the Post-Reform Period

Ildus Zagidullin

The disobedience of peasants in the given period was the direct result of a deteriorated economic situation among the rural population, strengthened fiscal oppression by the monarchy, abuse by representatives of the local administration in their relations with the plough-

men, etc. The abolition of serfdom and related modifications contributed to a rise in the social activities of the population. Several regions were marked by the disobedience of the rural tax-paying population towards the innovations introduced by the authorities.

Proper implementation of the agrarian reform in the state village in 1866 contributed to the prevention of unrest. The main reasons for the reluctance of Tatar ploughmen to receive 'certificates of ownership' were as follows: assignment of smaller land plots than before, the granting of land plots uncomfortable for agriculture or far from their place of residence, and a variety of rumours about the deterioration of their financial situation after the assignment of land [Smykov, 1973, p. 157].

The largest campaign of Tatar peasants connected with the implementation of the agrarian reform took place in June 1869 in Spassk uyezd. It was caused by rumours that peasants would be transferred to the control of the appanage department and that they would be obliged to pay large tributes and high taxes. To suppress the unrest, the governor N. Skaryatin came to the uyezd [Materialy', 1936, pp. 141–142].

The predatory plunder of Bashkir patrimonial lands in the Ural region and the lack of new owners in the vast lands led to the fact that in 1882–1884, 1888 and 1889, the Tatar and Bashkir populations cut large amounts of forest that had become private in Birk, Ufa and Sterlitamak uyezds, seized the meadows and ploughed land of the new owners, as well as the land of the moved peasants who had purchased the land on favourable terms from Bashkirs or the state. Moreover, they began to seize the land of local landowners, including the Tevkelevs. The weakness of the local administration contributed to an increase in the number of such cases. It even happened that some landowners were forced to leave their estates [Krest'yanskoe dvizhenie, 1959, pp. 245–254, 379–380, 672–673, 720–721].

The organised cutting of forests by Tatar peasants of the Volga and Ural regions was an integral part of the offenses committed by the rural population. The receipt of the worst and very small land plots as a result of the land assignment and a lack of proper control over forest protection contributed to the frequent collective cutting down of forests [Smykov, 1973, pp. 215–269; Zagidullin, 1992, pp. 114–115].

Land was the main source of livelihood for any peasant. The sense of common ownership

and the peasants' intent to get even the smallest land plot at the slightest possibility transformed land disputes into severe conflicts. The number of conflicting villages and old offences were very significant in these situations. For example, in July 1861, Tatar peasants from Maly Sulabash village of Kazan uyezd resisted the cutting of the land they used in favour of the landowner Mamaev. They were supported by peasants from the neighbouring Dubyazy village. The unrest acquired such a threatening nature that a conciliator, who had come to pacify the peasants, 'could hardly leave, and could do it only by deception' [Ustyuzhanin, 1948a, pp. 485–486].

Disputes over land between communities were even fiercer. They often grew into clashes between large groups of peasants. In autumn 1886, one such clash took place between the Tatars living in the Timerchi, Kuyuk and Bukmysh villages of Mamadysh uyezd. The conflict was caused by 63 desyatinas of land that were taken away from the community of the Kuyuk and Timerchi villages and added to the Bukmysh village [Zagidullin, 1992, p. 159].

During conflicts with the local authorities on agricultural issues, peasants often directed their anger against their village headmen, who usually tried to unquestioningly follow the instructions of the administration.

In the following decades, in the climate of an increased land hunger, some inter-community conflicts were caused by land and forest land cutting in the 1860s and 1870s [Daishev, 1955, pp. 257–258].

The unwillingness to pay mandatory insurance duties was sometimes motivated by a prohibition of the Shariah or the unprofitableness of their payment. In particular, in November 1882, residents of the Kurtamysh village of Chelyabinsk uyezd, Orenburg guberniya, refused to pay the insurance duty; their resistance was suppressed by a military detachment [Krest'yanskoe dvizhenie, 1969, p. 794].

Fiscal oppression was another, equally important reason for the unrest of Tatar peasants. The unrest during the collection of taxes and arrears was a direct consequence of their difficult economic situation. The local authorities

usually made an inventory of indebted peasants' property and arranged the sale of their domestic cattle, household items, and even household buildings, at reasonable prices. This caused outrage and resistance on the part of the villagers. On 22 April 1883, residents of the large Tatar village Nizhny Elyuzan in Kuznetsk uyezd of Saratov guberniya (200 people), armed with stakes and pitchforks, hampered the inventory of the villagers' property for their arrears to the government and private persons, attacked the bailiff and the village constable, and beat several witnesses [Krest'yanskoe dvizhenie, 1960, pp. 377–378]. After a year of bad harvest, peasants restrained themselves from paying taxes. In this regard, it is worth mentioning the collective refusal of peasants from a number of Tatar villages of Bugulma Uyezd of Samara guberniya from paying redemption charges, as well as all governmental and volost charges, which occurred in November 1903 [Krest'yanskoe dvizhenie, 1988, pp. 165–167].

Anti-plague and anti-cholera regulations required the correspondence of people's traditions and lifestyles to strict medical standards, which was perceived by Muslims as a threat to their religious rights on the part of the authorities.

The unrest among the Muslims of Bugulma, Buguruslan, and Buzuluk uyezds was caused by the 'Rules of application in Samara guberniya of measures in the form of killing plague-deceased and plague-suspected cattle...' dated 1884. In accordance with these rules, plague commissions and veterinary guards were established in the villages to monitor cattle drives, which were maintained at the expense of the population. These measures, which were unpopular among peasants, were conducted with various violations that negatively affected their economic situation. A brochure about plague published in the Tatar language stated that the animals were to be slaughtered with the help of an injection in the neck, which was seen by the Tatars as a threat to Islam [Rafikova, 2004, pp. 105–109].

At the beginning of 1885, peasants did not allow doctors to slaughter their cattle, refused to pay for the zemstvo's activities aimed at combating the plague and compiling lists of cattle. On 19 May 1885, high officials came to Suleevo village of Bugulma uyezd 'for the purpose of exhortation'. After the governor ordered the arrest of the village headman and for those gathered to get down to their knees, '... a crowd of up to 600 people, armed with stakes, marched to the governor and his companions with threats, and only the bare sabres of 14 constables and policemen stopped their movement'. A few days later, a military detachment arrived in Suleevo: the activists were arrested, and an inventory of the peasants' cattle was made. In spring–summer of 1885, armed campaigns against the local authorities took place in several other villages of the guberniya, where residents were forced to submit to the authorities on pain of death [Smykov, 1973, pp. 191–192].

338 campaigns for socio-economic motives conducted by various groups of the multinational peasantry of Kazan, Samara and Simbirsk guberniyas in 1860–1900 were arranged by former peasant serfs (2/3 of them took place after the issuance of charters after the abolition of serfdom), and 79 campaigns were arranged by former appanage, mainly Russian peasants. According to incomplete statistics, there were 6 campaigns of Tatar peasants in Simbirsk guberniya, 10 in Samara guberniya (cutting of wood and prevention of sanitary and epidemiological activities) [Smykov, 1963, pp. 117–125], and 127 in Kazan guberniya [Zagidullin, 1992, p. 246].

The interaction of neighbouring rural communities largely depended on the grounds for peasants' actions. Resistance against the state land ownership system, tax oppression, command-administrative methods of control of the authorities, and power abuse on the part of their individual representatives was the main type of anti-governmental activity among the Tatar peasants.

CHAPTER 2

Movement of Baptised Tatars for their Return to Islam

§ 1. Christian Instruction and Movements of Christened Tatars for their Return to Islam in the Pre-Reform Period

Paul Werth, Radik Iskhakov

Recognition of Islam's status as one of the sanctioned religious traditions in the empire and the integration of Islamic institutions in the administrative and legal space of the state in the latter third of the 18th century did not mean a governmental rejection of the policy of religious unification (christening) of the Tatars. During the existence of the 'Department for Christening Affairs' (Christening Department in 1740–1764), a large number of Tatars were converted to Orthodoxy, though many superficially and formally, and were called the 'newly-christened'.¹ Since canonical regulations of the Russian Orthodox Church and the state laws of the empire strictly prohibited 'otpadenie' ['falling away'] from the Orthodox Church to any other faith or confession, the authorities had to seriously consider the question of preventing a return to Islam of those who were previously christened, and of maintaining them in Christianity. Therefore, if we talk about the Christian education of the Tatars in the 19th century, we should first of all speak about a fight against 'defection', which periodically occurred throughout the century in the form of more or less organised movements.

The fight against 'falling away' was mainly the church's business, which could not be considered only as one of the structures of the state bureaucratic apparatus. But we should not deny that a close relationship between the state and

the church in Russia forced the government to look at this struggle as at its own task.

'Falling away' could take hidden forms: for example, Christened Tatars could go to church and at the same time secretly observe the tenets of Islam. There is ground to believe that many Christened Tatars were more or less constantly in such a hidden state. Sometimes, 'falling away' took more open forms: for example, christened Tatars petitioned the emperor or other officials of the central or local administration, saying that they officially wanted to profess Islam. Such movements, involving multiple uyezds or guberniyas, often coincided with coronations (1802, 1826–1827, 1856, 1882–1883 and 1896), which were often accompanied by expressions of imperial mercy to the subordinates and, therefore, were the best times for filing petitions. In other cases, an open break with the Russian Orthodox Church was associated with some event, which was interpreted by the local population as a sign that the government was changing its religious policy and could now allow christened Tatars to return to Islam.

Newly christened Tatars, who were completely ignorant of the Christian doctrine and did not understand Orthodox rites and the divine service held in the church Slavonic language, perceived Orthodoxy as an alien, 'strange', 'Russian' faith, in contrast to the 'Tatar' (Islam) religion. Despite the adoption of Christianity, Islam remained an important component of their world outlook and sense of national identity. An important role in preserving Muslim self-consciousness in this group of christened Tatars was played by their living near Muslim Tatars. In the conditions of

¹ According to incomplete statistical data compiled by E. Malov, by the mid-19th century, there were 21,592 newly-baptised Tatars of both sexes in six eparchies of the Volga-Kama Region (the guberniyas of Kazan, Vyatka, Simbirsk, Penza, Samara, and Nizhny Novgorod) [see: Malov, 1866].

close cultural, religious, and often family contacts with the latter, they continued to consider themselves as Muslims. An important reason for the preservation of this situation lied in the position of 'official Muslims', who perceived the newly christened as their brothers in faith who had been forced to abandon Islam.

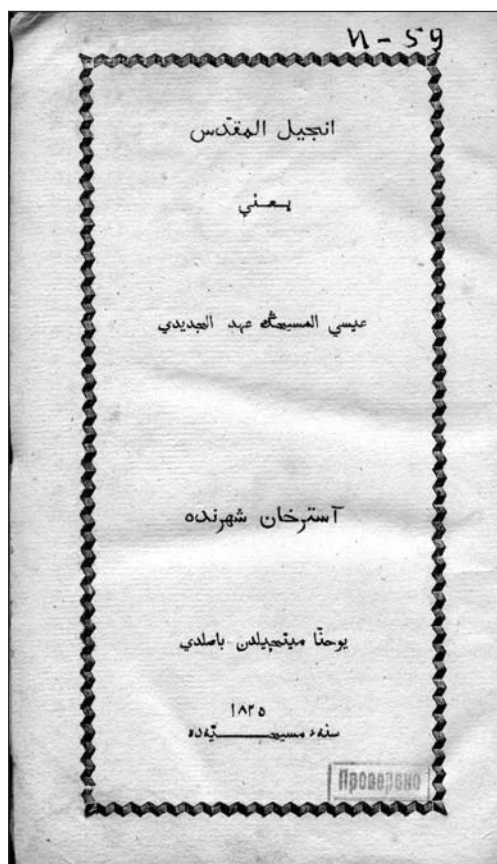
Of course, we should not idealise the relations between the newly christened and non-christened Tatars. A christened person, even though he was christened forcibly or under difficult circumstances, was perceived by Muslim Tatars as a person who had lost the 'purity' of his natural faith, who was compelled, despite his commitment to Islam, to attend Church, to christen his children, to bury his dead relatives in accordance with the Orthodox tradition. The dual position of the newly christened Tatars, which gave them a marginal status within the Tatar society, forced them to look for ways to legalise their actual confessional status.

The first such attempt was made in 1802–1803, when a desire to openly profess Islam was declared by christened Tatars from Maklakovo, Bazlovo, Isheevo, and Andreevka villages of Vasilsursk Uyezd of Nizhny Novgorod guberniya [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 796, inv. 84, file 4, s. 31]. The movement affected the neighbouring Kazan guberniya, although cases of withdrawal from Orthodoxy were rare there [Malov, 1868–1870, p. 325]. During the investigation of the reasons for 'falling away' in Nizhny Novgorod guberniya, it turned out that these Tatars, despite their adoption of Orthodoxy, continued to perform Islamic rites and send their children to study in Islamic schools [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 796, inv. 84, file 4, s. 33]. Those who 'fell away' not only did not know Orthodox prayers but did not have any idea about the Christian tradition. At the same time, they knew the Islamic doctrine, and one of the organisers of the movement—Vasily Evstifyev—could read in the Arabic and Persian languages [Ilminsky, 1883, p. 67].

The movement of 1802–1803 was passive in nature, and when the local administration interfered, the majority of those newly-baptised formally returned to Orthodoxy [Russian State

Historical Archive, f. 815, inv. 15, file 237, s. 3]. Although tough actions helped to suspend the return of christened Tatars to Islam for a while, the authorities had no real opportunities to cardinaly solve this problem. The local church and secular authorities had a vague idea about the causes for the phenomenon, thinking that 'falling away' from Orthodoxy was due to external factors, while the true desire of the 'newly christened' Tatars to profess Islam lay deeper and was associated with a desire to preserve the Tatar ethnic and cultural identity, which was only possible within the Islamic community.

In 1811 and 1824 there was a new 'falling away' that took hold of three villages of Chistopol uyezd in the Kazan guberniya [Malov, 1868–1870, p. 229]. In 1825, two petitions to the emperor were filed by baptised Tatars of Yelabuga Uyezd of the Vyatka diocese in the name of the emperor, stating a wish to return to Islam [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 797, inv. 3, file 12644, s. 11]. The movement grew even larger in 1827, when only according to the official data, 3, 274 people from Sviyazhsk, Tsivilsk, Tetyusi, Buinsk, Simbirsk, and Stavropol uyezds of the Kazan diocese and Buzuluk Uyezd of Orenburg guberniya expressed their wish to publicly profess Islam [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 797, inv. 3, file 12644, s. 159]. In this case, an important role was played by the coronation of Nicholas I, but there were other circumstances as well. One of the formal causes for the beginning of a mass withdrawal from Orthodoxy lay in the rumours that christened Tatars were allowed to profess Islam. An important role in the strengthening of these rumors was played by a decree of the Kazan guberniya authorities dated 13 March 1826, according to which christened Tatars listed in the 7th audit and living in Azeyevo and Romashkino villages of Kazan guberniya (44 people) were allowed to profess Islam. Since the local Orthodox consistory failed to prove the fact of their christening (a fire in 1815 destroyed most of its documents), the authorities recognised that these Tatars had not been christened and therefore should be considered as Muslims [Malov,



Cover page of a Gospel in the Tatar language
'Inzhil el-mokaddes' (Astrakhan, 1825).

1868–1870, pp. 331–332]. It must be emphasised that in this case, the authorities did not allow them to return to Islam, but only agreed to correct the error. But this created an impression among the residents of Tatar villages that christened Tatars could again become Muslims, and that others could do this as well. It is this concurrence of circumstances that served as a basis for the movement of 1827.

In their petitions, christened Tatars stated a number of arguments which, in their opinion, should have justified a positive response of the authorities to their request. In particular, some of them stated that their ancestors had been forcibly christened and that they were brought up as Muslims. Others reported that the circumstances of the christening of their ancestors were completely unclear or that the ancestors had adopted Christianity to avoid recruitment. Some of them denied the fact of their christen-

ing and attributed their official status to an error of machinations of the local Orthodox clergy. In almost all cases, the petitioners expressed a readiness to fulfill the will of the emperor and stressed that their desire to profess Islam did not prevent them from being loyal subjects [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 797, inv. 3, file 12630, file 12644, s. 2 reverse–3 reverse, 50–51; f. 796, inv. 108, file 595, s. 9 reverse–10 reverse, 13 reverse].

Activation of the process of returning to the ancestral faith, which covered the territory of the three largest guberniyas of the Volga region, forced the imperial authorities to take decisive countermeasures. With a decree dated 23 June 1827, The Synod ordered Kazan archbishop Iona (Pavinsky) to establish positions of special preachers in the diocese to be appointed from among the priests who knew the languages of the local peoples, to provide them with guidance, a Tatar translation of the New Testament and to send them to villages inhabited by 'apostates' [PSPR, Vol. 1, No. 169]. Three archpriests were appointed to these positions. The success of their work depended on local conditions, but in general, we can talk about a lengthy process: the preachers, using the method of persuasion and compulsion, tried to force the Tatars to abandon their 'Mohammedan delusion'. In autumn 1827, they faced a minor resistance on the part of petitioners from the Kazan guberniya [Mozharovsky, 1880, p. 131]. Most christened Tatars retracted their claims when they became sure of the negative position of the higher authorities and attributed their 'delusion' to factors that were beyond their control [Werth, 2002, pp. 52–54]. Thus, gradually reducing the number of those resisting, the local diocese management had managed to suppress the movement by the beginning of the 1830s and reported that 'almost all christened Tatars from the mentioned uyezds, who have deviated to Mohammedanism, recognised their delusion and turned to the Orthodox Greek-Russian Church, and fulfill its sacraments' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 797, inv. 3, file 12644, s. 120 reverse; f. 796, inv. 108, file 595].

The 'falling away' in 1802 and especially in 1827 showed that the church authorities should be more actively engaged in the Christian education of christened Tatars. These activities included three main directions: translation of Christian liturgical books into the Tatar language, organisation of an institution of Orthodox missionaries, and organisation of an anti-Islamic department at Kazan Spiritual Academy.

During the first half of the 19th century, there were several attempts to translate Orthodox spiritual and liturgical literature into the Tatar language. In 1803, in connection with the massive 'falling away' of newly Christened Tatars to Islam in Nizhny Novgorod guberniya, Alexander I ordered the authorities of the Volga and Siberian dioceses to organise work on the translation of the Creed, the Decalogue, and some common prayers into the Tatar language [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 27, No. 20535]. These translations were published as a separate publication in 1805 after they were prepared on the basis of the Kazan Theological Academy (old one) and with the involvement of a teacher of the Tatar language in a Kazan gymnasium, Iskhak Khalfin [Ilminsky, 1883, p. 170; Karimulin, 1983, pp. 236–237]. In 1820, The Russian Bible Society translated the New Testament into the Tatar language [Znamensky, 1892a, pp. 33–34]. In the future, most of the work on the translations of Orthodox books into the Tatar language was undertaken by a commission at Kazan Theological Academy, established in 1847 in Kazan by order of the Ober-Procurator of Synod A. Protasov².

As was later noted by the missionaries, the effect of this large-scale and hard work of several generations of translators was minimal. The lack of experience in translation and imperfect terminology made these translations

'unconvincing' [Ilminsky, 1856, s. 21]. In addition, almost all of the works used Arabic graphics; the text was full of Arabic and Persian loanwords, which made the books understandable only to a few Tatar intellectuals and absolutely incomprehensible for christened Tatars, who were far from higher Islamic education and culture. The Orthodox clergy working in parishes with christened Tatars was not ready to comprehend these translations, as they did not know the Tatar language.

By the middle of the 1830s, missions had been established in almost all of the dioceses of the Volga-Kama Region. In the case of the Kazan and Vyatka guberniyas, this was a direct response both to the 'falling away' of christened Tatars and to the large-scale 'pagan' pilgrimage among the Mari people, which was discovered by the authorities in 1828. The Simbirsk diocese, which was established in 1832, obtained its own mission in 1836. In each case, the mission consisted of preachers who traveled all over their districts and helped the local clergy to confirm christened 'foreigners' to Orthodoxy and to christen Muslims and 'heathens'.

These missions were apparently focused on non-Tatar peoples of the region: Vyatka missionaries acted among the Mari and Udmurt people, and Chuvashes were the main focus of the missionaries' attention in the Simbirsk diocese. In his missionary project, even Filaret (Amfiteatrov), the Archbishop of Kazan, stressed the need to work mainly among the Chuvashes, who were the largest group of the christened non-Russian population in the guberniya.

However, this does not mean that the church authorities did not pay attention to the Tatars at all. On the contrary, it had become clear by the 1840s that Tatars and Islam were a 'special difficulty' requiring special methods. The so-called anti-Islamic missionary department, opened at Kazan Theological Academy in 1854, should be considered exactly from this point of view [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 10, inv. 1, file 1324, s. 1].

Along with forms of Christian educational activities, since the middle of the 1830s, church authorities supported by the govern-

² The Translation Committee of the Kazan Spiritual Academy translated 'The Divine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom' (1850), 'The Acts of the Apostles' (1852), 'Horologion' (1852), 'The New Testament' (1855), and 'The Book of Psalms' (1862) [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 10, inv. 1, file 292, file 822, file 1185; Znamensky, 1894, p. 243].

ment increasingly resorted to coercive methods of fighting against 'falling away'. This was connected with the strengthening of the movement of Christened Tatars in the Trans-Kama region of the Kazan and Simbirsk guberniyas (Chistopol, Spassk, Buinsk, Simbirsk uyezds), as well as in Buzuluk Uyezd of the Orenburg Guberniya. Unlike previous cases, the 'falling away' was organised there and persistent from the very beginning. The local diocese authorities could no longer cope with it by persuasion and threats. In these conditions, they started a campaign for the resettlement of those 'fallen away' to Russian villages [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 797, inv. 3, file 12644, s. 186–190]. According to incomplete data, 2, 696 christened Tatars and Chuvashes from Kazan, Simbirsk and Orenburg guberniyas were to be resettled to Russian villages by order of the supreme authorities from 1834 to 1850 [State Archive of Samara Oblast, f. 32, inv. 1, file 232, s. 2, 144; National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 4, inv. 86, file 66, s. 79; inv. 72, file 12, s. 1–2; f. 13, inv. 1, file 67, s. 32; file 99, s. 8–10; f. 1, inv. 2, file 745, s. 20; State Archive of Ulyanovsk Oblast, f. 322, inv. 3, file 8, s. 119; Martynov, 1903, pp. 327–328].

The sluggishness of the administrative and police system of Nicholas's Russia and abuses of officials transformed the resettlement into a brutal execution and undermined the economic condition of those who had 'fallen away' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 2, file 292, s. 1–1 reverse]. The situation was aggravated by the fact that the local authorities did not trouble themselves with a careful analysis of the complex issue. The actions themselves were of a clear repressive nature and were aimed primarily at intimidation of those 'fallen away' to return them to Orthodoxy.

Despite the harsh actions of the authorities, they did not manage to fully suppress the movement. At the beginning of the 1840s, there were new cases of deviation of christened Tatars from Orthodoxy. By 1844, the number of those that had 'deviated' to Islam had reached 4, 448 [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 796, inv. 125, file 1518, s. 14]. One of the

likely reasons for this mass 'falling away' lay in the introduction of a new Charter of spiritual consistories in 1841, which required the Orthodox clergy to report to the church and even civil authorities on all the Orthodox parishioners, who had not confessed or received communion for 2–3 years [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 16, No. 14409]. Thus, a large group of 'secret' Muslims was revealed, who did not file petitions or officially state their withdrawal from the Orthodox Church, but did not fulfill its prescriptions and secretly practiced Islam. In response to an increased number of the 'fallen away', who were considered by the authorities as a serious threat to the interests of the Orthodox Church and the state, the government resorted to further toughening of the measures against the withdrawal of christened Tatars from Orthodoxy. Along with the resettlement and prosecution of 'seducers', the decrees approved by the supreme power on 20 November 1849 and 4 July 1855 allowed to apply such measures as divorce of the marriages concluded according to Muslim rites, taking of children from their parents until they returned to Orthodoxy, and their forced christening [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 4, inv. 97, file 34, s. 232–233]. But even the toughest administrative measures lost their efficacy in the fight against the re-Islamisation of christened Tatars. As shown in practice, the actions of the authorities only led to bitterness on behalf of the majority of those who had 'fallen away' and an aggravation of the inter-confessional situation in the region. Due to the mass nature of the 'falling away' to Islam, it became very difficult to resettle those who 'deviated' to Russian villages. The decrees of the supreme authorities to resettle those 'fallen away' practically ceased to be fulfilled from the middle of the 40s of the 19th century; decisions on these cases were delayed for an indefinite period of time [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 2, inv. 1, file 1372, s. 1].

The local authorities encountered even greater problems in relation to the christening of children of those who had 'fallen away' to Islam. People who had 'deviated' to Islam, ac-

cording to the observations of local officials and the police, were more ready to undergo a trial or exile to Siberia than to give their children to the Orthodox priests to be christened.

The situation with the struggle against 'illegal marriages' was not better. According to the decree of the Synod dated 23 May 1855, 'those, who have married... without a ceremony, if it turns out that their wives have been christened, should be made to agree to marry according to the Christian rite; but in case they disagree, they should be sent to their former place of residence and be subjected to the strict supervision of the rural community' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 4, inv. 86, file 66, s. 24 reverse–25]. The attempts of the authorities to implement this requirement led to severe unrest, which developed into campaigns of mass disobedience. Even in cas-

es where the police managed to send the wives to their parents with the help of units of the domestic guard, they returned to their husbands at the earliest opportunity [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 4, inv. 97, file 34, s. 237].

The mass nature of the movement and persistence of its participants in defending their rights led to the fact that the organisation and consideration of cases on these issues took many years. Courts and uyezd councils were literally overloaded with unsolved cases of those who had 'fallen away' to Islam [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 13, inv. 1, file 322, s. 4 reverse].

Realising the impossibility of further toughening administrative prosecution of 'the fallen', the state gradually abandoned repressive measures against 'unofficial' Muslims.

§ 2. Peculiarities of the Movement of Christened Tatars for their Return to Islam in the Post-Reform Period

Paul Werth

By the middle of the 1860s, the mass movement of christened Tatars for a return to Islam had gained momentum once again. By the end of the decade, more than 10 thousand christened Tatars had filed petitions with a request to officially recognise them as Muslims. The 'apostate' movement, which began in the Vasilsursk and Sergach uyezds of Nizhny Novgorod guberniya, quickly spread to the neighbouring uyezds of Kazan and Simbirsk guberniyas, and then crossed the Volga and the Kama rivers, and covered the eastern part of Kazan, the southern part of Vyatka and the north-western part of Ufa guberniyas. In 1867, the Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod reported to the Ministry of Internal Affairs that the Kazan Archbishop Antonius (Amfiteatrov) 'continuously' received reports 'on new seduction of tens and whole families of christened Tatars to Islam, and whole villages and volosts threaten to do so' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 759, s. 220; National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 4, inv.

98, file 34, s. 1]. Indeed, the situation now concerned hundreds of villages. Nearly all the 'newly christened'—including those who were forced to stay in Christianity at the end of the 1820s—rejected Orthodoxy firmly and, in most cases, irrevocably. Furthermore, some 'long-christened' Tatars who had been considered good Christians to that point rejected Orthodoxy in favour of Islam; sometimes this also included Udmurts, Chuvashes and Mari people. In short, the apostate movement reached an entirely new geographical and quantitative scale.

The origin of the resumption of apostasy should be sought in the dynamic situation of the era of the Great Reforms, when much—both bad and good—seemed possible. After all, the abolition of serfdom (1861) itself and other reforms of the institutions of the sovereignty provided that significant changes could occur in a prescribed manner. At the beginning of the 1860s, the Minister of Internal Affairs P. Valuev raised the issue of substantial reform of the religious policy in the empire, and though his



Family of Isidor, a baptised Tatar man, near their new house in Bolshiye Kibyak-Kozi village of Laishev uyezd of the Kazan guberniya.
Photo, 1904.

offers were not implemented, in March 1865 significant concessions were made in favour of Lutherans on the issue of the faith of children born in mixed marriages [Werth, 2008, pp. 296–331]. Therefore, christened Tatars could hope that the reform would affect the religious policy on the eastern outskirts of the empire and would allow them to become Muslims.

However, the most immediate reasons of the renewed 'falling away' were connected with the state's policy on the issue in the previous years. After the 'falling away' of 1827, the authorities resettled the most stubborn apostates (sometimes even to Siberia), and by 1834 they had already developed a policy of resettling apostates within the Kazan guberniya. The fate of the two groups greatly influenced the events under consideration. In 1841, 114 'fallen' people and their families were resettled from Spassk uyezd to Mamadysh uyezd. After all the exhortations to return to Orthodoxy proved to be futile, the Secret Committee on Dissenters' Affairs ordered to apply more severe measures to them in 1855: their non-christened children were taken away for upbringing by guardians; women married after the resettlement were forced to marry according to the Christian rites, and if they refused, they were separated from their husbands and returned to their parents. In 1856, such measures were ap-

plied to a large group of people (1721 apostates). They strongly resisted and complained to the Ministry of State Property about the taking of their children and wives for the purposes of christening. The Ministry of State Property supported them, stating

that these measures were extremely arduous for the Tatars and were contrary to its (Ministry's) intent to establish 'the rule of law and humanity' in its actions. It proposed to suspend the application of the measures until a determination was made on the results of the activities of the Anti-Islamic Department of Kazan Theological Academy, opened in 1854. Taking into account the impending abolition of serfdom, the resolute resistance of apostates and doubtful circumstances of their initial christening, the Ministry of Internal Affairs agreed with the proposal. The harsh measures were abandoned in respect to both groups in 1861 and 1865 respectively.

It should be emphasised that this abolition did not mean that the state recognised apostates as Muslims. It was only a tactical retreat by the government because of the difficult situation in the early 1860s. However, it is unsurprising that christened Tatars viewed the situation differently. One enterprising Tatar man, Galim Samigulov, managed to present the government's retreat as a positive response to a series of petitions that he had filed to St. Petersburg on behalf of his village in Chistopol uyezd during the 1850s. Samigulov apparently convinced many Tatars that numerous petitions and persistence would bring about the desired result. He was subsequently declared one of the main 'seducers' to apostasy.

Indeed, the missionary E. Malov, assigned by the Kazan theological consistory to Sviyazhsk, Tetyushi and Buinsk uyezds at the end of 1865–the beginning of 1866, found that many residents of the village were convinced that the emperor had adopted a law allowing christened Tatars to profess Islam. There were even rumours that petitions of this type would only be accepted until the beginning of the coming year of 1866, which, of course, served as a reason to ‘fall away’ as soon as possible. At the beginning of 1866, police officers found a group of Tatars from five various uyezds in Kazan, including Samigulov, who wrote petitions and copied the official correspondence on the issue with the intent of distributing them in villages where christened Tatars lived.

The ‘falling away’ usually occurred as follows: a meeting of christened Tatars decided to fall away and elected representatives to go to Kazan to file a petition to the emperor. Then the congregation went to a local priest or the village authorities to file an application stating that they would no longer perform Christian duties. Apparently, the ‘fallen away’ believed that such a procedure already constituted their official defection and considered themselves Muslims in the full sense of the word. After that, people, who had ‘fallen away’ wore Tatar clothes; men shaved their heads and wore tyubeteykas, thus becoming Muslims in their appearance.

The authorities tried to counteract the ‘falling away’ in two ways. Along with a common appeal to priests to ‘admonish’ christened Tatars, the diocesan authorities sent E. Malov and, later, Vasily Timofeev, a christened Tatar man, to the villages, where there was a ‘falling away’. One can easily imagine that the ‘admonitions’ did not have any effect on the christened Tatars and that the church alone could do little without the help of the secular authorities. As stated by the *Sovremenny Listok* newspaper, attributing ‘political’ value to the apostate movement, ‘parish priests without any assistance from the part of the government could do nothing in this respect, no matter how well they knew the Tatar language and the Mohammedan law and how much

they wanted to convert those lost’ [O religiozno-politicheskom, 1866].

Therefore, secular authorities were forced to take an active part in the matter, primarily in order to dissuade the petitioners from thinking that they could now consider themselves Muslims. The Ministry of Internal Affairs ordered the Kazan governor to inform the petitioners that ‘their solicitation with respect to the conversion to Islam will never be taken into account by the government and that those who inspire them to the contrary cheat them and abuse their trust’ [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 231, s. 6]. Subsequently, vice-governor E. Rozov went, accompanied by N. Ilminsky, who knew the Tatar language well, to the villages where christened Tatars lived to make the solemn announcement. But despite the announcement, the vast majority of the petitioners categorically refused to return to Orthodoxy. As stated by governor N. Skaryatin, the ‘petitioners continue to believe that the announcement was suggested not by the emperor but by the local guberniya authorities’ [Kazan Central Christian Tatar School, 1887, pp. 280–281]. Even the return of the original petitions with a refusal did not induce the petitioners to turn away from their chosen path.

After that, secular authorities began to focus on the so-called instigators, suggesting that the ‘falling away’ was arranged by just a few ‘agents’ exciting the majority of christened Tatars. However, the matter was complicated by the question whether the instigators should be prosecuted in the court or be subjected to administrative measures. Meanwhile, some of the ‘fallen away’ complained that they had been arrested as ‘instigators’ while ‘falling away’ was a common practice in their villages and that they should not be arrested while their companions went free. They could not understand how long they would be under arrest and how they would correct their economic affairs as ‘everything would get ruined in their absence’. By the end of the 1860s, the Ministry of Internal Affairs decided that they should be released due to the fact that they had spent a lot of time in prison. Although some of the major ‘insti-



A baptised Tatar man and a man who 'fell away' into Islam in the Yantsevary settlement of Laishev uyezd of the Kazan guberniya. Photo, 1904.

gators' were eventually exiled to Siberia, the Ministry of Justice decided to close the proceedings, and the prisoners were released in the autumn of 1869.

It can be assumed that this circumstance raised a new wave of 'falling away' as christened Tatars in other villages came to the conclusion that local authorities did not have any reason to obstruct them in their return to Islam. As reported by a rural dean in late 1869, apostates said that many Tatars, 'although they had been sued and kept in prison for falling away from the Christian faith, were now released and live free according to the Mohammedan tradition' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 763, s. 238 reverse–239].

In general, it should be stated that the authorities had misunderstandings regarding the method of combating the falling away from Orthodoxy. Some officials deemed it necessary to act decisively, while others doubted the efficiency and expediency of severe measures. On the local level, judicial investigators sometimes released the 'instigators' because of a lack of evidence. Christened Tatars, 'seeing

that one authority was paralysed by another', came to the conclusion 'that the law did not prohibit deviation from Orthodoxy, and that the local police officer, volost authorities, and priest illegally hampered their desire to convert to Islam' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 231, s. 63 reverse].

Despite the tendency of officials to emphasise the role of the 'instigators' in the 'falling away' from Orthodoxy, they were forced to recognise that the desire of christened Tatars to return to Islam had deeper roots. Perhaps, as claimed by the missionaries, some christened Tatars had little formal knowledge about Islam, but they apparently knew many legends, songs, and stories of Islamic nature, so their familiarity with Islam in traditional forms could not be denied [Kefeli, 2005 pp. 539–569]. In many cases, christened Tatars lived with Muslims in a single village, which not only allowed them to get acquainted with Islam at the household level but also forced them to have close contacts with Muslims in many spheres. The deviation of many christened Tatars brought them into the wider Muslim world as they often worked for Muslims in other governorates. In this context, it was profitable for them not to emphasise their Christianity or even to hide it. The wealthy stratum of the village population often took part in the deviation, thereby affecting the others. Thus, Christianity became a religion of the poor. Meanwhile, Russians often treated christened Tatars with a certain disdain, thereby antagonising them in respect to Christianity. As explained by some Tatar parishioners, 'Russians do not like us; they scold or laugh at us, but Muslims treat us kindly and patiently teach their faith' [Timofeev, 1872, p. 486]. Orthodox priests sometimes demanded too high of a payment from their Tatar parishioners for the implementation of religious rites, which created another reason for 'falling away'.

It seems that the main reason for 'falling away' lay in the fact that the idea of conversion violated the fundamental idea of Tatar identity, which perceived Christianity as a 'Russian faith'. From this point of view, the adoption of Islam was perceived by christened Tatars as a return to the original community, that is,

as a reunion with their traditional community (regardless of whether this really was so) and not as conversion. When christened Tatars 'fell away' from Christianity, they often spoke about a return to the 'old faith', the faith of their ancestors. On the other hand, the relatively recent emergence of Christianity in the region and its distinct connection with the foreign people (Russians) made its adoption a more radical rejection of the past. In short, in the 1860s, there were few real opportunities to become a Christian while preserving the 'Tatar identity'.

Finally, many officials and church leaders had to admit that christened Tatars were Christians only by name. But they could not allow their return to Islam for two reasons. First, the law forbade falling away, and there were no grounds for an exclusion to this rule. It would constitute a radical rejection of one of the main principles of the Russian confessional state of the 19th century. Second, even those who strongly criticised the missionary activities of the previous decades and centuries recognised that formal affiliation with Christianity in many cases constituted a prerequisite for 'Christian education' in the future [Malov, 1865, p. 451].

It should be emphasised that not all christened Tatars fell away from Christianity. However, almost all of the newly christened Tatars fell away in the 1860s, and the matter now concerned the 'long-baptised' Tatars, as well as other christened non-Russians, including the Chuvash, Mari, and Udmurt people, who had no historical connection with Islam. But the idea was questioned in many other communities. The matter was not just that an open 'falling away' was a risk, for which people could be subjected to criminal liability, but also in the fact that the majority of christened Tatars had ambiguous or undefined religious inclinations. While some of them easily chose the path to Islam, others—particularly the 'long-christened' Tatars—faced a difficult choice and did not know what to do. Sources reveal conflicts between apostates and those remaining in Christianity in single villages and sometimes in single families. Apostates sometimes returned to Christianity, which was evidence of a lack

of confidence in their religious beliefs. Sometimes christened Tatars resisted any attempts to convert them to Islam. There were whole communities and volosts where only a few people had fallen away from Christianity, primarily in uyezds bordering the Kazan, Ufa, and Vyatka guberniyas. This was the geographic centre of the old-christened world, a centre of the Christian identity, which was further developed in Ilminsky's system and has been preserved to the present day.

Indeed, the 'falling away' was the main stimulus for reforming the missionary methods, vigorously undertaken by Ilminsky and his christened Tatar colleague Vasily Timofeev. The fight against apostasy took another form: they began to open missionary schools in villages where christened Tatars and other 'indigenous people' lived, actively pursued a policy of appointing priests and teachers from among the non-Russians, and improved translations and distributed religious books among the non-Russian population; the liturgy was conducted in 'indigenous' languages. Of course, such measures were not always successful. However, this attempt to 'educate inorodcy [indigenous people] through the foreigners themselves' [Mashanov, 1892, p. 184] had a significant impact on the residents of many villages where christened Tatars and other non-Russians lived. Christianity gradually became accessible in the non-Russian form.

Unfortunately, available sources do not allow us to draw a clear social portrait of those who adopted Christianity and rejected Islam. Apparently, in many cases, it was enough to open an Orthodox school in a village to prevent the idea of 'apostasy' from developing. And similarly, in most cases, no active attempts of the Orthodox church could reverse the 'falling away' if it had already started. Many argued that the presence of one student of the Kazan Central Christian Tatar School could affect the mood of a whole village 'because if one boy from a village studied there, the idea of the benefits of literacy and the desire to come to study in our school were transferred through him to almost the whole generation in the village' [Ilminsky, p. 107].

The issue over those who had fallen away, returned Islam reached a dead-end after the 1860s. On one side, both the government and the church had no means to make the baptised Tatars return to Orthodoxy. On the other, the state kept refusing to recognise them as Muslims.

Meanwhile, new 'falling away' cases were witnessed. In the 1870s, these cases mostly concerned the 'long-baptised' Tatars of Kazan and Vyatka guberniyas, while in 1880s, the movement spread to Menzelinsk uyezd of the Ufa guberniya, in which the citizens of several 'long-baptised' villages filed for permission to convert to Islam [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–11, inv. 1, file 1390; Russian State Historical Archive, fund 821, inv. 8, file 786]. It is worth saying that the baptised Chuvash, Udmurt, and Mari people, who frequently had close everyday and economic relations with Muslims and 'fallen away' Tatars, occasionally joined the movement to renounce Orthodoxy. As for more eastern governorates—Ufa and Perm—this trend also involved the non-baptised Chuvash, Udmurt, and Mari people, that is, the heathens, despite the fact that the government set a goal to hinder such conversions. The authorities were especially concerned about their conversion to Islam. 'The falling away' of baptised Tatars could be considered as a 'return' of a certain group of people to its 'natural' religion; however, from the perspective of the church and bureaucracy, Tatars' conversion to Islam—whether the Tatars were baptised or not—represented a clear encroachment on the (future) legacy of Orthodoxy and on 'Russianness' in the context of assimilation and civilisation. It also provoked the suspicion that Muslims conducted active propaganda for non-compliance with the law, which gave the right to proselytise exclusively to the Orthodox church.

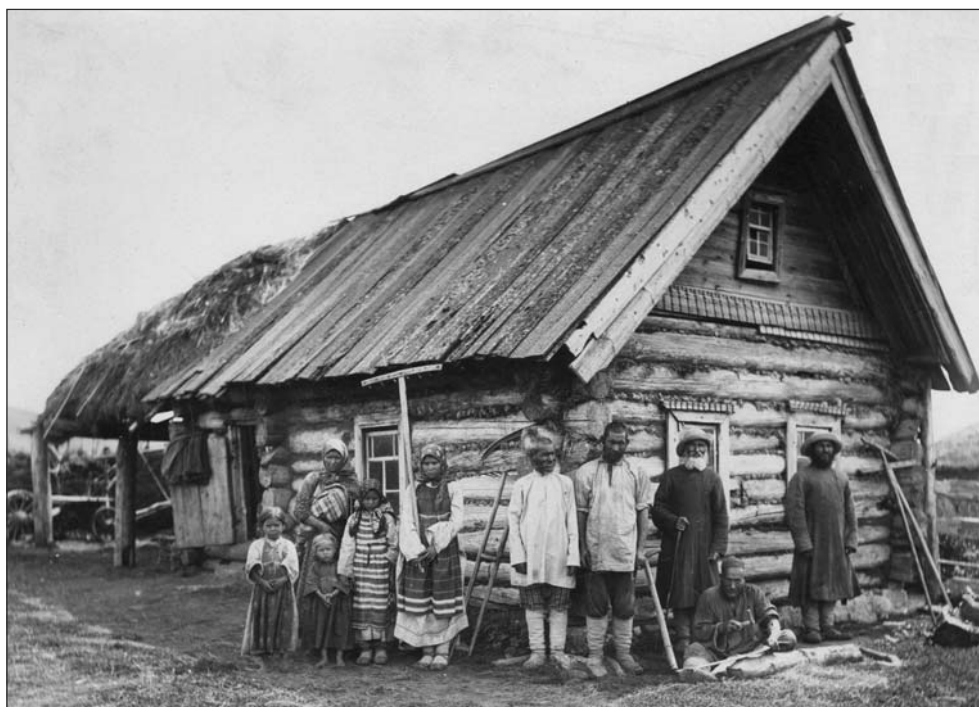
Despite new cases of 'falling away', starting from the 1880s, new petitioners were mostly represented by not only those who had rejected Orthodoxy but also by their children and even grandchildren, who were not baptised and were brought up in the Islamic tradition (they were only 'liable to' baptism according to the laws

of the Empire). In their petitions, they insisted on the fact that they could not be considered as apostates, as 'the so-called fallen away are merely children, or even the descendants of the Tatars and Muslims' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 774, s. 56–56 reverse]. Such a change of generations clearly changed the picture.

Nevertheless, the autocracy did not incline to make concessions. On the whole, church representatives insisted on the fact that even children and grandchildren of the abjurers were still Christians. According to K. Pobedonostsev, who quoted a report prepared by the archbishop of Kazan nearly verbatim, 'granting all the recanted the right to practice Mohammedanism will become a victory for the most vicious enemy of Christianity—Mohammedans—and will enhance their fanaticism and propaganda and serve as seduction for those who are weak in the faith and are in doubt. In any case, this will cause huge damage to the Holy Church' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 788, s. 113 reverse–114]. A compromise with 'foreign beliefs' became less likely due to 'the scenario of power' developed during the reign of Alexander III and based, to some degree, on Orthodoxy as a source of unity between the Russians and the monarchy [Vortman, 2004].

We should note that starting from the 1880s, some officials began cautiously talking about the possibility of recognising the abjurers, at least in part, as Muslims, in the context of administrative efficiency; in other words, in order 'to get rid of' the problem. In 1894–1895, pleas from three villages 'were satisfied' due to the fact that the villagers were very far from Christianity (though other pleas were denied). It is remarkable that this was also the period in which the autocracy made several small concessions to those 'stubborn in Catholicism' (ex-Uniates).

The issue of 'falling away' was solved to some extent in 1905, when the government made it legal to convert from Christianity to other Christian beliefs and officially allowed the 'fallen away' baptised Tatars and their descendants to be considered Muslims. On the verge of the 1905 Revolution, the autocracy



A family that returned to Islam from the Elyshovo settlement of Mamadysh uyezd of the Kazan guberniya. Photo, 1904.

found it necessary to determine the fate of different 'stubborn' people—the ex-Uniates, Estonians and Latvians, who had converted to Orthodoxy due to material reasons, and the 'fallen away' baptised Tatars. Having scrupulously studied the history of the formation of these groups in early 1905, the Department of Religious Affairs of Foreign Faiths came to the conclusion that all cases of rejection of the leading Russian Church were 'in direct connection with the abnormal conditions in which the adherents of different faiths converted to Orthodoxy', meaning that they had not done it because of their beliefs but due to material reasons, or due to the fact that they had been forced to do it. The strange status of these unfortunate people 'calls out to the government and requires it to stop further development of this chronic disease' [Yachevsky, pp. 8–10]. Meanwhile, representatives of the Kazan Muslim Society made statements to the Committee of Ministers, in which they marked that the 'recanted' 'represent something utterly pathetic, causing sorrow', and asked to allow them 'to exercise Islam openly and fearlessly with the

right for acknowledgment by the Islamic society' [Dokladnaya zapiska, p. 7]. Such an allowance was granted in a well-known decree dated 17 April 1905.

According to the Department of Religious Affairs of Foreign Faiths, from 1905 to 1912, over 50, 000 people grasped the opportunity (just in 1906, more than 33, 000 people became Muslims) [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 10, file 252, s. 235; inv. 150, file 13, s. 4a]. Apparently, those who wanted to become Muslims faced no obstacles, primarily due to the fact that the decree dated 17 April covered this exact group of people: 'people registered as Orthodox but in fact exercising the non-Christian belief, which had been exercised by them and their ancestors before the conversion to Orthodoxy' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—3, No. 26126, p. 259]. By comparison, the baptised 'indigenous dwellers' willing to return to paganism could receive the permission only in specific cases; overall from 1905 to 1909, only 150 people in the empire managed to become pagans officially. Moreover, there were sev-

eral complications for those living in western governorates who wanted to be considered as Catholics after 1905. Therefore, the Tatars' 'recantation' was comparatively successful.

What is the historic meaning of the 'recantation'? The conversion movement was an important element of the Tatar people's consolidation as those who had been separated from their people through baptism could reunite with the others and create an integral unit with the Tatar-Muslims. But 'recantation' created a new missionary project, which turned out to be rather effective for the 'retention' of a certain part of the Tatar population—the old-baptised—in Orthodoxy. All in all, if we consider 'the old-baptised' to be Tatars, then we should admit that the consolidation of the Tatar population could not be carried out only by Islam, if for no other reason than because a part of the population was conscientiously practicing another

religion. The movement of rejection laid bare the significant disadvantages in the assimilatory potential of the Russian-Orthodox element of the empire. Just as the Poles in the west of the empire, the Tatars represented a competitor, able not only to oppose the inculcation of 'Russian civic consciousness' in regions with a Tatar population but also to attract and unite representatives of other peoples—the Chuvash, Udmurt, and Mari peoples—who, as the authorities believed, were to be 'Russified'. The fact that the conversion movement reached its peak in the period when the imperial authorities, trying to imitate the national states developing in the West, strove for a fuller integration of the population made this movement all the more significant. As a result, the movement played a role in the development of new, broader notions about religious freedoms in Russia on the verge of the events which took place in 1905.

CHAPTER 3

National Bourgeoisie in Socio-political Processes

§ 1. The charitable activities of the Tatar bourgeoisie

Radik Salikhov

After the Tatar Muslim ummah became a member of the Russian Orthodox state and considering the fact that the authorities ignored the needs of indigenous dwellers and non-Orthodox communities, private philanthropy became concentrated on the spiritual needs and problems of the Tatar population. Up to the end of the 18th century, traditional Islamic charity was spontaneous and in many ways unregulated, which was explained mainly by the low economic status of the Muslim population and by the discriminative policy of the state. As a result, many Muslim communities led a wretched existence and found it extremely difficult to maintain mosques and preachers. Afterwards, with the development of capitalist relations and the realisation of the liberal reforms of Catherine II, the charity situation changed dramatically. The epoch of enlightened 'religious tolerance', expressed in 'permits' for the construction of stone mosques and the establishment of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, as well as the formation of the Tatar guild of merchants, contributed to a rapid increase in charity funds and to a systematic flow of donations and their allotment. Starting from the 18th century, the mobile, socially active, prosperous Islamic bourgeoisie began collecting a charity fund which was spent on the construction of cult buildings and madrasahs, publication of theological literature, financial help to imams and muezzins, financial support for shakirds, and improvement of dwellings for Muslims. Apart from that, representatives of the Tatar entrepreneurship tried to circumvent limiting social strata restrictions and achieve a higher social position by means of systematic donations. Financing major social programs, allocating funds for urgent state needs, and

active participation in the boards of guardians of different institutions and charity organisations played a decisive role in the governmental awarding of some entrepreneurs with titles, benefits, and rights [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 418, inv. 1, file 240, s. 1–2; Bokhanov, 1985, No. 4, pp. 108–112]. One of the most vivid examples is that of Ibragim Yunusov, one of the most powerful Tatar entrepreneurs of the 19th century, who, thanks to active and diversified charitable activity, had vast connections and authority in the supreme circles of Kazan, and even of the capital of the Russian Empire. The merchant was elected mayor of the Tatar city hall in Kazan three times, that is, he was the official leader of local Muslims, a councilor of the City Duma (1871–1886). In 1844, he founded an Islamic orphanage in Kazan with his brother; this was the first Tatar charitable institution, existing up to 1917. The Yunusovs donated 14 stone benches and built a two-storey stone building for the orphanage. This first-class charitable institution, the second in Kazan after the Nikolaevsky orphanage, soon became a source of pride not only for local Muslims but also for the whole population of the city. Annually, up to 30 boys of the Mohammedan faith from 7 to 16 years old were accepted in the orphanage. They received clothes and food, were taught the basics of the faith, Sharia, arithmetics, Arabic, Persian, and Russian languages; moreover, they had access to qualified medical help. It goes without saying that all these amenities required significant financial investments.

For the opening of the orphanage, Ibragim Yunusov was granted a gold medal and the Order of Saint Anna of the 3rd class, whereas his brother Iskhak was granted a gold medal

and the Order of Saint Stanislaus of the 3rd class and other national awards [Gasırlar avazı—E'xo vekov, 1996, Nos. 1–2, pp. 46–47]. These awards played an important role in the recognition of the Yunusovs as 'councilors of commerces'—this title was granted 'for merits to the fatherland in the spreading of commerce, recognised by the Minister of Finance' and was equal to the title of collegiate assessor. The Yunusovs remained the first and only Tatar merchants who had such grand titles.

Systematic charity strengthened the influence of the Tatar bourgeoisie in the life of traditional Islamic communities. In Kazan, for example, from the 18th to the beginning of the 20th century, charity-givers paid for the construction of 17 mosques; herewith, only one of them—the Marjani Mosque—was erected by means of the collective donations of mosque-goers. Merchant dynasties monopolised charity in parishes; charity suddenly started being more individualised and depended on subjective factors; moreover, piety deeds gradually became an instrument for career and social influence. All of the above contradicted the collective spirit of community and did not contribute to the creation of a reliable material basis for the comfortable existence of congregations. If a guardian died or changed his mind and refused to finance a mosque due to this or that reason, Muslims, having no other sources and means of financial support, found themselves in tight situations. For example, when M. Usmanov, a textile manufacturer and a merchant belonging to the 1st guild, became bankrupt, a famous madrasah in Kshkary lost its required economic support, which became one of the reasons for the decline of this authoritative educational institution.



Building of the former Yunusovs' Islamic orphanage in Kazan.
Present-day Tuqay street, 89. Photo, 2005.

Summing up, on the one hand, the strengthening of the status of the national bourgeoisie and its indisputable domination in city mahallahs provided an inflow of charitable funds and endowment establishments; on the other hand, it suppressed the collective will and initiative of congregations as they could not possibly control and participate in philanthropic activity, which resulted in inefficiency in the system of donations, a deterioration in its formal character, and, in some cases, even the superfluity of such institutions as zakat, waqf endowments, and others.

In the latter half of the 19th century, due to initiated large-scale transformations in the lives of Russian Muslims, traditional Muslim charity was in a period of development and transformation. It considered the collection of zakat, the property tax for religious needs and support of the poor, and the collection of other natural and financial donations for the spiritual needs of Muslims. This was the time when the practice of endowments of property for mosques and communities became widespread. This practice became a countermeasure to state missionary ambitions and created a serious financial basis for the reform of religious schools.

The growth of endowments was explained by the strengthening of the economic position of Muslim entrepreneurs and the needs of the

communities, which strongly required stable income sources. Even though the endowment institution fully responded to the requirements of a compromise between the will of donors and the interests of the whole mahallah, in the beginning of its establishment—the end of the 18th to the beginning of the 19th centuries—it served only as a strong means for the influence of the donor and his family on co-religionists. It is interesting to mention the fact that one of the first officially registered endowments in Kazan, bequeathed to the 1st cathedral mosque by Gubaydulla Yunusov in 1830, did not stipulate the order of estate administration and control over its income. The donor specified only the spheres of usage of the donated assets [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–295, inv. 4, file 15035, s. 3]. Years later, Sh. Marjani, the imam of the mosque, wrote bitterly: 'His sons (G. Yunusov's — *R. S.*) has been using these shops for more than forty years, embezzling the mosque's income and not sharing a dime with the imams and muezzins. There was no respect of the clergy, no possibility of its development' [Marjani, 1989, p. 221]. The same situation was relevant to the endowment of Utyamyshev, a rich manufacturer from Maskara, whose descendants refused to follow the donor's will, saying that there was no concrete regulation for its fulfillment.

In the latter half of the 19th century, there was a fight for transferring the endowment from the control of separate rich donors and their families to joint possession by all the members of the community. This made it possible to end frequent misuse of charity and to concentrate and direct the assets of congregations in order to satisfy the actual needs of Muslims, as well as to carry out the reform of religious education. Sh. Marjani, the imam-khatib of the 1st cathedral mosque in Kazan, started this process, and in 1870, with the support of the community members, he managed to restrict the power of the self-perpetuating guardians of the mahallah, the Yunusov brothers. He created a special board of guardians, which purposefully and accountably provided for the economic self-government of the community, marking the turning point in interrelations in the mahal-

lah. Sh. Marjani initiated creation of the collective system of self-government in each individual Muslim congregation through a cardinal solution to the issue of the direct purpose of the endowment and its true owner.

The elected guardian had all the rights required for the execution of the property, economic, and financial activity of the mosque and madrasah with an obligatory preparation of detailed annual reports [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 133, file 477, s. 155].

Boards of guardians were created for separate institutions in the mahallah, in particular, The Guardianship for Endowment, headed by A.-V. Chukin, under the Marjani Mosque provided for a special school for orphans. Moreover, at the beginning of the 20th century, Muslims created mutawalliats (guardianships) for carrying out control over congregational educational institutions without any reliance on the endowment. Overall, the reform of the traditional Muslim charity in Tatar communities, which involved organising congregational boards of guardians and benevolent societies, was aimed at providing not only for the decent existence of community institutions but also for the stable financing of Jadid transformations in the maktab and madrasah institutions.

As per our calculations, in 1917, the cost of property owned by mahallahs in Kazan, Orenburg, Troitsk, and Moscow made up approximately 550 thousand roubles. The communities in Orenburg were the richest in Russia, thanks to the support of A. Khusainov and other entrepreneurs. They owned assets and real estate in the value of 313 thousand roubles. The mahallahs in Kazan owned property in the value of 136 thousand roubles; in Moscow, approximately 50 thousand roubles; and in Troitsk, in the value of 46 thousand roubles.

We should mark another important consequence of the changes in charity, that is, the fact that the personal wills of distinguished representatives of the Muslim bourgeoisie started having an increasingly social nature. A vivid example of this is the last will of A. Khusainov (1837–1906), a major entrepreneur and the founder of the Jadid madrasah 'Khusainiya' in Orenburg, who bequeathed approximately

500 thousand roubles in an endowment for the needs of national education. Apart from fixed recompenses, traditional for Muslims, the will actually formulated a long-term programme for the financing and development of Tatar confessional and secular education, which provided for the creation of solid endowments under the biggest Jadid madrasah, the existence of targeted scholarships for the education of gifted shakirds in secondary, secondary technical, and higher educational institutions in Russia, as well as in Muslim educational centres of the Arabic East, and the creation of unusual 'grants' for writing and publishing popular-scientific, educational, and enlightening literature [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I-295, inv. 6, file 1386, s. 1-10]. Thanks to the will of A. Khusainov, the mahallah of the 6th cathedral mosque in Orenburg, where the madrasah 'Khusainiya'—one of the most authoritative and famous Jadid educational institutions—was located, became the richest Muslim community in Russia, with property which accounted for more than 300 thousand roubles. The merchant also directed income from his assets of 120 thousand roubles—secured in guest houses in Kazan—to publications of religious, ethical, and enlightening character, as well as to granting benefits to mugallims teaching in 60 madrasahs as per the new method. It goes without saying that the charitable deed of A. Khusainov became a particular culmination in the reformation of traditional Muslim philanthropy. He took into account the interests of the whole system of confessional education, which was in a complicated and controversial process of reformation, not the interests of a particular Muslim community.

Such a positive experience of charitable funds concentrated at the level of local Muslim communities allowed the bourgeoisie to exercise new organisational forms of philanthropy. This refers to Muslim benevolent societies, which were wide-spread among the Tatars in the post-reform period. The Kasimov Muslim Benevolent Society, the charter of which was enacted on 8 October 1897, started its work on 18 February 1898, that is, almost immedi-

ately after the Kasimov Anti-Muslim Mission, established on 2 June 1897. That is why from the very beginning, this non-governmental organisation, created by the rich and powerful Muslim bourgeoisie in the environment of increased 'protective attitudes', found its priority in combating poverty and illiteracy as the major factors for the confessional and national assimilation of the Tatars.

By the way, the first paragraphs of the Society's Charter stipulated execution of broad enlightening activities and publication of literature devoted to ethics. Apparently, all major efforts of the Muslims in Kasimov were aimed at a peculiar 'counter-propaganda', as they tried to oppose the ideological offensive of the missionaries. Only a year after the beginning of the society's activity, it had 252 members, including 33 honorary members, 175 full members, and 44 associate members. Entrepreneurs played a leading role in the society. Gradually, with the growth in the financial prosperity of the society, the number of its members significantly decreased, as the capacity of the organisation ceased to depend on small fixed membership fees. For instance, in 1916, the society owned a rather significant sum of 24, 704 roubles in securities and real estate. Meanwhile, its annual income made up 1, 793 roubles 90 kopecks, and annual expenditures made up 1, 326 roubles and 21 kopecks. There were 107 members in the society in this period. The society granted benefits to those in need, supported students, and financed Muslim libraries-reading rooms [Otchet, 1917, pp. 1-46].

Referring to the reasons for the mass appearance of Muslim benevolent societies at the end of the 19th century, we should mention one important issue. This issue was the fact that representatives of major entrepreneurs and intelligentsia should have recognised the fact that the poverty and ignorance of the Muslim population were a decisive condition for the rejection of Islamic life principles and a severe social catastrophe undermining the fundamental tenets of the faith. It is interesting that one of the most important factors which made the entrepreneurs of Kazan unite their charitable efforts in the framework of the officially reg-

istered organisation was a polemical article by an official for special errands under the governor Z. Shamil. In this article, he indignantly wrote about the phenomenon of Tatar children panhandling near Orthodox cathedrals, which seemed outrageous for the rich Muslim community of Kazan [Kazansky Telegraf, 1897, No. 1498, 14 Dec.]. All in all, it questioned the reputation of the whole Muslim bourgeoisie, whose social success and leadership meant an organised, systematic, and oriented charitable activity among their co-religionists.

That is why it is not accidental that one of the first and biggest organisations of this type was 'The Kazan Society for the Benefit of Poor Muslims', which was created in 1898. Its example is emblematic for the development of systematic and oriented charitable activities directed at the population, who had no notable support from the government.

The society was created as a mass non-governmental organisation, which had no national, confessional, class, or other restrictions for its members. Its members were divided into three categories: honorary, life, and full members. The first got their titles through the ordinance of the general meeting for big donations or for other merits which contributed to the establishment and development of the organisation. Life members of the benevolent society were people who donated 60 or more roubles, whereas full members were those who donated 5 roubles in a one-year period. The other members of the Society as per the special ordinance of the general meeting dated 28 March 1904 and Paragraph 7 of the Charter were all edict mulahs of Kazan. Although there were no benefits or rewards for participation in the society's activities, the number of organised Muslim benefactors in the city continued to grow year after year. For example, in 1900 there were 9 honorary, 46 life, and 49 full members in the society, whereas in 1911 there were 15 honorary, 48 life, and 233 full members [Otchet, 1901, pp. 1–3; 1912, pp. 12–20]. Representatives of the city entrepreneurship were the main members of the society.

The efficiency of the society and its normal activities were achieved by the existence of 15

divisional guardianships—the lowest components of the organisation—'focusing on poor people living in their district, collecting data on their financial situation, and providing help restricted by the managing board...' [Ustav, 1903, p. 20]. The guardianships were headed by the society's members (who were elected by the managing board). Mostly they were rich entrepreneurs, secular people, or simply people respected in the district.

Economically, the organisation relied on assets in cash, securities, or real estate, collected by Russian and Tatar philanthropists. The income was formed by targeted contributions for special goals, rental payments for income generating properties, zakat collection, membership fees, donations via check-books, benefits from the city council, collections from alms boxes located in divisional guardianships, and capital stock percents. In the future, as all special institutions of the society were finally formed, the support from the city self-administrative bodies, zemstvos, and class organisations increased significantly, becoming the major source of the income.

When the society stated its goal as 'the collection of means for the improvement of the financial and ethical condition of poor Muslims in Kazan, no matter what their sex, age, titles or conditions are' [Ustav, 1903, p. 3], it clearly specified the major spheres of its activity. Aside from usual philanthropic activities, such as: granting of nonrecurring and monthly benefits, providing help with employment or accommodation, providing urgent help for fire victims or the starving, the society initially prioritised such spheres of activity which considered the ethnic and confessional peculiarities of the Tatar population living in Kazan.

First of all, in order to eradicate poverty in the city, the society allocated funds for those Tatar-migrants whose affairs in Kazan had fouled up, to help them return to their homes. This measure was certainly well-timed, as at the turn of the century, the inflow of Muslims from country suburbs to the commercial and industrial centre of the governorate resulting from the development of capitalist relations and the destruction of patriarchal orders in the

Tatar village became avalanche-like. This led to a sharp population growth in the Old and New Tatar Slobodas and, correspondingly, to a drop in the living standards.

Secondly, the society officially consolidated the right to finance enlightenment activities among Muslims [Ustav, 1903, pp. 3–4]. The funds were mostly allocated for the teaching of poor shakirds in secondary and higher secular institutions of Russia, for the distribution of 'ethic' literature, as well as for the creation of Russian-Tatar primary schools under the auspices of the society.

Thirdly, great sums were spent on the creation of conditions for the rigorous observation of the Sharia law by the city's Muslims. The charter stipulated obligatory financial support to needy families for the organisation of funerals according to Islamic customs [Ustav, 1903, pp. 3–4].

The recorded expenditures were preserved during the whole period of 'The Kazan Society for the Benefit of Poor Muslims' existence.

Creation of specialised institutions of this charity organisation became possible due to the sincere commitment of the progressive bourgeoisie and intelligentsia representatives, who were the majority in the managing board, to future improvement and development of the Muslim public assistance system.

One such institution was the Muslim alms-house. In fact, it started its activity on 6 December 1900, owning 13, 200 roubles in interest-bearing securities. This institution was controlled by a board of guardians. A guardian was elected at the general meeting of the institution and controlled its economic life. The alms-house took care of people of Muslim origin who were incapable of any personal labour and who had no relatives or people 'obliged by law to provide them with money for a living'. The alms-house could only take care of 10 people; however, it was stipulated that this number could be increased or decreased, depending on the financial situation [Ustav, 1903, pp. 1–14].

The alms-house was accommodated in a perfectly equipped building of the society (ex-house of the Yunusovs, currently 4 F. Karimov Str.). For instance, in 1911 there were 13 old

men from different uyezds of the Kazan guberniya who received free accommodation, food, clothes, and medical care on the premises of the alms-house [Ustav, 1903, p. 6; 1912, p. 7].

The next institution of the society after its creation (1902) was its ambulance station, which was opened in the alms-house building. The best doctors of Kazan received patients in this station three times a week free of charge, and all of the necessary drugs were also free, at the expense of the society. We should note that this medical institution became very famous in the city, not only with the Tatars but also with the Russians [Otchet, 1912, p. 6].

At the beginning of the 20th century, the first success in creating charity institutions under the aegis of the society was further developed. Thanks to the efforts of the society's members, an orphanage was solemnly opened in Kazan on 13 February 1905 (existing from 16 November 1904). It became the second Muslim orphanage for boys in the history of the city after the institution which had been opened by the Yunusovs. In 1911, 23 orphan boys permanently lived in the orphanage and received a full pension. Apart from that, after 1909, a Russian-Tatar school existed in the orphanage, which taught not only orphans but also 58 non-resident boys from poor families. Moreover, a Russian-Tatar female school was also opened, where 82 girls were taught. All students of the schools enjoyed free educational literature from the society [Otchet, 1912, pp. 8–13; National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 4, file 6191; Otchet, 1906, pp. 3–6].

The last major undertaking of the society which was successfully completed was the establishment of a Muslim maternity home. The founding of the institution was decided at the general meeting on 15 April 1906, and in the next six years, the city's Muslims collected the required sum of money. Finally, on 22 January 1912, the society, having spent 15 thousand roubles, got its own maternity home, where the Muslim women of Kazan could receive high-quality medical assistance.

All in all, the Muslim benevolent society managed to become widely popular among

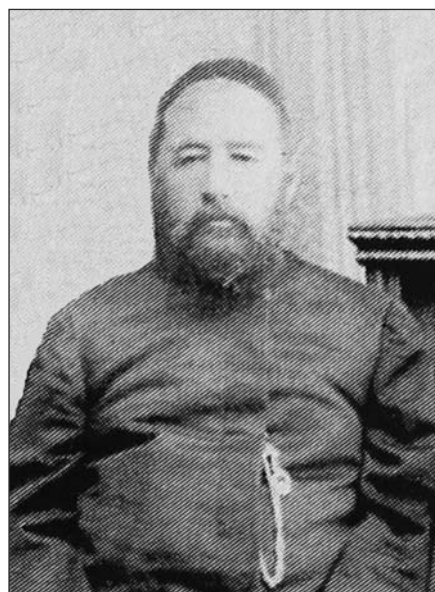
residents of the governorate's centre thanks to its focused daily activities and multi-field social assistance. In 1914, the society involved 5,220 people in its activities, which made up 16.9% of the Tatar population of the city [Otchet, 1915, pp. 6–24].

It is also interesting to review the work experience of the Muslim Benevolent Society of Saint Petersburg. It was founded in 1898 on the initiative of distinguished Caucasian industrialists and businessmen, representatives of Turkish high-born, nobles, and intelligentsia³. It must be said that it was Tatar entrepreneurs, living in different Russian governorates, who became the most active members of the society immediately after its creation: the Ramievs, Khusainovs (Orenburg), Akchurins (Simbirsk guberniya), Alyshevs, Bayrashevs, Bekbulatovs (Kasimov), Agafurovs (Yekaterinburg), S. Shamigulov (Ufa), and others. If we consider one-time fees, once again the Tatar merchants were the most responsive and sympathetic to requests and appeals from the society's heads. Overall, from 1898 to 1899, there were 125 members in the society.

Therefore, the society entered the limelight of the whole national class of entrepreneurs, nobles, and intelligentsia, which was caused by its 'capital location'.

The society's annual income in 1898–1907 averaged 4,596 roubles and was derived from several sources: capital stock percentages, which made up a reserve fund (12.6%), revenues from annual 'eastern evenings' (50.5%), and membership fees and one-time donations (36.9%) [Islam, 2009, p. 157].

In 1906, a Tatar school was opened, the first in the capital (cohort: 34 male students, 16 female students). The fact that an up-to-date educational process, where the basics of faith were taught, was created in the capital, where congregational organisations of Mus-



Muhammadrakhim Yunusov.
Photo from the early 20th century.

lims were weak, had a decisive meaning and prepared all the required conditions for bringing up a young generation in the national spirit. This institution, being the only institution owned by the society, was the subject of its special care and attention. In 1913, the school's educational programme was changed in order to conform to the requirements of the Ministry of National Education. The studying period was prolonged from 3 to 4 years. Apart from that, new subjects—singing and drawing—were introduced and teachers' salaries were increased (to 600 roubles). Mandatory annual medical examinations of the students were introduced. Furthermore, the students were vaccinated for different diseases [Otchet, 1914, pp. 1–2].

Taking into consideration the vital role of education in counteracting assimilation processes, the Muslim Benevolent Society spent 2/3 of its income on enlightening needs. Expenditure items for the society's activity in 1908 allow us to imagine the main spheres of its activity: benefits for students amounted to 1085 roubles; for widows and orphans, 377 roubles; for funerals, 30 roubles; renting and maintenance of the premises for the managing board and school, 970 roubles; typographic

³ Baku first-class merchants Sh. Asadullayev, M. Nagiev, Z. Tagiev, medical doctor A. Akhundov, teacher S. Ganiev, Major General and Kazakh Sultan Vali Khan Gazi Bulatovich, Active State Councillor D. Smolsky, et al. Tagiev laid the organisation's financial foundation by contributing 11,000 roubles to its account [Otchet, 1909, p. 31].

and postal expenditures, 148 roubles 95 kopecks, production of tokens, 94 roubles 50 kopecks; expenditures for cemetery maintenance, 36 roubles; various unforeseen expenditures, 32 roubles. If we consider the cash balance, the society 'had expenditures for the sum of 3, 442 roubles 13 kopecks' [Otchet, 1910, pp. 3–4].

We should mark that this rather small and modest organisation aspired to participate in the financing of Russian social projects. For example, in 1902–1903, the society sent 493 roubles 60 kopecks to the victims of the earthquake in Central Asia; in 1905, it sent 7, 500 prayer books and 50 roubles to Muslim soldiers in the Far East; in 1906–1907, it sent 200 roubles to the victims of the poor harvest in Orenburg guberniya, etc.

In 1913, the Muslim Philanthropic Society founded two scholarships named after G. Tuqay (100 roubles each) for Muslims studying in higher education institutions in the capital [Otchet, 1914, p. 42]. It goes without saying that these actions increased the organisation's authority nationwide, giving it one of the key roles in the developing system of financing for national needs. Muslim benevolent societies were also established for financing individual congregations. At its core, they were similar to

mahallah guardianships. However, they united not only citizens of a certain quarter but also all Muslims living in the city.

In this historic period, Muslim benevolent societies in Russia, despite their different nature and scale of activities, had one common goal. This goal was to provide worldwide support for satisfying the ethnic, confessional, social, and cultural needs of the population. The total capital of all Muslim benevolent societies in the empire did not comprise half a million roubles; however, the efficient concentration and targeted spending of the available sum allowed them to solve complicated and acute problems.

As a result, on the cusp of the 19–and 20th centuries, the Tatar bourgeoisie managed to create its own neat and complete finance system for the satisfaction of national needs, which included elements of traditional charity (one-time donations for various needs of certain people), special benevolent organisations for the provision of social assistance to the broad strata of Tatars, and madrasah guardianships, which provided for the stable economic existence of mosques and the Muslim clergy, as well as for the functioning and reformation of maktab and madrasahs.

§ 2. Participation of the Tatar Bourgeoisie in Socio-political and Social Processes

Radik Salikhov

For many decades, the idea that the socio-political activity of Muslim entrepreneurship was weak was dominant in Russian historiography, pertaining to the period from the latter half of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th centuries. For instance, in his work 'The Tatars in Revolutionary Movement of 1905', G. Ibragimov noted the oppositional mood of the national bourgeoisie towards the autocracy but specified that it was indecisive and disorganised, incapable of open and rough confrontation with the authorities. He questioned its self-sufficiency in political processes and stressed that the bourgeoisie delegated

ideological functions to representatives of the nobles, clergy, and intelligentsia [Ibragimov, 1984, pp. 354–355]. For a long time, this point of view was secured in historical literature, which, as a rule, indicated that commercial and industrial capital served as a social basis with a supporting role, limited to providing financial support for certain political actions. We believe that such a restriction is not fully justified because it does not consider the history and character of Muslim mass movements for the protection of the right to religious freedom and community autonomy, which appeared in the post-reform period. The character of the po-

litical activity of the Tatar bourgeoisie, which had started long before 1905, was determined primarily by protective goals, among which were opposition to the state missionary policy and the execution of contemporary transformations in the spiritual, enlightenment, cultural, and social spheres. At the same time, one of the most important conditions for this activity was the legitimisation of reforms, both in the eyes of society and the imperial bureaucracy. These circumstances dictated the special form of political activity played by the bourgeoisie, expressed in utter carefulness, strict abidance to the law, and the utilisation of legal methods of community service.

The first indicators of political 'fermentation' in the Tatar community, which was generally conservative and, in a way, socially calm, could be noticed in the 1870s, when the government started taking political measures aimed at the submission of the Muslim education system—which used to be autonomous—to the Ministry of National Education. This policy was accompanied by the interference of officials into the lives of mahallahs and restriction of the rights of imams. All the above took place against the background of continuous pressure from missionary circles, the disregard of confessional needs, and gross suppression of social processes, and as a result, this policy could not but contribute to the consolidation of the Muslim bourgeoisie and its concentration on protective goals. This refers to 'The Regulations for Measures Taken for the Education of Indigenous Dwellers Living in Russia' dated 26 March 1870.

However, even the first attempts at the subjection of the Muslim educational system, which were, in fact, rough and crude, destroyed this quasi-'pedagogic' intention and showed the true aggressive intentions of the decree's authors. The growth of tensions and the suppressed discontent in the Tatar community were directly proportional to the increasing pressure on the clergy, the representatives of which did not want state bodies to interfere into the affairs of the state madrasahs. This is why the trust between Muslims and the state did not strengthen as a result of the 1874 subjection of

Muslim educational institutions to the Ministry of National Education.

Such a straightforward, explicit policy inevitably led to unrests and triggered a large-scale national movement, the first of the kind after the disturbances after Catherine II's prolonged epoch of 'religious tolerance'.

During the peasant movement of 1878–1879, entrepreneurs became the authors of the first Islamic political programme in Russia, and they openly declared their demands for confessional and national equality. This programme was presented to the governor of Kazan on 26 and 29 January 1879 by the most respected representatives of the Tatar society, major entrepreneurs, and industrialists⁴. They intended (as a special deputation) to present it to the Minister of Internal affairs. In this regard, on 29 January 1879, the governor of Kazan confidentially informed the Minister as follows: 'They wish to request of Your Excellency the following: 1) they will request divisions of Mohammedan property to be carried out by respected religious imams, that is, as per the Sharia law and without the plea side of the district court; 2) they will request to free madrasahs, mudarises, imams, and all the clergy from the control of the Ministry of National Education; moreover, they will ask not to consider the knowledge of Russian obligatory for the aforementioned clergy; 3) they will also ask for exemption from military service of Mohammedan shakirds studying in secular madrasahs as per article 62 of the Statute on military service. Apart from that, they want to ask for the following: a) granting all Mohammedan Russian subjects the right to elect mufti independently from among the clergy; b) elections of assessors of the Mohammedan secular assembly of imams for everyone in the governorates; c) salary increases for the assessors of the Mohammedan secular assembly; and d) exemption of all Mohammedans in mandatory posts, serving, or acting as witnesses or defendants in court on Fridays and all Mohammedan

⁴ First-class merchants I. Apakov, M. -Y. Apanayev, M. Azimov, councilor of commerce I. Yunusov, second-class merchants M. Galeev and M. -G. Utyamyshev.

calendar holidays' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 4468, s. 4–5]. Therefore, the request was not only about autonomy for Muslim communities and the establishment of broad religious rights, but it was also about the cancellation of decisions previously adopted by the government.

In fact, some of the mentioned claims had been previously filed to the supreme bodies in other governorates. For instance, it is known that on 5 August 1876, Izatulla Davletkamov, senior akhun of the Khan's Mosque in Kasimov, sent a report to the mufti with a request to send a plea to the government and free Muslims from court obligations on Fridays [Central Historical Archive of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–295, inv. 3, file 9111, s. 1]. Apparently, Davlekamov's claim reflected the overall atmosphere of the latter half of the 1870s, when Muslim communities of the empire were becoming more and more discontent with state policy towards the Islamic educational system and clergy. It is not accidental that a significant part of the plea was subsequently added as a separate item on the 'programme' petition of the businessmen and industrialists of Kazan.

Inherently, the authorities could not resist the growing activities of Muslim entrepreneurship, as it acted strictly within the limits of legislation, having chosen the method of petitions and pleas beforehand. The fact that the Kazan delegation, which tried to inform the authorities about the worries of distinguished representatives of Muslim communities, was refused reception, and the fact that the government clearly showed its unwillingness to review any claims, only enhanced the subsequent consolidation of the bourgeoisie for finding solutions to actual spiritual problems, which were to be politically hued.

We should mention the fact that in June 1883, despite the active resistance of local and central authorities, the Tatar merchants and industrialists M. Azimov, M. Apanayev, M. Galeev, M. Utyamyshev, I. Yunusov managed to deliver a new petition to the emperor's chancellery with requests to cancel the Ministry of National Education's control over madrasahs and maktabas and to free the edict mullahs from

obligatory knowledge of Russian [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 15539, s. 23]. Even though this action was not successful, it once again underlined the decisiveness of prosperous Muslims to assert the madrasah's independence. Additionally, this action showed their aspiration to lead an emerging movement to protect mahallahs from state and missionary pressure [Alishev, 2000, p. 102].

This trend was reflected in a mass campaign against the law on the educational standard of the Muslim clergy, endorsed on 16 July 1888, which had been initiated by 'The Rules' of 1870. The Tatar entrepreneurship regarded this document as the practical destruction of the congregational Muslim clergy, and together with the Ministry of National Education's control over maktabas and madrasahs, it seemed like an escalation of the state's missionary policy.

The Kazan guberniya became the centre of organised bourgeois protests. In this governorate, A. Sajdashev, a merchant belonging to the 1st guild, headed a mass petition campaign for the abolishment of the discriminatory law. Along with the entrepreneurship, other full participants of the campaign were the following religious activists and intelligentsia representatives: H. Gabashi, G. Gazeev, A. Kulmametov, M. Salikhov, M. Yakhin, M. Shamsutdinov, Sh. Shamsutdinov, A. Apakov, and others. As a result, the governorate authorities threatened A. Sajdashev with administrative exile [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 7797, s. 211]. Nevertheless, similar claims were also filed from other governorates. According to D. Azamatov, '1, 000 collective pleas from more than half a million people were filed to the Spiritual Assembly just in January 1889. On 31 January 1889, while the mufti was absent, the religious institution discussed the petitions and came to the conclusion that all Muslims consider that the new law '... is going to destroy their faith, and cannot be obeyed in its exact sense, as the rules of their belief make them strictly obey the laws and directions of the authorities so far as they are equal to the religion' [Azamatov, 1999, p. 153]. On 4 November 1889, the Ministry of Internal

Affairs declined all the pleas which had been filed to its chancellery on the grounds of the mildness of the law's requirements [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 7798, s. 5].

Such a negative response of the government did not stop the Muslim bourgeoisie and clergy from further actions. It's known that in December 1889, A. Sajdashev managed to organise new pleas for the abolishment of the law on behalf of mosque-goers from 13 mosques in Kazan. The trip of the Kazan deputation was financed by the merchants M. Toykich, A. Sajdashev, M. Burnaev, H. Usmanov, and M. Galikeev, who accumulated 15, 800 roubles [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 7798, s. 112]. Despite the fact that the deputation repeatedly visited the capital in April 1890 and filed the pleas to the emperor's chancellery, it failed to reach its goal [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 7798, s. 112].

Therefore, the Muslim bourgeoisie movement continued to openly oppose the official governmental measures for the subjection and control of the spiritual and enlightening activity of mahallahs and continued to protect their traditional autonomy. Such activity became a form of political education for the Muslim bourgeoisie. It contributed to the formation of specific programme guidelines of the Tatar commercial and industrial class in the socio-political sphere, which were generally restricted to the protection of religious institutes from the excessive surveillance of the state and cries for spiritual and cultural equality.

We should note that the entrepreneurship had an organised plan of action and made an outcry against any initiatives of the government which affected the interests of co-religionists. For instance, on 10 July 1892, the Ministry of National Education published a circular which allowed maktabhs and madrasahs to use printed books only, reviewed by the Russian censor, and prohibited teaching with hand-written books. This circular provoked fierce criticism from the Muslim entrepreneurship and clergy. According to D. Azamatov, the circular immediately 'triggered "the all-Russian address" to

Akhmetzyan
Sajdashev.
Photo from
the early
20th century.



the Ministry of Internal Affairs, prepared by merchants from Kazan, Orenburg, Ufa, Ryazan, Kasimov, and Irkutsk. In this address, the recent measures of the government were heavily criticised' [Azamatov, 1996, pp. 153–155].

On 7 December 1893, on behalf of all Muslims in Kazan, the merchants M. Burnaev, M. Apanayev, and M. Ibragimov addressed the governor with a request to send a special deputation to the capital: 'We are concerned about the preservation of religious books in proper completeness and inviolability, as their studying is a critical need for the true perception of Islam. In this regard, the Mohammedan Society of Kazan arrived at an idea that there is a necessity in judgment by governmental authorities and institutions of those works, composed as per religious beliefs and Islamic views, which are hereby requested to be printed without changes in texts...' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 9126, s. 2]. The merchants M. Galeev, M. Ibragimov, M. Apanayev, and the imam of the 10th cathedral mosque of Kazan A. Abdulbadigov became the deputies. Later G. Barudi, M. Galeev's son and the mullah of the 5th cathedral mosque of Kazan, joined the deputation. According to the police data, on 12 December 1893, the house 'of merchant Murtaza Ibragimov became the venue for a festive Majlis of distinguished mullahs and Mohammedans', where the new governmental circular was discussed and the details of the future trip to Saint-Petersburg were specified. The deputation itself had been allowed by the governor on 23 March

1893 [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 9126, s. 7–10]. Thanks to the joint efforts of the Muslim community of Russia, this circular of the Ministry of National Education was temporarily abolished in 1894.

The Tatar bourgeoisie was equally active in the local self-government bodies. In the late 18th and first half of the 19th century, the government managed to considerably decrease the restrictions and closed nature of the Tatar community, which had been forming for ages, thanks to the legislative inclusion of the Tatar business world into the common socio-cultural space of Russian entrepreneurship. The Muslim merchantry got the right to be elected for posts in class organisations and local self-government bodies. They also could acquire honorary titles and earn state awards, that is, they were restrictively integrated into the 'ruling' society.

During the Great Reforms period, as capitalist relations in the country were developing, a steady trend of smoothing social frames and the abolishment of corresponding benefits emerged. For the Tatar entrepreneurship, this meant the possible loss of vital means of social influence as well as advantageous conditions for easy integration into the Russian merchant class. In 1855, the Tatar City Hall was liquidated, which had an adverse effect on the administrative ambitions of the Muslim bourgeoisie. Moreover, the introduction of a new system of city public administration could not compensate for the lost benefits for a long time. For instance, in 1871–1874, only 8 Muslims were elected to the Kazan State Duma, while overall there were 72 members. This number increased to 13 in the next four years (1875–1878). Up to 1917, the number of Tatar councilors did not exceed 16. 1883–1886 became an exclusion when the Muslim representation in the Duma accounted for 20 councilors [Kratkij, 1896, pp. 19–35]. Representation of the Tatars in local self-government bodies of other cities in Russia was even more modest. For instance, in 1892–1893, out of 50 councilors of the City Duma in Orenburg, only 5 were Muslims [Adres-kalendar', 1893, p. 9].

Such evident social 'estrangement' of the Tatar entrepreneurship, which accompanied the process of legal unification and did not consider national and confessional peculiarities, coincided with the arrival of a new party in commercial and industrial relations—a new generation of Muslim financiers who had not had solid bonds yet, that is, who had no unconditional obligations towards the society. Besides, the pressure of missionary circles on the long-established autonomy of Muslim communities contributed to the creation of a completely new situation, when the Tatar bourgeoisie, generally loyal and law-abiding, started expressing certain oppositional opinions. The feeling of 'alienness', which once again arose in such conditions, inspired the Tatar entrepreneurs not only to carry out successful and competitive trading and industrial activities but also to actively protect their spiritual and cultural rights, to strengthen local Muslim communities in every possible way through reforms and targeted charity. These aims were practically the only goals dictating the activity of the Tatar bourgeoisie in city Dumas and uyezds and governorate zemstvos [Salikhov, 2001, pp. 39–56]. It is interesting to mention the fact that during the post-reform period, the leading Muslim entrepreneurs did not aspire to obtain any appointments or posts in public administration bodies or official organisations in contrast to their predecessors. They preferred to actually strengthen their influence among the Tatar population of city slobodas.

For example, members of the administrative board of Kazan were financiers who could not boast of prosperity and indisputable authority among their co-religionists. These posts were held by representatives of the 'middle' entrepreneurship, who were diligent, good at operational work, had connections among the Tatars and Russians, and who did not pursue a special role in the life of local Muslims. For example, Burganutdin Mullin (1836–1917), a merchant belonging to the 2nd guild, was, in fact, a 'professional' member of the city administration from 1877 to 1910. He knew Russian rather well, wanted to disassociate himself from the politically-active part of the national

entrepreneurship, and these traits helped him to become a peculiar representative of the Muslim city population both in the new system of public administration and in class organisations, which were losing their significance [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 299, inv. 1, file 112, s. 2–9]. B. Mullin was that public figure who symbolised the high degree of involvement of the Tatars, primarily the bourgeoisie, in state and social affairs.

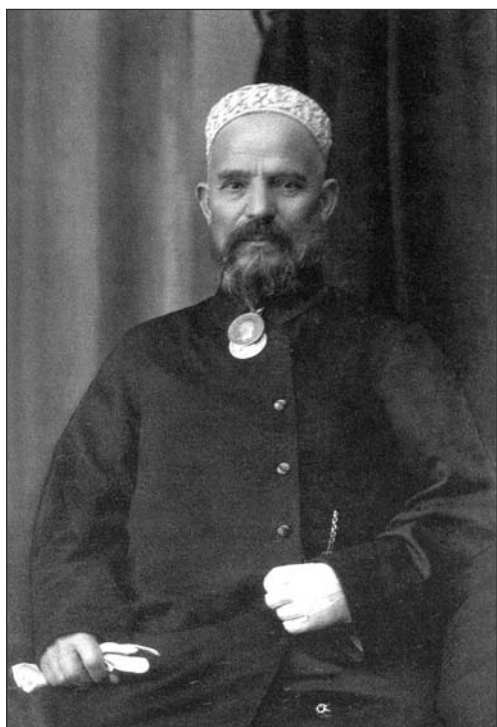
The Muslim delegation in the City Duma of Kazan, which was composed of 'progressive' merchants and national intelligentsia, tried to turn the city assembly into a practical instrument for the economic, spiritual, and cultural resurrection of the Tatar people. The first signs of growing activity could be seen in the middle of the 1880s, that is, in the period which could be characterised by the rapid growth of national self-consciousness, the birth of new-method education, general cultural development and, what is more important, the beginning of deliberate and well-organised opposition to the anti-Muslim policy of tsarism. Intensified discriminatory activities of the authorities against the Tatar population in the region determined the basic emotional mood and became a special stimulant for the challenging work undertaken by Muslim representatives in elective bodies of self-administration. One can say that all more or less publicised actions of the Tatar councilors in the City Duma were a direct response to attempts of administrative discrimination against their people. For example, in 1884, there was a protest organised by the councilors Sh. Sagadeev and M. Galeev, merchants belonging to the 2nd guild, which was a response to a request by the Makaryevskaya church warden, who wanted to close the Muslim cemetery in Admiralteyskaya sloboda [Protokoly', 1884, pp. 692–693]. This protest does not seem like an accidental episode in the Duma's activities but appears as a logical element of the established policy if we consider the fact that the event took place against the background of an unprecedented 'war' of pleas and deputations against the missionary goals of the government.

We should note that in their demands for equal conditions for representatives of differ-

ent nationalities, the Tatar public figures of the period, mostly entrepreneurs, were governed not only by pragmatic directives but also by spiritual ones. In particular, the sentiment of denied justice quite often became one of the key factors which regulated the attitude of Muslim councilors to various problems of city life. This was clearly displayed in a story with the Tatar Orphans' Court, which dealt with inheritance and custodial cases and which was financed by the city treasury. In 1892, the city council, trying to cut the expenditures, carried out a 'reform' usual for the bureaucracy of the period—it terminated the Tatar Orphans' Court and handed over the cases of Muslims to the Russian Orphans' Court. The Tatar leaders organised a full-fledged campaign against the transformation of the Russian Orphans' Court into a mixed Russian-Tatar one. Pleas from merchants and citizens were supported by speeches of the councilors M. Galeev and A. Sajdashev in the City Duma. In these addresses, they stressed the necessity of increasing the number of juries in the court by one new member, elected not from the classes but from the city's Muslims [Zhurnal, 1895, pp. 251–252]. In a year and a half, they managed to obtain the solution they wanted, which became a small but significant victory and fixed the local electoral rights of the Kazan Tatars [Zhurnal, 1896, pp. 238–240].

The stumbling blocks in discussions of almost every agenda, which provoked volcanic reactions by the Tatar representatives in the Duma, were the issues of beautification, national education, and health care. The fact is that the Old Tatar and New Tatar slobodas, and partially the Porokhovaya and Admiralteyskaya slobodas of Kazan, which occupied a significant territory of Zabulachye, accommodated more than 20, 000 Muslims and had already existed for a hundred years from the moment of their definitive formation in a rather closed autonomous state, oftentimes were neglected of attention by the Kazan administration, as it often forgot to include these areas in city programmes of reconstruction and development.

We should say that the Tatar councilors presented a well-organised and disciplined fac-



Muhammadzyan Galeev.
Photo from the early 20th century.

tion united by a common idea and capable of solving nationwide issues. In 1886, 'The Kazan Stock List' noted that 'one Tatar as a public activist equals three Russians. The Tatars are so powerful thanks to exemplary unanimity and agreement of opinions in finding solutions to common issues... Incredible as it may seem, but despite the small representation of the Tatars in the Kazan Duma, they are such a great force that many issues are settled as per their will and against the will of the rest of the councilors' [quoted from Sverdlova, 1991, p. 37].

Their style was notable for its rationality and was determined by a well-deliberated strategy and tactics. In spite of inevitable differences in views and occasionally complicated personal relations, when finding a solution to an issue, the members of the 'faction' united behind one or two leaders, often handing over part of their authority to them. In almost all cases, they unanimously supported the initiatives and tribune speeches of the leaders, after having discussed them on the sidelines of the assembly. The merchants M. Galeev and A. Sa-

jdashev were the virtual heads of the Muslim councilors in the State Duma at the beginning of its existence, approximately from the 1870s to the beginning of the 20th century.

The main condition for the unity of the 'faction' was a common ideological platform—rather than merely a theoretical programme—which meant Muslim-wide values, or even their necessary value transformations, resulting from the unavoidable influence of the European lifestyle on the city Tatars. That is why in the beginning of the 20th century, along with vivid, even propagandistic actions for the defense of Islam (protests against the decrease of the tavern tax as a measure encouraging drinking, the addition of the major streets of Tatar slobodas to the register of the streets, where the opening of pubs and taverns was prohibited, collective refusal of the elections on the issue of staging an opera performance, timed to an Orthodox holiday, etc.) [Zhurnaly', 1908, p. 107; 1909, p. 325; 1911, p. 52], the Muslim councilors made efforts to make the city financially assist the emerging system of new secular education and the newly established cultural, enlightening, and benevolent Muslim organisations. The Tatar representation in zemsky councils of the uyezds and governorates in many ways followed the trends and development dynamics, and just as the City Duma, they were the result of bourgeois-democratic reforms. Muslims living in the Kazan guberniya could distinguish between the stages in the development of zemsky institutions. The first stage started in 1864 and lasted up to the middle of the 1880s–1890s, when the needs of the Tatar rural population were financed without taking into account their national peculiarities and on the same basis as the Russian, Orthodox population of the region. The second stage, from the 1890s all the way up to 1917, was characterised by the continuous demands of the Tatar population to respect their confessional and national peculiarities. In some measure, this period became an example of constructive cooperation between Muslim reformers and the democratic part of the Russian ruling class.

It should be pointed out that census, class, and other restrictions of the electoral rights in

regions densely populated by 'non-Russians' completely discredited the very idea of zemstvo as popular representation.

However, the pro-reform bourgeoisie still remained active under such conditions. As early as in 1886, councilor A. Sajdashev delivered a speech to the 22nd regular uyezd zemsky council and initiated the 'creation of the first Muslim alms-house in the history of the governorate', promising to allocate his own money for its construction. The alms-house, which took care of 15 old men, opened in 1894 [Postanovleniya, 1896, pp. 17–40]. In 1889 A. Sajdashev, being a councilor of the Kazan guberniya zemsky council, managed to obtain its approval for filing a plea to the government in order to ask for permission to trade brick tea not per the guild rules but according to retail trade regulations. This measure significantly facilitated the life of rural Muslims and many others, as it greatly broadened the suburban retail chain of this essential good. Moreover, it substantially helped aspiring Tatar financiers, who were gathering capital mainly from buying and selling groceries [Kazansky birzhevoy listok, 1890, 1 March].

Therefore, state policy in the sphere of Muslim education and missionary pressure explained both the continuation of political consolidation of the national entrepreneurship and the formation of its specific protective ideology. This ideology contained within itself the idea of preserving and strengthening Islam and provided for the two fundamental directions in the struggle for national rights. The first direction was based on a legal, 'parliamentary' method, when the interests of the Muslim population were protected by elective bodies of local self-administration—city dumas and zemstvos—and by means of mass solicitations, requests and petitions to the highest bodies of the Empire. The second direction was based on clear recognition of the fact that the closed patriarchal lifestyle of the Tatars could not effectively respond to the pressures of another culture, and that cardinal changes, reforms, which would transform the Muslim Tatars into an economically developed people

with a progressive culture, were obligatory for strengthening Islam during the epoch of bourgeois transformations. In this regard, there was a need for limiting the interrelation of jadidistic transformations in the system of confessional education, the development of new principles for Muslim charity, the creation of a series of foundational institutes for civil society such as a multi-party system, developed national press and book publishing, formation of professional secular literature, musical art, theatre.

We should also note that the power, which embraced this ideology, changed fundamentally. The development of capitalistic relations significantly broadened the social basis of the Tatar bourgeoisie and contributed to the quantitative growth and, if it can be thus expressed, the democratisation of large entrepreneurship. Starting from the middle of the 1870s—the beginning of the 1880s, representatives of old merchant dynasties of Kazan—the Apakovs, partially the Apanayevs, Burnaevs, Mustakimovs, Yunusovs, etc.—were actively pushed out of the dominant positions in commercial and social life. Thanks to almost a hundred years of success in trade and industry, they had become a peculiar national aristocracy.

They were replaced by a new wave of entrepreneurs, first generation entrepreneurs—yesterday's peasants and retired soldiers, who had started their businesses almost from scratch and achieved impressive results due only to amazing diligence and remarkable personal qualities. They came from rural areas, where Islam was traditionally strong and authoritative. As a result, these new activists were critical and even aggressive towards any deviation from Sharia by urban Muslims. Such deviations were inevitable because of daily interaction with the Orthodox majority of the city. Their attitude towards the authorities, openly carrying out anti-Muslim policy, was no less tough and conceptual. On the other hand, being practical and pragmatical people with rational thinking, they realised that there was a necessity in reforming the previous lifestyle, which ceased to correspond to the realities of progressive capitalism.

§ 3. The Tatar merchantry and the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly

Ildus Zagidullin

In the first half of the 19th century, the Muslim clergy believed that nomination of candidates for the post of the Orenburg mufti was its vested right. However, after the first two muftis had died, this right was not exercised [Azamatov, 1996, pp. 49, 53] by 'the Mohammedan community', as fixed by the Russian legislation of 1817, which stipulated that one candidate should be presented by the Minister of Internal Affairs and confirmed by the Emperor [Svod uchrezhdenij, 1857, art. 1236]. In the post-reform period, Tatar merchants valued the activity of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly in coordinating the religious and sacramental life and the consolidation of the mahallahs. According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs officials (1872), the Spiritual Assembly turned into a 'centre uniting all... the clergy and determining both the internal connection between its members and their spiritual unity and the connection between the clergy and Mohammedan population, which recognised the existence of this central spiritual administration as the symbol of their tribal and religious unity' [Materialy', 1936, p. 206].

New phenomena could be clearly seen after mufti G. Suleymanov's death. On 22 August 1862, a large group of merchants and tradesmen of the Nizhny Novgorod fair prepared a petition for the promotion of Kamaletdin Nagaev, akhun of Sterlitamak, to the post of mufti. The petitioners were led by Kazan merchants belonging to 1st guild Iskhak Yunusov, Negalim Apanayev, and Murtaza Usmanov.

The authorities were not prompt in solving this crucial issue for Muslims as the Ministry of Internal Affairs was developing the rules for holding the Orenburg mufti elections in Ufa with participation of Muslim representatives from different governorates. These rules were finished no later than 5 November 1864. Still Muslims were becoming more and more concerned due to the indefinite postponement of the mufti assignment. This topic once again became the subject of serious discussion at the Nizhny Novgorod fair. On 2 September the

major merchants⁵ repeatedly reminded the government about the situation in a new petition, underlining that their candidate, K. Nagaev, deserves a high secular post thanks to his personal qualities and 'religious life'.

Information about the development of government regulations on the election of the mufti reached the merchant community. In December 1864, the Kazan merchants⁶ and city mullahs lobbied the governor to promote their candidate for mufti to the government. It was also stated that if the government found elections necessary, they should be held only in Kazan, as it was 'the centre' of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly region [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 601, s. 174–176].

This was the period when the merchants had just joined the governmental initiative for holding the mufti elections. The actions of the Tatar nobles stood out favourably against this background. In particular, on 20 July 1864, landlord S. Tevkelev (future mufti) addressed the director of Department of Religious Affairs of Foreign Faiths with a request to speed up the elections of a new Orenburg mufti. In his letter dated 6 February 1865, he insisted on 'the electoral principle' and named Ufa as the best place for holding the elections [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 601, s. 181–182]. The deed of Shagiakhmet Alkin, Kazan police chief deputy in 1846–1859, also deserves re-

⁵ First-class merchants Iskhak Yunusov, Iskhak Apanayev (Kazan), Guberniya Secretary Abdulkhakim Enikeev, honorary citizens by birth. Khasan Khamzinovich Shakirov, Syukai Enikeev (Temnikov), honorary citizen by birth, first-class merchant Muhammadshakir Akhmetshakhovich Utyamyshev, first-class merchant Iskhak Musich Utyamov (Malmyzh), merchant Mustafa Muhammadaminovich Davydov (Moscow), Murza Salikh Yanbayev (Kasimov), and another merchant.

⁶ First-class merchants Ibragim and Iskhak Yunusov, Mustafa Nazirovich Azimov, Murtaza Azmetyev, Ismail Iskhakovich Apanayev, honorary citizen by birth, second-class merchant Muhammad Musich Apanayev, honorary citizen by birth. Muhammadgali Kurbangaleyevich Yaushev.

spect: in January 1865, he tried to make this issue a subject of public discussion, having published his project in a metropolitan newspaper⁷. Sh. Alkin offered to elect the candidates for mufti from among the Tatar nobles living in Orenburg guberniya and holding secular posts. He believed that a noble who knew Islam and religious rules would not turn his back on the interests of both the government and Muslim population [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 601, s. 178].

Thus, for the first time representative of the Tatar elite of the region advanced the democratic Sharia principle of electing the mufti as the Muslim community leader, the ummah of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly area (amir al-muminin) by the Muslim assembly itself. This was put front and centre as part of the reformation of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly in 1864–1865.

However, in the end, the opinion of P. Valuev, Minister of Internal Affairs, was decisive in this situation. He stated the following: 'Candidates from Ufa would transmit solidarity and common ideas and directives to their local communities, while the government would like to avoid such a union of the Mohammedan population in various locations... that is why it is much better to restrict the election by specifying several candidates from separate localities so that the government would be able to appoint one as per its choice' [Materialy', 1936, p. 180]. As a result, on 24 April 1865, the government appointed nobleman S. Tevkelev, who had no religious education. Thus, it was the first time a practice introduced by Peter I in respect of the Synod was extended to Muslims—a new chairperson of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual As-

sembly was a secular nobleman. The opinion of the Tatar elite was ignored, whereas the delegation of authority in accordance with the model 'autocrat–personal agent' was preserved.

The next stage in activity of the Tatar merchants coincided with mass disturbances among the rural Muslim communities of Kazan guberniya, which took place in 1878–1879. This activity was triggered by the news that S. Tevkelev had become seriously ill. The Kazan merchants decided to be proactive. At the end of January 1879, they recommended their own candidate for the post of mufti: the akhun of Azeyevo village, Yelantma Uyezd, Perm guberniya, whose name was Sayfulla Urmanov. In February 1879, they chose another candidate, Sh. Bagautdinov (Sh. Marjani), akhun of 1st Kazan city mosque [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 4659, s. 9].

On 29 January 1879, a group of powerful merchants on behalf of 'all the Tatars' presented a list of issues for discussion with the Minister of Internal Affairs to the Kazan governor. The first item in the issue was dedicated to provision of Russian Muslims with 'full authority' to elect a mufti 'among the clergy, a worthy and religious person' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 4468, s. 13]. Clearly, this item was fundamental in the merchants' programme. Their proposal for holding elections of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly assessors by the clergy seemed natural in the concept of transforming the Orenburg mufti into a secular leader for Muslim society in the European Russia and Siberia. This provision was stipulated in the law: 'Members of the Spiritual Assembly are elected by the Mohammedan community every three years and are approved by local officials' [Svod uchrezhdenij, 1857, art. 1237]. Therefore, the second item of the request also came down to a veiled call of Muslims to the imperial authorities to carry out the laws about Islam adopted by the Russian autocracy. According to current legislation, the mufti's fatwas did not have the force of the law behind them. If the election were held, the collective decisions of the mufti and assessors—people elected by the Muslim community—would hold the force of law for

⁷ In order to avoid the authorities' distrust, S. Alkin suggested that the administrations of 11 guberniyas elect delegates to the Pan-Islamic Congress in Ufa from representatives of four social groups—the nobility (45 people), the merchants (46), the clergy (at least 50 people), and the peasants' volost elders (70)—according to the recommended quota. His project was based on the principle that the Orenburg mufti was to be elected locally by deputies, themselves elected by the local administration [Zagidullin, 2009a, pp. 46–58], but nevertheless was a step forward in the democratisation of elections.

Muslims. Consequently, the resolutions of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly would become obligatory for co-religionists and the mufti would become the head of the Russian ummah. This approach provided an opportunity for the parallel existence of a Sharia-abiding Muslim community in Russia; the government would still determine the limits for application of Islamic norms in the public and family lives of Russian Muslim subjects. These changes would allow the religious and cultural autonomy of Muslims living in the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly region to shift to a new level. Moreover, they would make it a full-fledged Muslim community existing under the conditions of a confessional minority. If these items were fulfilled, the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly would become a representative body of the Muslim community living in the European Russia and Siberia, which would have the status of a governmental institution. The subsequent demands of the merchants should also be reviewed in the same sense, that is, in the sense of reformation of spiritual administration in the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly region and provision of Muslims with rights equal to those of the Russians. The requests to abolish the Ministry of National Education's control over traditional Muslim schools and the cancellation of obligatory knowledge of Russian by the clergy should be particularly noted. The requests of the Kazan merchants from 1879 up to 1904 remained the most comprehensive complaints of the Tatar national elite against the internal Muslim policy of the autocracy.

In the beginning of the 1880s, a new generation of merchants, one leader of which was A. Sajdashev, started playing an eminent role in the social life of Kazan. Co-religionists called him 'the Tatar governor'. The merchants decided to increase their influence on the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly through their representatives—Mukhammadey Salikhov, mullah of the Usmanovskaya city mosque, and Z. Maksyutov, assessor of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, who knew how a religious institution worked. The merchants demanded mullahs-electors arriving from uyezds to elect these assessors. Moreover, they managed to obtain the

governor's permission for participation of 'worthy' members of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly in voting by secret ballot. Additionally, they secured high salary for two elected members. An unprecedented event took place for the first time: on 17 December 1883, 35 mullahs and 20 Kazan merchants took part in the elections of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly assessors,⁸ and candidates from the merchants were elected by an overwhelming majority of votes [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 2, inv. 1, file 1269, s. 33–34].

Commenting upon the situation in his secret letter to Pobedonostsev, attorney general of the Synod, dated 10 February 1884, N. Ilminsky offered to abolish the religious administration and confidently announced: 'I believe that there is an influence of pan-Muslim ideas of the Tatar intelligentsia hidden in this new phenomenon, more private than Gasparinsky and K... And if the Tatars are not thinking about using the Ufa centre, they certainly will' [Ilminsky, 1895, pp. 64–65]. The shrewd N. Ilminsky was close to the truth in his evaluations. The merchants was in need of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, an institution consolidating Muslims from different governorates, and it recognised the Assembly as a body representing the interests of co-religionists.

In 1885, actions of the Tatar elite significantly changed in the period of candidates selection for the once again vacant post of mufti. While the autocratic policy of conservative nationalism was underway, the merchants limited themselves to statements 'about preferableness of assigning' mufti who should be a secular man, not a man without the basics of the religious knowledge. This meant for them a lack of illusions about the possibility to elect a spiritual leader themselves and testified to the existence of a unified guideline and possibly their hope

⁸ A. Saidashev, Murtaza Azimov, Iskhak Apanayev, Garif Utyamyshev, Muhammadzyan Galeev, Vali Apanayev, Yusup Apanayev, Burganutdin Mullin, Abdrakhman Ibragimov, Vali Chukin, Iskhak Aituganov, Shamsutdin Sagadeyev, Izmail Galansky, Shagi Aminev, Safa Galikeev, Garafutdin Abdullin, Vali Yaushev, Zainulla Usmanov, Galiaskar Bigashev, and Abdulgani Biktemirov.

to see the vacant post of senior assessor of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly filled by the acting mufti, Mukhammadey Salikhov.

Another distinctive feature was the filing of all collective pleas only via the Spiritual Assembly, which indicated the growing role of the religious administration and the authority of its members in dealing with this issue. Previously, the pleas had been filed by a corporative group of merchants, but now the broad involvement of the clergy and local inhabitants, irrespective of class status, could be observed.

The fact that in 1885 the national bourgeoisie was directing the process of composition and filing of collective pleas was confirmed by participation of major Tatar city communities (Kazan, Seitov Posad, Orenburg, Semipalatinsk, Petropavlovsk, Troitsk, Simbirsk) in the petition actions. A great number of prosperous entrepreneurs from these communities, as well as the entrepreneurs who came to take part in the Irbit'sk (15 February) and Nizhny Novgorod (August 1885) fairs, participated in the petition campaign. 7 pleas were filed on behalf of the mullahs. If we review the criteria for a candidate for the post of the Orenburg mufti, proposed by the government and the national elite, we will notice a great discrepancy in their opinions. The government was looking for a candidate from the nobility with Russian education, devoted to the autocracy, and having governmental experience. Religious education was not obligatory.

One of the candidates (self-nominated) was an official for special errands under the Turkestan governor general, a Tatar called Shagimurat Ibragimov, who handed over a 'report note', dated 10 May 1885, to the head of the Department of Religious Affairs of Foreign Faiths, in which he shortly stated his point of view on the meaning of the Orenburg mufti for the government and Muslims [Zagidullin, 2011, pp. 287–309].

The candidature of Sh. Ibragimov had been apparently discussed by the Muslims of Kazan. N. Ilminsky somehow had found out about this, and on 29 April 1885 he hurried to warn the attorney general of the Synod: Ibragimov 'sees and knows the whole Muslim world across the globe; he personally knows many figures in Rus-

sia, Central Asia, India, the Kirghiz steppe, etc. So if the pan-Muslim idea suddenly pops into his head, he knows all the required facts and moral means... In a word, we are too unprepared to cope with such a fine mind. Now this is what would be suitable for us: he should blush and get confused while speaking Russian, write in Russian with numerous mistakes, be scared not only by the governor but also by any department head [Ilminsky, 1895, pp. 176–177]. This letter of the missionary deprived Sh. Ibragimov of the clerical position he was seeking⁹. M. Sultanov, an official, was assigned mufti, and once again the government ignored the opinion of the Tatar elite.

At the 1886 elections of the members of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, the merchant A. Sajdashev once again was unable to get M. Salikhov assigned mullah. Z. Maksudov was re-elected [Tärcäman, 1887, 11 January]. The new assessors of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, elected in 1886 and 1889, diligently reported to Kazan the recent data on the relations between the state and Islam.

The outlined cooperation of the national bourgeoisie and the new mufti discontinued after the announcement of the law from 16 July 1888 on the introduction of the Russian educational standard for candidates to spiritual posts. In the beginning of 1890s, when the government started taking measures against Islamic institutes, a mutual understanding between M. Sultanov and the Kazan merchants was re-established. A festive dinner, which took place at the city stock exchange building on 29 May 1896, honouring the mufti's arrival, publicly symbolised this unity. It was organised by tradesmen, who had invited officials [Kazansky Telegraf, 1896, 30 May]. Carrying out the reforms of the Muslim community contributed to further bonding of the merchants and mufti M. Sultanov. He was consistently defending new ideas and protecting the religious rights of Muslims. At the turn of the century, M. Sultanov and the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly members openly positioned themselves as progressives.

⁹ He was assigned by the Russian Consul to Jidda, but died of cholera the very first year of his appointment (1892) [Sibgatullina, 2010a, p. 384].

CHAPTER 4

Social Protest Movements Against the Threat of the Loss Of Ethnic and Confessional Identity and for Protection of Religious and Cultural Autonomy

Ildus Zagidullin

In the middle of the 19th century, there were local groups of Tatars who knew the Russian language and could read and write in Russian. Only a small group of nobles among the Tatar elite knew Russian as they recognised Russian education as a source for material well-being by means of a career as officials. Merchants, conducting business at Russian fairs and markets, knew the colloquial language and quite often could read and write. As for the countryside, this list of the Russian-speaking Tatars was supplemented by retired soldiers, as well as by representatives of the peasant self-administration bodies and, partially, by the clergy.

This situation can be explained by the following reasons.

The absolute majority of the Tatars lived in the country, where their contacts with Russian officials were minimal, while interaction with state bodies was carried out through elected representatives.

The Muslim clergy, who considered Central Asia the ideal of values and cultural tradition, did not appreciate the Russian language. Some 'mullah-fanatics' turned learning Russian language by the congregation into a religious taboo and called it 'a sin' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 171, file 656, s. 109 reverse]. Traditional scholastic education and upbringing suggested following the established religious traditions: 'Anything which is not provided, stipulated, or allowed by Sharia is a novelty for a Tatar, which requires at least approval or sanction of the clergy' [Akhmerov, 1893, p. 4].

In contrast to the baptised indigenous peoples of the Volga and Ural Regions, who had

had no writing system and schools of their own up to the last third of 19th century, the Tatars had had their own active system of confessional education. The Tatars believed that literacy in their native language was more important than in Russian language [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 171, file 656, s. 42]. A Tatar recognised school as an educational institution pursuing religious and moral aims, which formed distrust to Russian primary schools 'due to their Orthodox character' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 170, file 143, s. 19]. Rumours about the anticipated baptismal of the Tatars were caused by intensified activity of the government in the post-reform period, which was spreading Russian educational institutes among the Tatars living in Volga-Ural regions.

The population did not trust any innovations of the government even though these sometimes had no relation to 'the national issue'.

Tatar protests were against alien things in the cultural and territorial spheres of the rural community as the Tatars' family life was in many ways dictated by the Sharia norms. One of these phenomena was the selling of alcoholic drinks in villages. If there was a volost administration in a village, this village would certainly have had a saloon or a pub, which was one of the reasons why Muslims did not want any volost administrations in their villages. That is why in the 19th century, a pub or a saloon were a rare phenomenon in Tatar villages. Infrequently mullahs and authoritative Tatars were bribed, and persistent entrepreneurs managed to open such drinking establishments, trying to get local peasants used to alcoholic beverages. At times, peasants were against open-

ing of a pub, even if the community was for it [Krest'yanskoe dvizhenie, 1959, pp. 152–153].

Such a nervous atmosphere in rural communities, provoked by rumours about future baptisms, the inefficient actions and provocations of local officials, as well as other factors, led to different Muslim protests: starting

from armed anti-governmental protests of peasants to mass petition campaigns, filing of collective or personal petitions to the highest instances with demands to abolish certain decrees as encroaching on their religious freedom, or requests to protect their religious or national interests.

§ 1. The Tatar peasant movement of 1878–1879

The main factor which contributed to formation of a stressful atmosphere and creation of the Tatars' opinion that negative changes in the governmental policy were to be anticipated was the Russo-Turkish war (1877–1878). The Tatars perceived the war as a religious one—the war of Orthodoxy and Islam. Defeat of the Ottoman Empire made Muslims worry about the possibility of preservation of their confessional identity in future. Rumours that 'the cross defeated the crescent moon and His Majesty the Emperor, being displeased with the sultan, ordered to baptise all Mohammedans in Russia' were spread [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 785, s. 8 reverse].

By the beginning of 1878, the atmosphere in society was so stressed that the slightest reason from the authorities could cause peasant disturbances. The main reason for gossip spreading in Middle Volga Region was the order of the Bishop of Samara Eparchy dated 21 March 1878, according to which priests had to collect data on all non-Christians for their attribution to Orthodox congregations, so that Christians living among the Bashkirs would have an opportunity to know which priest they could address to satisfy their religious needs [Materialy', 1936, p. 405].

The doubts about the sincerity of the governmental actions intensified in the autumn of 1878, when the Red Cross distributed written appeals for donations in volost administrations of the Samara and Ufa guberniyas. The Tatar peasants, unaware of the peculiarities of Russian documentation management, found this event as another confirmation of the rumours about 'the cross being underway'.

In the Ural region, the rumours about baptisms were triggered by the ordinance of the administration of Ufa guberniya, according to which alarm bells were to be installed in villages for annunciation and collection of local residents in case of a fire. Locals associated the toll with bell-towers and churches. The Muslims living in Ufa guberniya, a region, which had never experienced active Christianisation, were shocked by this ordinance of the authorities.

As for Kazan guberniya, the protests of residents of 12 Tatar, 2 Mordvin, and 1 Chuvash villages of Spassk and Chistopol uyezds, which took place in October 1878, were provoked by the decision of the urgent Kazan guberniya zemsky council dated 9 March 1877, announced at rural meetings. According to the decision, peasant dwellings were to be subject to compulsory fire insurance for a term of three years. Another solid reason for such a negative reaction of the Tatars was an established opinion that collection of insurance fees contradicted Sharia norms. Some mullahs stated that 'insurance is a card game' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 4627, s. 112 reverse].

The situation in Kazan guberniya slipped out of the authorities' control after announcement of 'The Regulations to Rural Communities on Performance of Duties Imposed by the Law' dated 1878, which contained extracts from the laws in effect imposing duties on peasants, as well as a range of materials relevant to the population obliged to pay the poll tax.

In the Regulations' section dedicated to the rules of primary institutions maintenance,

it was stated that Scripture Knowledge 'may be taught in institutions or by a priest, or by a special teacher of religion with the Eparchy's executive approval of the candidate nominated by the inspector of public institutions'. The section dedicated to fees for earthly expenditures specified that 'earthly duties are the duties which are fulfilled by each community for satisfaction of its needs, such as construction and maintenance of churches', opening and maintenance of rural educational institutions, teachers' salary, etc.

Having rewritten the laws mechanically, officials forgot to specify that they referred only to Orthodox Christians, and it would be very handy, if we consider the fact that Muslims made up approximately one third of the population of Kazan guberniya. As a result, the Regulations were considered to be a 'baptismal charter', the beginning of an involuntary baptismal process.

Senator M. Kovalevsky, who carried out the 1880 inspection of Kazan guberniya, enlisted the following reasons for the anti-governmental protests: 1) 'inflamed religious fanaticism of Muslims'; 2) 'tactless and inefficient police officers'; 3) mistakes made by the governorate administration [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 785, s. 9].

In November 1878, political 'fermentation' embraced the Muslims living in Kazan, Samara, Vyatka, and Orenburg guberniyas, as well as Ural and Turgay regions [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 785, s. 1 reverse–2].

In October and November 1878, peasants from several dozens Tatar villages located in Spassk and Chistopol uyezds took part in the unrests. The rebels beat police representatives, willfully elected new village chiefs, refused to maintain fire sheds and their horses and guards, did not allow village chiefs to leave for the volost administrations, did not pay taxes and did not fulfill duties [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 4627, s. 98–99 reverse, etc.]. The authorities failed to instantly suppress the rebels in Spassk and Chistopol uyezds with the help of the army due to the absence of transportation means across

the Volga and Kama rivers: rivers did not freeze for a long time that autumn.

At the end of November, the governorate executives printed an addendum to the Regulations, in which they specified that paragraphs 40, 41, 42, 43, and 44, encroaching upon the dignity of Muslims, did not refer to the Tatars. The indication that fees paid by Muslims would be spent on mosques and maktab maintenance also provoked protests, because Sharia stipulated that maintenance of Islamic institutions should be carried out by means of voluntary donations and mutawallis [Materialy', 1936, p. 399].

Attempts to distribute the addenda in Tatar villages also caused unrests.

An integral part of the Tatar peasants anti-governmental protests was a campaign for filing petitions addressed to the local governors, the Emperor, and the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly.

When the Muslim issue occurred beyond the borders of Kazan guberniya, it became national. 83 petitions from different communities were submitted to the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly. Moreover, trusted representatives from Muslims arrived for consultations [Fäxretdin, 2010, p. 130].

On the basis of rumours about the threat of baptism, the rural communities of Orenburg and Ufa guberniyas filed petitions at the beginning of 1879 to the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly and to local governors. They demanded the termination of Russian-Tatar schools and 'guarantees for their religious rights' [Farkhshatov, 2010, pp. 203, 204]. The population calmed down only after the reception of a notification from the Orenburg Governor General, in which he specified 'the inviolability of Islam' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1076, s. 207–207 reverse].

The Minister of Internal Affairs received petitions in his name sent from 41 volosts of 8 uyezds of Kazan, Samara, and Ufa guberniyas. 82 (out of 91) petitions were composed in the Kazan guberniya. Most of the petitioners from Spassk (17 pleas) and Chistopol (13 pleas) uyezds wrote against the insurance fees. All the petitions from Laishev (9) and Mamadysh uyezds (31) mentioned the threat of baptism.

10 petitions were sent to the capital from Samara guberniya, 9 of which mentioned the threat of Christianisation [Materialy', 1936, pp. 483–486].

Several protests by the Tatar peasants living in Kazan uyezd were conducted at an absolutely new level. The peasants, seeking an explanation of certain paragraphs of the Regulations and demanding dismissal of village chiefs, went to the volost administrations. On 27 November, an uyezd police officer arrived at Bolshoi Menger village, where he was met by village chiefs and 800 peasants. He witnessed the beating of the volost elder, a scribe, policeman, and mullah of this village. The volost elder was substituted after the uyezd police officer departure.

On 27 November 1879, peasants living in the neighbouring Bolshaya Atnya Volost dismissed and replaced all 13 village chiefs and volost heads; Russian industrialists living in Bolshaya Atnya were exiled.

The peasants of Mamsya volost were categorical in their actions. They stationed guards along every road and on every bridge. These guards 'kept an eye on all those coming and going from the volost centre' [Smykov, 1973, pp. 172–173]. Thus, on 27–28 November, Tatars from 45 villages in 3 neighbouring volosts of Kazan uyezd (11. 5 thousand people) set up the legitimate authority with the use of the system of election in the peasant self-administration bodies. That is how national 'peasant republics' were established at the level of volosts. The unrest ceased; new authorities completely controlled the situation.

New authorities remained up to 4 December, until a squadron of soldiers, headed by the governor, arrived. The Tatars in one such volost made an unsuccessful attempt at armed rebellion. They went for the soldiers with polls, forks, and scythes. But no sooner had they heard military music than they hid their weaponry in the snow, following the advice of retired soldiers' [Firsov, 1926, p. 41].

Governor N. Skaryatin reinstated all the dismissed volost elders and village chiefs; additionally he dismissed three village chiefs

for violation of police directions [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 4627, s. 216]. 500 Russian peasants from neighbouring volosts were hired for corporal punishments, and they whipped the rebels with rods. Approximately 450 people in three volosts were punished without charge or trial; they received 100 or more lashes [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 785, s. 12].

The governor personally 'grabbed someone by the beard, hit someone in the chest or face with a stick, not allowing them to say a word', herewith he abused religious feelings of the Muslims involved, saying: 'Here is your Muhammad, here is your Quran, here is for your disapproval of six paragraphs of the Regulations' [Gubaydullin, 1925a, p. 39; Rakhim, 1928, p. 147]. The army and Russian peasants, brought for whipping the rebels, remained in the Tatar villages for some time. They forcefully deprived the locals of livestock, crops, different food products, and money' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1356, inv. 1, file 46, s. 1 reverse], which had an adverse impact on the economic situation of the communities.

As a result of the anti-governmental protests in October–December 1879, which covered approximately 150 rural communities and 14 other ethnic groups, about 30% of Tatar village chiefs were dismissed and substituted. This number was especially high in Kazan (71%), Spassk (37%), and Chistopol (20, 8%) uyezds [Zagidullin, 1992, p. 154].

The events which took place in Kazan guberniya had a great influence on activation of Muslims in Middle Volga region.

In Bugulma Uyezd of Samara guberniya, the unrests covered 8 volosts. 17 rural communities filed pleas via trusted representatives. In their petitions they inquired about trustworthiness of the government's intention to baptise Muslims. Simultaneously, they inquired members of the volost administrations, wanted to receive 'documents with the cross', conducted searches in the volost administrations in order to find baptismal crosses. Leaflets in the Tatar language were spread, which stated that

churches with bells would be built by the authorities in every village: one of the bells would be for fire announcements, the other would be for church purposes. Moreover, they stated that soon all Muslims would be converted to Orthodoxy. People started to calm down only in December, when they received a printed address from the Orenburg mufti, in which it was stated that the government guaranteed preservation of the religious rights of Muslims, and thanks to active explanatory activity of the administration [Materialy', 1936, pp. 405–417].

On 25 December 1879, when the citizens of Lomot village, located in Ardatov volost of Simbirsk uyezd, received news from Kazan that the authorities wanted to baptise the Tatars, they closed down the local Russian-Tatar school. While searching the school library, they found a book by the chairperson of Brotherhood of St. Gury, a missionary society council, whose name was Bishop Viktorin. The book was called 'On the Superiority of Christianity over Mohammedanism' (Kazan, 1875) and had been sent by the local inspector of public institutions. This finding significantly intensified citizens' worries about the intention of the authorities to baptise Tatars [Materialy', 1936, pp. 377–379].

On December 8, the Vyatka governor rode into villages of Urzhum and Malmyzh uyezds, embraced by the unrests, where he distributed sheets, signed by him and with his stamp, which guaranteed religious rights of Muslims [Materialy', 1936, pp. 398–340].

The administration of Orenburg guberniya attracted the most authoritative akhuns in the regions 'for persuasion', sent a governorate official to the uyezds, and thus managed to calm down the worried [Materialy', 1936, pp. 418–419].

In 1879, the unrests continued in many villages of Kazan guberniya. Almost all measures taken by the authorities—insurance of structures, announcement of decisions on various issues, elections of village policemen, etc.—made Muslims suspicious, and sometimes even caused their disobedience.

One of the reasons for weakening of the peasant movement was the fact that the local

clergy stopped supporting the rebels. It stopped fighting, knowing that its position and the religious issue would remain unchanged. Peasants beat those mullahs who helped the authorities. Peasants were taking the initiative, so they demanded the mullahs to act in accordance with the rural community's decision. However, if they disobeyed directives from the administration, they would lose their posts and all income.

In spring 1879, the anti-governmental protests of peasants were accompanied by seizures of village chiefs' stamps and refusal to make any official decisions.

In October–November 1878, peasants from 3 out of 10 villages of Spassk uyezd stopped their disobedience after judicial inquiries (June–July 1879), and at the end of August, it had been done by the inhabitants of Sukhie Kurnali village. The inhabitants of four villages: Nizhnie, Srednie, Bolshiye Tigany and Adelshino obstinately and cohesively continued fighting. On 12 December, a squadron of soldiers headed by governor N. Skaryatin came to Srednie Tigany village. Here is how it was described in 'The Sredne-Tiganovsk Beit':

When the governor arrived, he forced the removal of hats.

Three carts brought gunpowder and bullets [Tatar Folk Arts, 1983, p. 114].

Having no opportunity to counter the military forces, the peasants had to 'admit guilt' [Materialy', 1936, pp. 391–392].

According to our calculations, approximately 150 rural communities took part in the 1878–1879 movement in Kazan guberniya, and 2/3 of the protests took place in November 1878 [Zagidullin, 1992, table 18, p. 154].

The Tatar peasant movement of 1878–1879 in its scope, sharpness, organisational nature, and means of activity was the climax of such movements in the post-reform period in Middle Volga and Ural regions. According to the results of the revision, senator M. Kovalevsky specified that there could be further protests, similar to those in Kazan guberniya, resulting from religious issues [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 785, s. 8]. So he warned that the government should refrain from any ill-considered actions. For the first

time, the government felt the great potential and decisiveness of Muslims fighting for their religious rights. It realised that even the most harmless actions of the authorities, to some extent relevant to the religious position of Muslims, could cause mass disobedience. It became obvious that there was a need for a proper attitude towards religious and national feelings of the Tatars and for a balanced national policy.

The 1878–1879 movement was aimed at preservation of the established tradition

in the relations between the state and Islam. The events showed the Tatars that mass and cohesive protests could make the authorities change or cancel their decision. That is how the population reacted to the deletion of certain paragraphs of the Regulations and dismissal of governor N. Skaryatin on the grounds of complaints from merchants and peasant communities, as well as a private investigation of beatings in Kazan uyezd without charge or trial conducted by M. Kovalevsky.

§ 2. Petition Campaigns Against the Elimination of Religious and Cultural Autonomy

Pleas against establishment of governmental control over the national system of education in 1883. After the publication of the law dated 24 November 1874 on the establishment of control of the Ministry of National Education over maktab and madrasahs had been ordained, no concrete measures for establishment of control over confessional schools were taken by the authorities. The situation in Kazan guberniya changed drastically in 1882, when the inspector of muslim schools V. Radlov sent a circular letter dated 15 April to a Kazan madrasah chief. In this letter, he outlined the Emperor's decree dated 5 February 1882 about the establishment of governmental control over their schools. He asked for information about the number of junior and senior shakirds, etc. In response, the majority of mullahs asked V. Radlov to send a copy of the decree, some of them ignored his requests, and only one of them sent the requested statistical data.

On 21 December 1882, V. Radlov for the second time attempted to establish control: along with governor L. Cherkasov, he visited all the madrasahs in Kazan. The major-general announced everywhere that Muslim schools 'are under control' of the Ministry of National Education and that the control was carried out by inspector V. Radlov, which resulted in cries of protests from shakirds and Tatars [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 6811, s. 6–8].

Therefore, V. Radlov's actions and words created a broad resonance and were interpreted as the destruction of historical relations between the state and Islam [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 5883, s. 3 reverse, 4].

Rumours and rural meetings, held in uyezds of Kazan guberniya in March–beginning of May 1883 were triggered by exemplary texts of pleas, received from Kazan, which contained explanations for their concerns and Muslim demands.

In them it was announced that inspector V. Radlov had spoken about the requirement according to which mullahs had to know Russian and this requirement would be introduced in 1883. This statement had a bombshell effect: the rural clergy thought that it showed the authorities' intention to conduct an inspection among the aforementioned mullahs, find out whether they were literate or not, and therefore, as per the results of the inspection, dismiss them. As a result, the congregational clergy organised a petition campaign, as it was interested in its results.

In March 1883, petitions were filed simultaneously in Kazan, Tetyushi, Laishev, Mamadysh, and Spassk uyezds. A group of scribes worked in Kazan and requested from 5 to 15 roubles for every composed petition; moreover, they issued their copies, certified by the city notary. Most of the pleas (197) were ad-

dressed to the governor of Kazan; (50) to the Emperor.

We managed to find two variants of the exemplary texts (No. 1 and No. 2). Exemplary text No. 1, with a reference to the 'Regulations' dated 1870, which stipulated the mullahs' obligatory knowledge of Russian, expressed fears that only those candidates for religious posts who knew Russian well but who 'cannot teach Mohammedan doctrine accurately and correctly' would be assigned. In this regard, the exemplary text insisted that Muslim schools should be controlled by the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly without interference of the Ministry of National Education, so that 'as it was before, no one meddles in our religious affairs'. Moreover, the text stated that mullahs assignment should depend only on the Spiritual Assembly, which could 'understand better the suitability' of the elected candidates for spiritual posts and assess their abilities of teaching Islamic doctrine in schools. It was stated that if Muslims solved these problems, it would allow them to avoid the consequences 'which could have a negative effect on Mohammedan doctrine' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 5881, s. 1–1 reverse].

Exemplary text No. 2 was composed more adequately. It provided arguments for the ineligibility of establishing governmental control (these arguments had been sent to V. Radlov in a written form by Apanayev madrasah chief S. Salikhov back in 1873) [Materialy', 1936, pp. 312–313], namely: the fact that religious schools were maintained at the expense of communities or certain Muslims, that most of them had endowments (which was a characteristic feature of Kazan, not of rural regions), that donors specified in their wills that they had left money for teaching of religious subjects only, that schools were targeted at teaching religious subjects for 15 years 'without mixing in another language' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 5881, s. 21–23]. It was alleged that Muslims had a possibility to be educated in Russian educational institutions, that is why 'there is no need in making people study what they do not want to learn, or what is prohibited by our religion'. In accordance with

the abovementioned facts, the text proposed the following: 1) change the governmental decision on introduction of obligatory studying of Russian in Muslim schools, which complicated shakirds' learning and preparation of candidates 'for religious posts'; 2) declare learning of Russian non-mandatory; 3) keep in force the previous (existing before 1870) system of education in madrasahs and maktab; 4) free Muslim schools from control of the Ministry of National Education and leave it under control of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly; 5) to prohibit the assignment of mullahs who graduated from Russian 'people's schools' because they 'cannot adequately know the notions of the Muslim doctrine' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 5881, s. 21–21 reverse]. As a matter of fact, the text hinted at abolishment of the law dated 24 November 1874 and several provisions of the 'Regulations' dated 1870 (opening of Russian classes at the premises of madrasahs, introduction of the Russian educational standard for mullahs in future).

Despite the campaign carried out during the 1878–1879 peasant movement, when the requests of the Tatar bourgeoisie and rural communities differed significantly, in 1882 the demands of different social groups of Muslims were very much alike. For the first time ever, common national issues, raised by the entrepreneurial elite of Kazan, which in fact did not reflect the opinion of peasant communities, were put front and centre. Those mullahs who were afraid to lose their posts initiated an addition to the request—'not to impose' the Russian educational standard on mullahs. Kazan became the centre for submitting petitions, establishing a tradition in this sphere for the next two decades.

The failures of the inspection carrying out the control over maktab and madrasahs after 1874, when they had been handed over to the Ministry of National Education, strengthened the Tatars' certainty in their ability to protest openly and not to follow the inspector's directions. The 'think tank' of the campaign was located in Kazan, while the mullahs carried out the deeds. The petition campaign was carried out along the following scheme: the exampla-

ry text of the petition from Kazan—composition of the community's decision and elections of the responsible in rural communities—composition of approved pleas addressed to the governor and (or) the Emperor—filing of the 'final' petition by Kazan merchants (June 1883). In this way the government could become acquainted with the clear position of Muslims, who disagreed with violation of the autonomy in the sphere of national and religious education.

The 1888–1890 petition movement against introduction of Russian educational standards for candidates for Muslim spiritual posts The decree dated 16 July 1888 played a determined role in the further progressive development of the renovating processes in the school sphere. The decree 'On the introduction of the educational standard for the Moham-medan clergy' was to be put into action in 1891.

This governmental initiative was met by the bourgeoisie and clergy as a new step 'towards blurring' national principles and traditional religious practice of the Tatars, as an intervention into the clergy's monopoly in the sphere of school education for 'faithful Muslims', as a real threat of transformation of the attitude to religion in the minds of future mullahs who would be educated in Russian educational institutions, which would in the end lead to the weakening of Islam and its authority among Tatars. Merchants were afraid that the candidates who had successfully passed the exams and knew the Islamic doctrine very well would not be given certificates by the committees, as the committees would prefer Russified candidates, even if their knowledge of Sharia was poor.

Kazan became the place for development of approaches and means of delivery to the authorities of the principle position of Muslims living in Volga and Ural regions and Siberia.

At the merchants' meeting, it was decided that it should be explained to communities that the Emperor's decree was another measure aimed at assimilation of the Tatars through baptismal. In his talks with his inner circle, merchant A. Sajdashev repeatedly stated that

only the threat of Christianisation can consolidate and induce rural communities to submit petitions unanimously in order to abolish the decree [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1075, s. 282–284].

The clergy in the regions was stimulated to active measures by the rumours, according to which all mullahs not knowing Russian would be replaced by new imams, who would act in accordance with the new requirements. Moreover, according to the rumours, starting from 1891 future mullahs would have to pass the exams to Orthodox Bishops [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1075, s. 239; file 1076, s. 165, 225 reverse, 269 reverse]. The law dated 16 July 1888 was presented as 'the beginning of baptising of Muslims'. Among other effective means of influence were the following: appeals of the clergy after prayers; travelling across the regions with a special mission—to explain from an Islamic point of view' governmental decrees; private correspondence between mullahs, shakirds, and tradesmen from Kazan and their relatives and acquaintances from other regions; special letters-addresses sent to certain people who would start explanatory work among local mullahs and rural communities.

From December–January 1888, Kazan became a place for the composition of pleas to the authorised officials from rural communities of the Kazan guberniya, as well as neighbouring governorates. In his letter to V. Radlov from 25 January 1889, Sh. Akhmerov wrote, 'For several months Kazan has been a gathering place for different rural mullahs: they deliberate here, write pleas on behalf of their congregations, and send them to the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly with requests to resend them to a senior official' [Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, f. 177, inv. 2, file 11, s. 17].

The petition campaign assumed all-Russian proportions thanks to the efficient use of regional fairs in Menzelinsk (end of December–beginning of January) and Irbit (end of January–February), which were visited by merchants from far-away regions, as well as by local tradesmen and peasants from neighbouring villages.

The city and rural communities of Orenburg, Ufa, Perm and Tobolsk Governorates, the Ural Region commenced sending pleas directly to the Emperor in order so that they would reach him. As a result, from the end of January 1889 the petitioners from the above mentioned regions started sending numerous pleas and community decisions on abolishment of the law from 16 July 1888.

Locally, Muslims were acting as per the directions given at the fair in Menzelinsk, which can be summed up by the words of the military governor of the Ural region: decisions and petitions addressed to the Emperor were composed in mosques secretly and in a hurry, so that delays could not spoil the business, as, according to Muslims' joint agreement, only a cooperative, simultaneous and countrywide petition could make the government worry that implementation of the new law on mullahs would lead to unrests and protests [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1076, s. 3 reverse, 154].

In July-August 1889 the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly started turning down the petitions, and its notifications of refusal were distributed in rural communities by the local police against signed receipt. However, in some regions peasants refused to accept the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly's notifications. On 27 August 1889 a meeting of Tatar merchants took place at the Nizhny Novgorod fair, which, however, was held without A. Saydashev and M. Galeev, who were afraid of prosecution. Major entrepreneurs took part in its work: Ahmet Khusainov, Bakiy Salikhov (Orenburg Governorate), Negmatulla Kuramshin (Tyumen), etc. The absence of the Tatar leaders of Kazan provoked 'reproaches and reprimands'. The issue of counter-measures against the educational standard law was on the agenda. It was decided to send another petition 'addressed to His Majesty personally, through authorised people who were provided with large sums of money, who would be sent to Petersburg and would get on the right side of the Minister and make him grant a right to be introduced to His Majesty' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file

7797, s. 249]. Further events showed that the Muslim clergy and bourgeoisie acted in accordance with this plan.

A new wave of petitions in Kazan Governorate started in the end of September–beginning of October 1889. The Ministry of Internal Affairs issued a circular letter dated 4 November 1889 which prohibited the filing of such petitions [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 7798, s. 35 reverse, 63, 133–134]. Starting from this moment, the actions of the petitioners could be qualified as opposition to the authorities. However, this prohibition did not affect the dynamics of submitting petitions.

'The Chancellery for acceptance of petitions addressed to senior officials' was literally buried in petitions from different areas of the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly region. In particular, 511 petitions were sent from Kazan guberniya, 203 petitions (according to incomplete data) were sent from Samara guberniya [Zagidullin, 2008, p. 285].

The majority of the petitions were dedicated to the necessity of abolishing the decree from 16 July 1888 while a portion of them stated that its implementation should be delayed. Illegitimacy of the decree's implementation was explained as a measure, controversial to the principle of broad religious tolerance, functional in the Motherland. It was underlined that the novelty encroached on religious rights of Muslims and would lead to weakening of their religious spirit, paving the way for 'moral decline' and their further subsequent conversion into Christianity. Herewith, frequently the petitions referred to the article of a student of the anti-Muslim department of the Kazan Spiritual Academy, extracts from which were unofficially distributed in Kazan by A. Kulmametov, an authorised representative of A. Saydashev. The petitions expressed the opinion that up to this moment Muslims, as loyal subjects of the Russian sovereign, had been always serving him faithfully and gladly obeyed all his laws and governmental decrees, 'but not the decrees contravening to their religious laws', however, the law dated 16 July, 1888 was clearly aimed at elimination of Islam. It could not be obeyed

by Muslims in its strict sense, because the rules of Islam 'oblige it to obey the law blindly' so far as it is not controversial to the spirit of the religion". Some of the petitions specified negative consequences for the novelty. Due to the fact that preparation of the clergy in madrasahs took 10 or more years, the shakirds' learning of Russian would take much time and would do harm to their religious education, which would in its turn lead to graduated mullahs, not good enough for their posts both in knowing Islamic laws and due to poor moral qualities. Long-term studying in Russian schools, staying in alien to the spirit and doctrine of Islam environment would inevitably have an adverse effect on their lifestyle, on their views of carrying out their clerical, judicial and educational obligations, which in the end would lead to a decline of religious and moral qualities of the congregation.

Communities asked to leave the clergy and assessors of the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly 'in their previous states without the obligatory educational requirement, as secular education is extremely important as per our religious belief and will restrict us in electing worthy people, who while not having received an education, but who have decided to become one of the clergy by vocation' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1076, s. 76–76 reverse]. The community of Uralsk called the law an 'abasement' of the faith, as future imams should 'without fail be religious' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1076, s. 17–17 reverse].

From time to time the petitioners raised broader demands. For instance, the Tatar community of Iletskaia Zashchita sent a petition in which it specified that the clergy, maktabas and madrasah should be 'left in their previous state', confessional institutions should not be controlled by the Ministry of National Education, and teachers in Islamic schools should not be obliged to teach Russian [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1076, s. 5–5 reverse].

As we can see, the new law was recognised as a necessity in teaching candidates for mul-

lahs in Russian schools, and the long term of studying in madrasahs was mechanically projected on studying of another language (Russian), which also required long time of learning.

Creators of the texts addressed to 'superior' officials preserved ethical norms in the petitions to the head of the state. However, Muslims' demands were expressed more sharply and openly in the anonymous note 'The Denouncement to the Sovereign through State Secretary Sergey Alexandrovich Taneev sent in special trust' dated 2 January 1889 and signed by a Mamet Galimov from Kazan. According to the text of the note, the Tatars were attentively monitoring the initiatives of Alexander III government aimed at realisation of the course of 'conservative nationalism', which would strengthen Russian Orthodox Church, religiousness of the titular nation, Russian authority in the suburbs and would restrict the rights of ethnic minorities of the Empire. Therefore, Muslims drew the corresponding conclusions¹⁰.

The note bitterly stated that in near future the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly would have 'pupils', i. e. graduates from Russian educational institutions, who knew no Sharia basics, just like 'second lieutenant,

¹⁰ An anonymous note asserted that the Russian state was ruled by the Synod in the persons of Count D. Tolstoy and K. Pobedonostsev, who took actions to destroy the Islamic element in the country and on purpose reduced the number of Muslims: instead of 20 million, they reported two million, that is, fewer than Jews and pagans, and intentionally labelled Kazakhs as pagans. To prevent this lie from being disclosed, they postponed the eleventh census until Russia conquered Constantinople. The emperor's attention was brought to the fact that the Synod, Interior Ministry, and National Education Ministry were spending all the state income for Russification purposes. The author maintained that D. Tolstoy integrated the 'Wilson system of cosmopolitanism' with 'the general school of Russification', as well. He explained to the emperor: 'The Koran teaches obedience to the tsar regardless of religion until he encroaches on religion. If Muslims are not terrorists, embezzlers, nihilists, or regicides, if they bring profit to the country with trade, then what is the point of hurting their religious beliefs? If the Holy Synod and its studhorses have nothing else to do, let them unite the Christian Old Believers and make their Christian peasants pray', alluding to problems of the Russian Orthodox Church.

draftsman' M. Sultanov, instead of assessor-judges.

The note is finalised by a warning that if the imperial administration of Islamic education changed and the assimilation policy went on, 'Muslims would spill all their blood in order to prevent pupils' access to mosques. And as soon as pupils became judges in spiritual administrations, we, Muslims, would pray for the Turkish sultan and Mahdia, asking all enemies of Greek-Russian faith for help. If the government does not want this, then let us be as Catherine II and Alexander I' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1075, s. 263–265 reverse].

Thus, the Tatar bourgeoisie and Muslims found that the main danger in introduction of the Russian educational standard was in the following: 1) principle requirements of the law dated 16 July 1888, which could not be met by unprepared candidates for spiritual posts; 2) the possible assignment of officials, who knew the basics of Islam poorly, in order to accommodate this new criterion, as well as assignment of passive Islam enthusiasts, which would have a negative effect on the traditional educational and pedagogic process in maktab and madrasahs; 3) assignment of non-Islamic assessors to the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly due to high (4 grades of gymnasium education) requirements, which was regarded as a dangerous transformation of the Islamic leading religious institution.

Mass petition campaigns, which covered Volga, Ural regions and Siberia, steppe regions, inhabited by the Tatars and Bashkirs, and were addressed to the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly and the Emperor made the government weaken the norms of the Russian educational standard, which was fixed in the decree dated 11 October 1890. Therefore, a peculiar compromise between the government and Muslims was reached.

This petition campaign became a serious test for the union of the bourgeoisie and clergy. The Tatar merchants in Kazan appeared to be more consistent and decisive ideologists and administrators of social movements, than imams, who ubiquitously called for preserva-

tion of the existing traditions, but, being afraid to be held accountable and lose their posts, refused to proceed with their participation in the social movement.

The 1892 pleas of Muslims–1894 The complication of 'the Muslim issue' in Volga-Ural region in the first half of 1890s triggered anti-Islamic initiatives by the autocracy, which became a part of the internal policy of Alexander III government aimed at 'protection' of the interests of the titular population and Christianity. It's important to note that they became public domain in a short period of time and sharply aggravated the tension in almost every strata of the population. Previously the advocates for Jadidism and Cadimism had differences in their attitude toward learning of the Russian language by candidates for Imams and teaching of Russian at ethnic schools, but by the beginning of 1890s they consolidated their efforts to protect the of interests of Islam and the nation, to prevent the disappearance of ethnic and confessional uniqueness. However, the advocates for Jadidism and Cadimism chose different means to oppose the anti-Muslim governmental measures, which is explained by their different mentality, social position and activeness of regional authorities, which brought these innovations¹¹.

In the beginning of 1890s the national elite had serious concerns that the autocratic authorities would subsequently stop adhering to the foundational principles of the relations between the state and Islam, established by Catherine of Russia. A new wave of restrictions was started by a circular from the Ministry of National Education dated 30 June 1892, according to which all Muslim confessional schools were to be controlled by the Direkciya Narodnykh Uchilishch [Directorate of National Schools]

¹¹ Specifically, in regard to the revision of religious books, the local group of Muslims most integrated into the Russian cultural space tried to comfort their brothers-in-faith, saying that 'the supreme administration did not agree with censorship. . . that sooner or later the central authorities will discover the irrationality of an ongoing prosecution of holy books and will end it' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 791, s. 167].

which would only strengthen the control of officials over mugallims and mudarrises (school attendance, request for the number of students, set of students and staff, etc.).

The second reason for concerns of the national elite was the ill-fated circular of the Ministry of National Education dated 10 July 1892. Having read the text of the circular composed by Minister I. Delyanov printed in the 'Orenburg Vedomosti', the Tatars of Orenburg bought out the entire circulation of the newspaper and distributed it in the villages of Ufa and Samara guberniyas [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 9602, s. 28–30, 35–37 reverse, 45–45 reverse].

The third solid reason was shortening the text in manuscripts of religious books by the censor in 1890–1891. The fact that sacred texts had been crossed out created an international resonance.

The Rural communities of the Tatars and Bashkirs were greatly influenced by secret 'appeals', forming a 'systematic view' on Islamic policy and uncovering 'secret plans' of the autocracy. Due to the fact that the Tatars and Bashkirs were unable to familiarise themselves with socio-political news from the newspapers in their mother tongue, the influence of 'appeals' on the population was enormous. They were regarded as true information, carefully hidden by the authorities.

In particular, in 1894 a district police officer of Menzelinsk uyezd confiscated 'proclamations' by an anonymous writer, in which he expressed concerns about 'the decline of Islamic faith' in the Volga-Ural regions and addressed the co-religionists calling for Islamic restoration and Islamic education for children. The author's attitude to the state language attracts our attention: he believed that it was necessary to study 'in Russian, in order not to be fooled by a Russian, know how to read his papers and not to be his slave. We can have our teachers, as many Muslims know Russian' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 791, s. 79–79 reverse].

The proclamation proposed several directives: 1) to be vigilant and monitor actions of

local authorities, anticipating tricks or new anti-Islamic initiatives; 2) not to trust the authorities, because officials were acting together with Orthodox bishops; 3) to deny all novelties of the administration in the sphere of school education; not to allow rural communities to open Russian-Tatar and tradesmen schools in villages and, if they were opened, they were to be boycotted; 4) to steel oneself for further aggravation of Islam and Muslims legal status; 5) to do everything possible to strengthen Islam, not only opposing the administration, but also teaching children the basics of Islam at schools, not to be indifferent to the problems faced by Muslims; 6) to send authorised Muslims to the Emperor, in order to let him know that the authorities interfere with freedom of religion and encroach upon religious rights of their co-religionists [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 791, s. 78–80 reverse].

Finally, it's worth mentioning that socially active Muslims, who, as a rule, knew Russian played an important role in the organisation of submitting petitions. Some of them earned a living initiating and composing collective petitions [Farkhshatov, 2010, pp. 197–198].

On the whole, the protest of the Tatar and Bashkir rural communities against anti-Islamic initiatives of the autocracy was expressed in the following manner: 1) refusal of school head masters to give away handwritten books in accordance with the directions; 2) submitting petitions to different bodies with demands for the abolishment or delays in realising the discriminatory laws; 3) forced migration to the Ottoman Empire.

The Ministry of National Education set forth a task to confiscate all handwritten textbooks and foreign publications from educational institutions by 1 January 1893. The realisation of the directive started in the Orenburg Board of Education. On 31 October 1892 inspector V. Katarinsky visited the Tatar schools of Orenburg. The head masters stated that: 1) the prohibition of foreign publications of a religious nature, which did no harm the interest of the state, equaled intervention in the Islamic religion, as these books were used for teaching

candidates for the posts of imams and mugalims; 2) prior to prohibition it was necessary to publish all textbooks which had been previously published abroad in Russia; 3) hand over the existing foreign books to the censor committee for competent judgment; 4) postpone the enforcement of the circular dated 10 July 1892 prepared by Minister I. Delyanov.

The curator of the Orenburg Board of Education decided to keep foreign books 'in the learning process', but asked the head masters to sent one book each for competent judgment, moreover he ordered to commence the confiscation of hand-written books (according to the decree of the Ministry of National Education, hand-written textbooks were prohibited in Russian secondary and primary schools).

In response to the active actions of the officials of Orenburg guberniya, which took place in the first half of 1893, many rural communities filed petitions addressed to the governor 'with demands to keep hand-written textbooks' in confessional schools¹². Some rural communities looked into the matter more broadly: they asked 'to free maktab and madrasahs from the control' of the Ministry of National Education and hand them over to the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly. So, virtually they offered to change the legal basis for confessional schools, which would allow them to legally make schools inaccessible to inspectors.

According to R. Fakhretdin's data, over a thousand petitions were filed to the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly. The petitions were against the circular and ordinance of the Orenburg governor (dated 9 September 1892), according to which the Tatar schools of the Orenburg Cossack Army had to be closed [Fakhretdin, 2011, p. 173].

The temporary suspension of the circular dated 10 July 1892 gave Muslims hope that with the help of petitions they could get other laws that encroached up their rights suspended. This circumstance can apparently explain the

appearance of a list of requests, demands to the texts of petitions, in other words, it explains the 'complex approach' in finding solutions to all the interconnected religious issues faced by Muslims within the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly region.

The anti-Islamic measures of the government were: submission of Muslim schools to the Ministry of National Education, confiscation of hand-written textbooks and 'resistance to initiatives of publishing of religious books, undesirable for Russia', appeals to elimination of the Spiritual Assembly, the reduction of mosques, the clergy and confessional schools (it is referred to a preposition of Ufa eparchy, expressed in the most humble report of Ober [Chief] Procurator of the Synod dated 1894—I. Z.), merger of Muslim volosts with Orthodox ones in order to assign 'Russian people' for volost and village posts [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 791, s. 70 reverse–71].

In 1891 the Chief Department for Press Affairs and the Ministry of Internal Affairs received the first complaints from Kazan publishers about the actions of censor V. Smirnov [Karimullin, 1983, p. 117]. In February 1892 27 imams from all the Orenburg and Seitov Posad mosques lodged a protest against 9 out of 11 abbreviations of the censor made to the Tatar manuscript 'Risalai gadai-l ikhvan' ('Рисаләи гадай-ль ихван') ('The Treatise of Brothers' Food). As a result, the Censor committee prohibited the publication of the manuscript [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 829, s. 199 reverse–200]. This decision created wide resonance in the Muslim community.

In March 1893 a group of Muslims representing major Tatar communities of Russia addressed the Department of Religious Affairs of Foreign Faiths¹³. The petitioners informed the head of the Department of Religious Affairs of Foreign Faiths in their 'Report Note' that the is-

¹² For example, residents of Kuzebakovskaya, Murzabayev and Ik Nazirovo in the Burzyan-Kipchak volost in the Orenburg uyezd asked about this (15 March 1893) [Farkhatov, 2010, p. 204].

¹³ The honorary citizen by birth Mustafa Adamov (Orenburg), temporary merchant Khaliulla Galeev (Kazan), representative of the residents of Seitov Posad, Orenburg guberniya, Mustafa Salikhov, representatives of Muslims from the Ufa guberniya: teachers N. Akhmerov and A. Akhmedzhanov.

sue of confiscation and correction of religious texts, along with the ordinance of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, according to which all hand-written and foreign religious books were to be confiscated from madrasahs and maktabas, were not a 'censoring formality' for the Muslim community of Russia. They were foundational for complying with the principle of freedom of religion in relations between the state and Islam: it showed the state's opinion on 'whether it is possible or not to allow the confession of Mohammedan belief in the forms and as per the religious directives, which have been exercised unchanged for more than 300 years' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 773, inv. 171, file 2271, s. 169–169 reverse].

Highlighting the absence of Muslim political and economic treatises, they were asked to pay attention to the following: 1) the fact of crossing out certain sentences and words by the Russian censor, the words which had been published freely in different religious books; 2) the fact that these deletions were made in texts proposed for repeated edition; 3) the fact that due to the circular of the Ministry of National Education (temporarily abolished) dated 10 July 1892 Muslims were unable to print full texts of their religious books abroad, 'meanwhile in Russia is almost impossible to do so' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 773, inv. 171, file 2271, s. 170–170 reverse].

In May 1894 the Ministry of Internal Affairs held a Special meeting with representatives of the Ministry of National Education and scientists-orientalists, dedicated to the issue of Muslim hand-written books. As a result of the meeting it was decided that 'these books could be allowed for maktabas and madrasahs' [Farkhshatov, 2010, pp. 211–212]. It would seem that the threat of handwritten manuals had passed. Meanwhile, the temporary suspension of I. Delyanov's circular generated among the population the assumption that the government intended to convert Muslims to Christianity after 1 January 1895 [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 791, s. 1 reverse]. A part of the population completely lost hope that living in the Russian state they would be

able to preserve their unique ethnic and confessional traditions, and the government would respect freedom of religion.

In this challenging environment a natural question arose: how to further counter the actions of the autocracy, which threatened the ethnic and cultural identity of the Muslim peoples. We can assume, that the tactics, developed by the Tatar merchantry and clergy, stipulated the filing of collective petitions to governmental bodies on behalf of the authoritative Tatars from different regions of Russia. These petitions would explain the concerns and reasons for worries of the Muslim community, moreover, they would contain short but concrete solutions to the problems. They were aimed at the restoration of the previous cultural and religious autonomy of the Tatars and Bashkirs and proposed to abolish the temporarily discontinued circular of the Ministry of National Education from 10 July 1892, as well as other laws on Islamic institutions, which had been previously adopted. Or at least this is the feeling we got from studying the collective petitions filed to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1894.

Most of the aspects of 'the national issue' were competently exposed in the collective plea from 14 people, calling themselves 'the deputies and representatives of Mohammedans from different governorates'. This plea was presented to the Minister of Internal Affairs I. Durnovo (no later than 13 June 1894) [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 791, s. 51–55 reverse] by well-known entrepreneurs of Kazan, Kasimov, Irkutsk and imams from the Kazan and Orenburg and Ufa guberniyas¹⁴.

¹⁴ The petition was signed by Kazan merchants Muhammadrakhim Yunusov, Muhammadzhan Galeev, Orenburg merchants Mirkhaidar Kurpyachev, Khasan Enaliev, Kasimov merchant Khabibulla Akbulatov, entrepreneurs Rakhmetulla Khalitov and Nazir Bikbulatov, a merchant from Irkutsk (?), clergymen: imams from Kazan Abdulkayum Abdulbadygov and Galimzhan Galeev (Barudi), imams of the Orenburg guberniya Mukhammadsaifa Alabirdin and Shagiakhmet Imtikov, of the Ufa guberniya Mukhetdin Akhmetov, Sabir Birabiyev [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 791, s. 55 reverse].

The authors of the pleas said that it was their 'moral obligation to speak out clearly and openly' about the reasons of worries among their co-religionists on the topic of observance of their religious rights. Moreover, they wanted to disprove the opinion, which had been established in the Russian press and governmental circles, according to which the 'troubled minds' of Muslims could be explained by their 'fanaticism' and clerical influence.

The authors of the petition signified the 'Regulations' of 1870 as the key reason for the existing situation. The petitioners stated that if the appearance of Russian classes in madrasahs had been regarded as 'an unnatural phenomenon' in their religious system of education, than the circular of the Ministry of National Education dated 10 July 1892 was assessed as 'an intervention' of the government 'into the sphere of their religious belief'. Furthermore, the authors of the address saw a political motive in the authorities' actions. They called this act 'suspicion in strength of Islamic political views', underlining that 'not a single word contrary to the governmental views has been ever said in madrasahs and maktabas'. The law dated 16 July 1888, included the impossible to meet requirement, according to which all candidates for assessors of the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly had to study for 4 years in a gymnasium, was called the third reason for Muslims' concerns. The fourth reason for people's discontent was the restriction of publishing holy and theological books, which had been previously published in full volume, and their publishing with shortened or cut-out passages, which worsened their sense and value.

The 1892–1894 governmental measures aimed at encroaching on religious rights of Muslims contributed to the increase in social

activity of different groups of Muslims—the Tatars and Bashkirs. They more bravely announced their demands, proving the illegitimacy of the actions of the Imperial authorities, which were destroying the fundamental principles of freedom of religion.

The 1892–1894 petition campaign showed the government its blunders and the necessity to act more carefully while regulating the system of national education of Muslims. Petitions played a determined role in having the government admit that it was unjust in accusing Muslims of disloyalty to the autocracy. Moreover, the obstinate search of the separatist movement in their community appeared to be ineffective. Furthermore, the government acknowledged its role in formation of the negative attitude towards measures aimed at cultural assimilation and destruction of the Tatars' and Bashkirs' autonomous culture, as well as at creation of the national Russian state. The addresses indicated a growing movement for the preservation of religious and cultural autonomy by Muslims, as well as the increasingly active involvement of certain groups of Muslims in the country's politics and public life. The petition campaigns led to the correction of Muslim religious books being stopped, and a list of books, allowed to be used in maktabas and madrasahs, was prepared. The government gave its consent to the usage of hand-written textbooks in educational institutions.

Driven by the unrest and commenced migration to the Ottoman State the government had to hold a meeting in 1894, as a result of which it approved a list of books, allowed 'for use' in confessional schools. This managed to take the issue of revising hand-written and printed books, used during the learning process in madrasahs and maktabas, off the table.

§ 3. Protests Against Holding of the 1897 First General Census of the Population

In the mid-1890s the credit of trust in the government among a large part of the Volga-Ural region Muslims had been exhausted. This was shown by the events, linked to the 1897 First General Census of the population, which

was intended to examine each household and collect detailed data on every family member as per European standards.

Apart from the novelty of this statistical event, the governorate administrations did

not take enough time to explain the aims and goals of the census (October 1896), which was a great omission. Moreover, the nationalities of census takers did not conform with ethnic and confessional set of the population living in census areas. Almost all census takers were not Muslims, which deprived rural communities of the opportunity to receive information from their co-religionists.

The publishing of census forms in Russian and Tatar languages could have brought about a unique opportunity of census taking in the Tatar language. However, despite acute shortage of census takers knowing the Tatar language, the governors did not venture to take this step.

The column for indication of class affiliation caused unrest in Ufa guberniya. The problem was that the Tatars equated the word 'peasant' with the term 'Christian'. That is why, 'in order to calm down the local population', on 28 December 1896 governor N. Bogdanovich issued a circular, which allowed other Muslims of the governorate (not only the Bashkirs) to write 'Bashkir' instead of 'peasant' in 4th paragraph of the census form [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1290, inv. 10, file 244, s. 20–20 reverse].

Due to an information vacuum, caused by the fact that Muslims did not know Russian and by the drawbacks of administrative explanatory work, playful and scornful words of the volost administrators, certain peasants and even Russian census takers in response to Muslims' requests to explain the aim of data collection and to give an answer 'whether they are going to be baptised after the census' provoked boycotts of this statistical event, which had been already underway in villages [Ronin, 1913, pp. 179–180; Zagidullin, 2000, pp. 128–131, 136–141].

The Tatar bourgeoisie had nothing to do with the peasant disturbances. It had to face existing mass social protest of corn growers and decided to seize the moment and affect the authorities by organisation of the petition filing campaign with a reminder of the main demands of Muslims: they distributed proclamations with appeals to boycott the census

for the sake of protecting Islam, to carry out the petition campaign, not to obey the clergy, to send pleas to foreign embassies in order to draw attention of the international community to the encroachment of Muslims' rights.

The movement of submitting petitions, based on the date of their filing in Kazan Governorate covers the period from 30 December 1896 to 17 January 1897. Three city mahallahs (from Kazan and Tetyushi) and 218 rural communities filed their petitions.

In December 1896–beginning of January 1897 the census takers conducted a preliminary household census in order to unravel and mark changes in household compositions on January 28 during village meetings.

From that moment the events developed along two scenarios: the census began peacefully in those rural communities where census-takers were Muslim Tatars, primarily local mullahs. However, before it was completed, under the influence of rumours about baptismal spread by the Tatars, coming from Kazan and markets, dwellers demanded to stop the census and asked census takers not to hand over census forms to the officials before completion of the census in neighbouring Tatar villages. In some cases, thanks to the influence of authoritative fellow villagers, the census was completed. Another scenario was more typical to the areas, where disturbances occurred: 'The Tatar population... is deeply preoccupied and announces that it won't allow any census takers and won't believe any explanations and notifications of the authorities' [Zagidullin, 2000, p. 169].

Mosques during the period under consideration became places for holding 'small' rural meetings. After namaz, the congregation discussed the issues related to the census and exchanged news about the state of affairs in neighbouring villages. Simultaneously, unauthorised rural meetings were organised at night, where oppositional measures were discussed.

It was not infrequent for rural communities to agree upon joint actions, if they noticed a census taker and policemen. They wanted to prevent the census in every household, in order

to avert a possible split in society. It's important to note that a group of officials from the bodies of peasant self-administration led this oppositional disobedience movement. Their high position in society and organisational skills made the Tatar peasants' speeches more organised and united.

The government made the census a personal duty of the population, disobedience to which was punished as a provocation against the autocracy. For the purpose of performing the census on time, the governors of Vyatka, Kazan and Ufa received the right of emergency powers on the basis of 'The provisions about the measures on defending the public order and social peace' on the 14th of August 1881.

Three punitive detachments were formed in the Kazan guberniya. The first (regiment of soldiers) under the command of vice-governor from the 10th of January rode around the settlements of Mamadyshsky, Laishevo, Spassky and Tetyushsky uyezds, having the participants disciplined with the rod and the activists from the resistance arrested. The second punitive detachment (3 detachments) under the command of the governor P. Poltoratsky from the 19th to the 30th of January was performing arrests and executions in the settlements of Kazansky, Tsaryovokokshaysky and Tsvil'sky uyezds. The third party (160 bayonets), having arrived in Chistopol on the 14th of January, conducted the census of the city Tatars. From the 19th to the 30th of January, the local authorities, with the assistance of troops had arrested 254 peasants in Chistopol uyezd, criminal cases were later initiated against them and the majority of them suffered punishment. The execution was not performed [Zagidullin, 2000, pp. 166–213].

According to incomplete data, Tatar addresses were held in 85 volosts of Kazan guberniya and covered 422 settlements. Eliminating the opposition in rural communities with the assistance of troops in eight out of ten uyezds Tatars lived in, was decisive in speeding up the census.

In a number of settlements of the Ufimsky, Zlatoustovsky, Birs'k and in a large part of villages of Belebey uyezds people refused

to supply information, did not let in and (or) drove away recorders and destroyed the census questionnaires. Only through active advocacy of the administration and the clergy were open clashes avoided [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 1290, inv. 10, file 244, s. 9–9 reverse]. In Kuruchevskaya volost of Belebey Uyezd, several hundred people attacked the zemstvo chief, he was saved from torture by the local mullahs. In the village Akhmetyevo of Menzelinsky uyezd, the zemstvo chief was beaten, the district superintendent of police was beaten in the village Melitaka. With the arrival of troops, unrest in the western volosts of Belebey Uyezd ceased and the census continued. Two detachments of soldiers remained in the Menzelinsky uyezd from the 9th to the 18th of January: one (under the command of the vice-governor) in the north-eastern volosts, another (under the command of the uyezd police officer) in the western and southern volosts. At the very beginning of his travel through uyezds, the vice-governor conducted public punishment of 15 obstinate peasants in one of the Tatar settlements. In other locales zemstvo chiefs brought about order within their duties [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 791, s. 184–189].

A number of Tatar rural communities of Yelabuzhsky and Malmyzhsky uyezds of Vyatka guberniya prevented the preliminary census in December 1896. To intimidate the rural communities, on January 11 the police officer of the Yelabuzhsky uyezd arrested without charge or trial 70 Tatar peasants from nearby villages, who arrived for the fair in Yelabuga, which allowed them to finish the census in the uyezd by the 17th of January [Märdanov, 2007].

The head of Samara guberniya rode with a military squadron (4 detachments) to the Bugulma Uyezd to suppress 30 Tatar rural communities who rebelled against the census, troops were also sent to the defiant authorities village Borovka of Stavropolsky uyezd [State Archive of Samara Oblast, f. 3, inv. 233, file 1492, s. 24–25].

The Mullahs provided invaluable help to the local administration in the regions: they explained to their parishioners the gist of the cen-

sus, convinced them, that this innovation bore no threat to Islam, advised the police about the names of activists, who offered resistance to the census. For the cooperation of mullahs with the administration, the Ministry Of Internal Affairs expressed gratitude to the mufti of Orenburg on behalf of the Government [Rus-

sian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 791, s. 190–190 reverse].

Thus, police measures, implementing military control, cruel public executions in a number of uyezds of the North Volga Region and Cis-Urals proved crucial as Muslims admitted in the census.

§ 4. Movements of Forced Resettlement to the Ottoman Empire

The Russian conquest of Muslim territories and further integration of regions into the imperial political and legal field gradually led to the transformation of traditional social institutions of local societies. Distrust and disloyalty to the new authority were often expressed as the mass migration of the population from the outlying districts to neighbouring Muslim countries. Waves of mass resettlements of Crimean Tatars, Nogais, Caucasian people were provoked by concrete reforms of the Russian authorities. They had a clear political content and demonstrated the reluctance on the part of the population to accept Russia as their new homeland and their preference of the Ottoman Empire Sultan—khalif—the protector of all the world's Muslims. It should be noted that at some point those migrations were profitable for Russian state—the most ardent and discontented with the new regime Muslims left the country, leaving the place to be populated by inhabitants from other governorates, who served as the social foundation for the authorities on the Muslim outskirts. The existence of such an agreement between Russia and Turkey is well-known: the first solved the problem of liberating the native population of the Black Sea region, the second received human resources for the economic development of unpopulated regions [Türkoğlu, 2012, p. 476].

The migratory flows of Tatars in the first half of the 19th century were determined, first of all, by social and religious motives and were conditioned by the prevailing traditional economic, trade and cultural connections. The Central Asian States were an important migration route. In large centres of Asian commerce

some Tatars merchants had their own trade offices. Moreover, the Tatar Diasporas that appeared in Central Asian cities played an important role in the successful commerce of Central Asia. A part of the Tatars arrived there to avoid compulsory military service or criminal sanction, while another part was in desperate need and in search of better life. In the early 19th century, Bukhara, Samarkand, Khiva and Shirbyaza had communities of Tatar refugees. They settled in small groups, usually in caravanserais. Most of them lived in poverty, some engages in trade and crafts. Another part of Tatar Diaspora consisted of shakirds of madrasah. It is known, that there were 60 madrasahs in Bukhara [Shkunov, 2007, p. 184–186].

The influence of mass migrations to the south of Russia by various Muslim peoples cannot be excluded from the emergence and strengthening of intentions among Tatars to resettle in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century [Kylynch, 2012, p. 45].

The escalating situation around the issue of the upcoming baptism of Muslims in the Volga-Ural Region began in the mid- 19th century, when after almost two decades of peace after the military actions of 1828–1829 relations between Russia and Turkey once again went 'on the war path'. Tatars from the Middle Volga Region, who lived in contact zones with Russians, saw the intensification of Pan-Slavism in the Empire and were aware of the reasons for the war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. It was thought that Christians 'suffered persecution' in the Ottoman Empire and this became a reason for the Russian Emperor to get justice. The Tatars interpreted the beginning of military

actions as evidence of the serious intentions of Nicholas I, who acted as protector of all the world's Orthodox. Because of this some Tatars concluded that if 'Christians suffered persecution' in Turkey, then the government would 'act in exactly the same manner' with Muslim subjects of Russia.

A series of initiatives by the Russian authorities contributed to the appearance of such views. Pursuant to the report by his most humble Civil Governor of Orenburg for 1852, Nicholas I I ordered that efforts to Christianise the 'heathen' in Orenburg Oblast be intensified. Pursuant to the Synod's decision on 5 September 1853, 15 additional priests were sent to the parishes of Belebey, Menzelinsky and Birskey uyezds, where followers of more traditional religions had previously settled. They took with them instructions for converting the 'infidels' to Christianity. The Russian Orthodox Church also intensified its missionary work in the region. As a result, in the spring 1854 rumors spread in Belebey Uyezd, Orenburg guberniya and in Samara guberniya that the Emperor had ordered 'all Muslims' and pagans be forcefully baptised. During periods of military upheaval, the authorities sought to quickly 'stamp out the fire' among Muslims. Upon appeal by the authorities in Orenburg and Samara guberniyas, the Russian Orthodox Church in June 1854 suspended attempts at Christianisation [Materialy', 1936, pp. 158–159, 163–164].

During Russia's military campaign against Islamic countries, the authorities regarded Muslim Tatars as 'unreliable' citizens, and their clergy as 'fanatics'; the police began to 'visit' Tatar madrasahs more frequently, where shakirds from different areas of the country studied, and went to villages where they checked passports in order to find agitators and other enemies of Russia. This occurred, in particular, during the Crimean War. Tatars were suspected of aiding the Turkish Sultan, who was the caliph of all Muslims around the world. During the Crimean War, Authorities in Orenburg guberniya believed that the local Muslim population was waiting for the Turkish army to appear and 'free all Muslims from

the yoke of Christianity' [Materialy', 1936, pp. 196–197].

According to information provided by researcher Agness Kefeli-Clay, before the Crimean War and in 1865 and 1867, sufis and mullahs could be seen walking among the Chuvash and Mari people in Samara guberniya, attempting to convince them to go to Turkey and wait for 'Retribution Day'. They 'followed the tradition of Hijrah, which was started by the Prophet Muhammad when, in 622, his enemies forced him to flee from Mecca to Medina. They proclaimed the end of the world and the complete victory of Islam; in passionate speeches they reawakened in people's memories the prophecies of Mahdi (like the Messiah or our Savior), who, according to tradition, would restore justice upon the earth at the end of time. They believed that the Turkish Sultan would rule over all Muslim lands and restore the Kazan Khanate' [Kefeli, 2005, pp. 544. 569]. Certain actions on the part of both spiritual and secular leaders also contributed to tensions among Muslim groups. The Russian ambassador to Constantinople, Duke G. Ignatyev's thoughts on this are very interesting. In 1865 he noted that while Russian Muslims from the Volga Region had previously participated in the hajj, they never intended to move to Turkey. In his opinion, local officials and internal state policy were behind this phenomenon: 'our administrative actions and management style should dictate the mindset of Muslims living in Russian lands' [Materialy', 1936, p. 216].

Governor General of Orenburg, N. Kryzhanovsky, wrote on 31 January 1867 that reforms in the Bashkir army, which had been enacted under the influence of Muslim clerics, provided inspiration for many Bashkirs, Mishar Tatars and Teptyars to move to Turkey or Siberia to join Cossack regiments [Materialy', 1936, p. 197]. The following rumors, which were widespread among the Muslim population, were recorded by authorities in Orenburg guberniya: that the State intended to seize ancestral lands belonging to the Bashkirs; to convert Muslims to Christianity; and to extend compulsory military service for former

soldiers, which up to that time had included only members of taxable estates¹⁵.

As we know from letters provided by the gendarmerie in 1865, some clergy maintained ties with their relatives or fellow villagers in Turkey. According to information obtained during secret interrogations conducted by the police in Kazan and Simbirsk guberniyas, appeals for resettlement in order to avoid baptism were coming from A. Alkin, the former muezzin of Chechkab village, Sviyazhsky uyezd, and from his murshid, the mullah of Almetevo village, Chistopol uyezd. Ataulla Nigmatullin [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 270, s. 54–55 reverse]. Except for newly baptised Tatars, sufis appealed for resettlement to former lashmans, who, after they were officially registered by the State in 1860, became subject to military conscription. They told them that in the Ottoman Empire they would be free from compulsory military service and taxes [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 2, file 2111, s. 1–1 reverse].

Usually peasants left in small groups. In Chistopol uyezd, of the 95 peasants suspected of emigrating by the police, 16 had left with their families, having sold all their belongings. Some families managed to leave their native villages in Sviyazhsky, Tetyushsky, and Spassky uyezds before their passports were confiscated by the State in the spring of 1865 [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 2, file 2111, s. 11–80].

Having learned that Muslims were beginning to emigrate from the Middle Volga Region to Turkey, the Ministry of Internal Affairs sent out a secret injunction on 17 August 1865 against delivery of foreign passports to Tatars [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1175, s. 2].

The emigration of Tatars from the Cis-Ural and Volga Regions increased and took on all

the characteristics of local movements during the reform. Distrust of government reforms, which some Tatars regarded merely as attempts at baptism, together with the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, the Tatar peasant movement of 1878–1879, and other anti-government peasant protests—in general, the entire notion of the 'national question'—only increased the distrust of these reforms. Motivated by these events, emigrants put preservation of their ethno-religious identity above all and agreed to change their citizenship. Emigration to a foreign land became, for them, a unique form of protest: they did not want to live in a country that trespassed on their religious rights, although, in reality, this was often based more on rumor than fact.

Another reason for emigration was the deterioration of the social and economic position of the rural population, which was aggravated by frequent poor harvests and years of hunger. And letters from their fellow countrymen in Turkey, from which they learned of state support for immigrants, provided hope for a better life [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 2, file 2111, s. 32–32 reverse]. Enterprising people regarded emigration as a source of new opportunities for enrichment.

In the beginning of the 1890's people in the Orenburg region became convinced that the authorities were persecuting Muslims, and that a mass baptism of Muslims was about to occur; that parish and clerical leaders were servants of the authorities and thus did not defend religious interests. These notions were based upon several events: 1) Russian educational qualifications were demanded from mullahs 2) in 1890–1891 religious publications were censored 3) the publication of a circular by the Ministry of National Education on 10 July 1892 4) maktab and madrasahs were put under the authority of public school inspectors 5) several leading mudarrisii in Sterlitamaksky uyezd who had studied abroad were dismissed without cause from their posts; the madrasah in Iletsk was closed; a large group of shakirds from the madrasah in Khanskaya Stavka were fired.

¹⁵ As the events of the next few decades showed, these rumours proved to have some truth to them: Mishars, Bashkirs, and Teptyars were on military service, and the government carried out a policy of looting Bashkir patrimonial lands as the region was being actively colonised.

On 9 September 1892, the Orenburg Cossack Army Command issued an order to close all makhtabs and madrasahs in Tatar villages; Muslim discontent resulted very quickly in emigration to the Ottoman Empire.

From the moment the Ministry of National Education published its circular on 10 July 1892, a number of rural communities in Orenburg guberniya began to compose public condemnations and petitions addressed to the governor concerning the granting of foreign passports for resettlement to the Ottoman Empire. Some even presented an ultimatum: if the circular was not withdrawn, they would definitely leave Russia.

The Minister of Internal Affairs informed Alexander III about the emigration of Tatars. Alexander ordered them 'to halt and calm the people'. During the last days of April 1894, governors, gendarmerie and mufti in Orenburg concentrated all of their efforts on fulfilling the Emperor's orders [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 791, s. 4 reverse–5, 29–30 reverse, 33, 92 reverse].

Mufti M. Sultanov played an enormous role in calming the population. He composed an appeal to the clergy and sent it to mahallahs in Ufa, Orenburg, Samara, Kazan and other nearby Governorates; he went to villages in Ufa guberniya, where he explained the necessity of religious rights for Muslims, and called upon clergy from other governorates to meet. On 9 July–3 August, mufti Sultanov visited, on his own initiative, villages in Orenburg guberniya in which there had been unrest. As it turned out, citizens from numerous Cossack settlements had left the country after receiving foreign passports: 13 families left Zubochistensky settlement, 20 families left Chesnokovsky settlement, 5 left Rychkovsky settlement and so on. Thus, Orenburg guberniya became the source from which news of government attacks on Islam spread. Information about the intentions of some Muslims in Orenburg oblast to migrate reached other regions through two channels: 1) before leaving for Turkey, natives from other uyezds returned to their homeland to bid farewell to their relatives and told them about the situation in the

region, or wrote letters 2) based upon the situation in Orenburg guberniya, proclamations warning about the 'upcoming danger for Islam' and the necessity of resisting the opening of Russian schools were distributed [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 9602, s. 28–45 reverse].

If emigration had previously taken place secretly, either because an absence had been granted officially, as reflected in one's passport, or under the guise of pilgrimage, then now for the first time it became legal: through intermediaries, those wishing to emigrate composed group petitions in which they designated the name of the family wishing to leave and its head, its size and place of residence, and then sent them to the relevant agencies in the Ottoman Empire. This information was then forwarded to the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the various governorate administrations via the Turkish consulate. Imperial power stood in the way of those wishing to leave their native villages.

Several hundred Tatar families from Kazan guberniya, mostly from Chistopol uyezd (8 settlements), and a few from Spassky uyezd addressed the Ottoman authorities officially. During the investigation it turned out that in 1893 many decided to emigrate based upon proclamations concerning an upcoming baptism, and the rumor that, beginning in 1896, schools would be opened in settlements where children 8 years and older would be forced to learn Russian. They were firmly convinced that this would cause the children to take less of an interest in Islam and to change their religious affiliation. The sale of property increased after they heard that refugees were offered significant rights to fertile land, tax benefits, as well as cancellation of their debts to the Russian guberniya by the Ottoman authorities. In the spring of 1894 approximately 40 families from Chistopol uyezd secretly left Russia [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 9602, s. 25; file 9603, s. 17–17 reverse, 45–45 reverse]. The departure of mullah Mukhametvaleev from Narat-Elga village effected the locals greatly, although in his letters from Turkey he informed his fellow countrymen quite honestly about the difficulties muhajir faced there. 'I advise pa-

tience to those wishing to emigrate, as trade is not developed in this country: among the thousands who have moved here not one seems able to run a decent business. They live a sorry life. If they are ordered to study in Russian in every madrasah, there is really no harm in that, such things we will see here as well', he warned. 'If the authorities don't touch our religious beliefs, then it really isn't worth leaving [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 10050, s. 4].

Emigration ceased, however, in 1895, because many received letters from their fellow countrymen who had left, in which the Ottoman Empire's commitment to cancel their debts to the Russian authorities remained unconfirmed. Undoubtedly, investigative work by the authorities, persecution, the punishment of 'troublemakers', and the withdrawal of absence permits from peasants' passports played a major role in this. As a result, out of the 363 families that had petitioned the Turkish government for resettlement, only one local group managed to leave Kazan guberniya [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 9602, s. 71–71 reverse, 77–78].

In 1894, 94 householders from Bugulma Uyezd, Samara guberniya applied to the Ministry of Internal Affairs for approval to emigrate to the Ottoman Empire [State Archive of Samara Oblast, f. 3, inv. 10, file 1097, s. 82–83]. In April, the governor A. Bryanchaninov traveled around Bugulma and Buguruslan uyezds to explain the groundlessness of rumors, concerning the impending baptism. He visited 25 Tatar settlements, met with the clergy and summoned people from nearby villages to these settlements. There they were given a written document in which the religious rights of Muslims was explained [State Archive of Samara Oblast, f. 3, inv. 233, file 1373, s. 2–10]. This same goal was at the heart of the governor of Ufa's 'announcement' [Tardzheman, 1894, No. 23, 1 June] and the appeal launched by mufti M. Sultanov on 12 April 1894 to fellow akhunds and imams concerning the need to clarify the situation: 'there will be no forced baptism, and all natural born Muslims in Russia may freely

practice Islam as they did previously, do so now, and may in the future as guaranteed by law' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 807, s. 181–182].

Unrest among Tatars in Buinsky Uyezd, Simbirsk guberniya, abated after the local governor visited villages in August [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 791, s. 149].

As a result of a new wave of emigration brought about by fear of baptism, authorities conducted a new census in 1897 in several of the Middle Volga and Cis-Urals guberniyas. Altogether there were 395 families in Samara and Ufa guberniya planning to emigrate to Turkey. The authorities sent the first group of immigrants from Samara and Ufa (448 people) back to their native settlements in 1898; the second group of Tatars (373 people) received passports and were allowed to enter the city of Samsun [Guseva, 2008, p. 172]. In 1899 the citizens of several villages in Bugulma Uyezd were quite excited about the idea of resettlement. But on 29 April 1899 a meeting took place in the police department, to which interested representatives of the central government were invited. The main subject discussed was how to put an end to the emigration of Russian Muslims to the Ottoman Empire [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 791, s. 198]. Involuntary resettlement of Tatars in the 1890s was classified by the police department as 'religious and political ferment' [Iskhakov, 2007, p. 69]¹⁶. Indeed, emigration of Tatars to Turkey at the end of the 19th century became a form of political protest against the internal politics of autocracy, a reflection of Catherine's ideas on public-Islamic relations.

Thus, in the latter half of the 19th century one way in which Muslims could protest the infringement of their rights by the government was through involuntary emigration from internal governorates to the Ottoman Empire, where they counted on the support of an Islamic state and the Caliph.

¹⁶ The ban on Hajj for Russian Muslims was lifted by the government only five years later, in 1901 [Iskhakov, 2007, p. 73].

CHAPTER 5

Vaisov Movement

Dilyara Usmanova

In the latter half of 19th century a movement took place among the Muslim population of the Volga Region which was known in the literature of the time as the Vaisov Movement or 'God's Regiment of Vaisov Muslim Old Believers' [Katanov, 1909; Sagidullin, 1930; Klimovich, 1936; Quelquejay, 1959; Kemper, 1998, pp. 393–429; Valeev, 1999; Kemper, Usmanova, 2001, pp. 86–122; Usmanova, 2002; Crews, 2006; Valeev, 2007; Kemper, 2008; Frank, 2008; Usmanova, 2009]. This movement represented a complicated symbiotic union of religious, social, ethnic, cultural and political conditions that united, at certain historical stages, a considerable part of the Tatar population in Kazan guberniya. Chronologically, the movement dates to the period between 1862 and 1923, and passed through several crucial developmental steps. The history of the Vaisov Movement is usually broken down into four periods: from the moment it was declared an independent community in 1862 until the mid-1880s; from the mid-1880s until 1905; from 1905 to some time in the 1910s, and from 1917 until the middle of the 1920s.

Although the movement is constantly linked in the literature of the period with members of one family, namely, Bagautdin, Gainan and Gazizyan Vaisov, for whom it was named, it would, nevertheless, be erroneous to attribute the entire movement only to them. Three historical personalities, Dzhagfar Salikhov, Gabdullat'f Khalitov and Bagautdin Vaisov, were the original architects of the movement. Their vision, ideas and practicality gave rise to a specific community that later evolved into a full-scale socio-religious movement.

Although Sheikh Dzhagfar had no immediate relation to the Vaisov community, nevertheless, in all of the documents pertaining

to the Vaisovs, he was portrayed as the moral compass and spiritual forerunner of the movement. Dzhagfar al-Kulatki al-Bulgari Salikhov (1790–1862) was born in the village of Staraya Kulatka in Khvalynsk uyezd, Saratov guberniya [Archive of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Saint-Petersburg, f. 131, inv. 1, file 2, s. 21–24; Fäxreddin, 1908, pp. 389–391; Usmanova, 2009, pp. 36–40]. After years of studying in a Kazan madrasah under Khazrat Muhammad-Karim bin Gabdrakhim, he embarked on a long journey. He spent time in Tashkent and Samarkand in Central Asia, and lived in Bukhara for more than three years. There, he mainly met with sufi scholars (*golyama*), among which was his mentor, a well-known *sheikh* belonging to the Nakshband Brotherhood, Abdul-Khaliq al-Ballikuli al-Kazanly. There he also spent time in reflection, prayed and took part in ritual radeniya at the tomb of Bagautdin Nakshbandi, who died in 1389. From Turkestan Dzh. Salikhov set off on the *hajj*. After traveling in Baghdad and Egypt, he settled down in Medina, where for more than 12 years he was a cemetery watchman (*mudzhavir*) and dervish. In 1834/1835 (the year 1250 according to Hijrah), after eighteen years of travel, he returned to his native land in tatters, a half-blind dervish. Dzhagfar-ishan's fame spread far and wide, and he attracted many scholars, devotees and disciples. Equally numerous were his enemies—representatives of the official clergy. Following his next failed pilgrimage, (Dzh. Salikhov only managed to get as far as the Caucasus [al-Bulgari, 1874]) where, returning to his native village, he died in December 1862 at the age of 72. Dzh. Salikhov left almost no significant written works, yet he was an active preacher and had many students and followers who considered him their spiritual leader. Among the lat-

ter were B. Vaisov and G. Khalitov, architects of the Old Believer community. Former imam in the village of Bedenga, Simbirsk guberniya, Gabdullat'f Khalitov (Gabdullat'f bin Khalid al-Bidengi, 1809/1810–1891) was stripped, in the middle of the 1870's, of his priestly rank for improper behavior, and found himself in opposition to the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly. Experts believed that he was the most educated of the two, and the author of the majority of works published by them in the 1870s. And yet, it was dervish Bagautdin Khamzin Vaisov (1819/1820–1893) who was the real founder of God's Regiment of Muslim Old Believers [Fäxreddin, Asar, manuscript, b. 180–183 reverse].

B. Vaisov was the epitomy of a 19th century thinker, one whose actions remained within the confines of Islamic religious tradition. His works and other documents dating from this period demonstrate this. This independent religious community took shape over the course of two decades, from the 1860's to the middle of the 1880's.

B. Vaisov's early biography is replete with conflicting accounts and distortions, and was, to a great degree, mythologised by his followers and descendants. We do know that B. Vaisov was born in the village of Satlamyshevo, Sviyazhsk uyezd, Kazan guberniya either in 1810, according to some sources, or 1819–1820, according to others. And yet, he was registered as a peasant in the village of Molvino, where, up to the late 1870s, he shared a plot of land with his brother. Having lost his father early in life, B. Vaisov was raised, together with his brother and sister, by his mother, Bibizhamilya Muhamedyarovna, who moved them to Kazan. After studying in a Kazan madrasah (some sources say it was the one attached to the 2nd Cathedral Mosque), he became a trader. Sometime around 1841, having heard of a famous Ishan from Kulatki, he became acquainted with him and decided to become his 'disciple'; he 'studied' with him for 20 years, up to the death of Dzh. Salikhov.

When the sheikh from Kulatki died, B. Vaisov proclaimed himself his successor (*khalifa*), gathered together his disciples and like-minded

followers, and began to preach. In the first half of the 1860s B. Vaisov founded a separate community in Kazan and opened a prayer house on the estate he owned in Novotatarskaya settlement. Beginning in the 1860's he often asked the authorities for material support of his community. He also sharply criticised the official Muslim clergy and leaders of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, accusing them of transgressions, of corruption, immorality and retreating from 'true Islam'. At the same time, B. Vaisov continued to preach among his followers.

The Vaisovs' first public appearance took place in 1874 in conjunction with the publication of 'Tarik-i-Khodzhagan, ' an essay dedicated to Dzh. Salikhov's life and views. In this work B. Vaisov wrote not only about the famous Ishan's life, including his trip to the Caucasus and his views on Muslim society there, but also expressed his willingness to pray for the health of the Tsar, to contribute to the appeasement of the Muslim population, and to strengthen the power of the Russian Tsar among unruly Muslim communities. In the 1870–1880s B. Vaisov and G. Khalitov published several works: an essay on Muslim law, which included a commentary; a volume of verse ascribed to Bagautdin Nakshbandi and collected by Dzh. Salikhov and others [älbulgari, 1874; Divan-i-Shakh-i-Nakshband, 1874]. An entire series of essays written by B. Vaisov, in which he attacked the mufti quite harshly, were not approved for publication by the censor. The originals were stored in the censor's archives [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 777, 1881, inv. 3, file 5; Usmanova, 2009, p. 66–71, 498–511].

Most probably after the dervish's death, his son Gainan published a part of his 'literary heritage' in a reworked form under the title Dzhavakhir-i khikmat-i darvishan (Kazan, 1907, 2nd edition). In this essay the author, (it was actually B. Vaisov who wrote most of the book), reflects on Judgement Day, which was expected in the year 1300 (1882) according to Hijrah), criticises contemporary life, and condemns the vices of Tatar-Muslim society and representatives of 'official Islam'.

The Vaisovs regarded the authorities' actions as Satan's machinations (*Dajjal*), and the world's vices as signs of the end of the world and Judgement Day. The omen of the upcoming arrival of *Dajjal* (Antichrist, Satan) in the process of Russification saw local and central authorities pursuing the Muslim population in many vices and immorality, affecting the Kazan Tartars, led by the mufti and the qadies. The confrontation with the leaders of the Orenburg Religious Board of Muslims laid the foundation for the negative attitude the Vaisovs developed for dominant Islam, the approach to which they clearly formulated as early as the beginning of the 20th century.

B. Vaisov proclaimed himself to be the foreteller of the world's end, had the title of 'commander' (*sardar*), and called his followers members of the so-called saving group (*firka-i-nadzhiya*). A dervish-guided turning back to true Islam was seen as a condition necessary for salvation. The eschatological component of Vaisovs' religious doctrine was formulated in the works of B. Vaisov; from the 1870's to the 1890's it was the main language used to describe social and political reality. With an allowance for some originality of the eschatological concept by B. Vaisov (first of all, his dating), religious thinking of the community founder is traditionally seen in the context of other eschatological movements (of the Mahdism type) that gained ground in many Muslim countries with the advent of the 14th century AH [Kemper, 1998, pp. 393–429].

Later, Vaisovs' texts pushed eschatological language to the sidelines and rationalised the vision of the political situation. 'The Saving Group' that spoke of salvation and Judgement Day was gradually evolving into a 'sect', that applied to officers of the imperial authorities, and, later, to the members of Duma, realised its special social position and that 'segregation' within the Muslim community had some political advantages.

The central idea of Bulgar heritage was the core of Vaisovs' historical genealogy and religious teaching. The Vaisovs called themselves the Bulgars (*al-Bulgari*) and old believing Muslims, ignoring class and ethnic names

like 'Tatar', 'peasant', 'honorary citizen by birth', etc. The Vaisovs believed that, being the ancestors of the Bulgars, they were more ancient and genuine ('true') Muslims compared to the Tatars, because their faith was 'al-misaktan-birle', that is had existed since the covenant between the Abraham of the Old Testament and God himself. The Vaisovs employed 'Old Believer' as a term of self-representation, mainly in documents written in Russian, where they referred to this Orthodox phenomenon, quite familiar to non-Muslims. Meanwhile, the Vaisovs pointed out that they were Muslim Old Believers and realised they were not similar to the Russian Old Believers.

De-facto, the group positioned itself as a separate class, as it ignored bureaucratic instances and contacted the Emperor through 'holy statements' and petitions. The Vaisovs rejected usual class affiliation, and, therefore, claimed the status of a specific clerical order. Mismatch between Russian-language categories (and appropriate practices) and original self-describing categories that the Vaisovs adopted forced them to invent their own Russian-language term for class identity 'born in Islam', instead of the generally recognised class denomination ('peasant', 'bourgeois', etc.), and to compile a so-called 'Holy Oath List' — a kind of identification document that the Vaisovs attempted to introduce in replacement of a civil passport. [Usmanova, 2009, p. 119].

The Vaisovs recognised only the direct power of the Emperor, denied any submission to civil authorities, and refused compulsory military service. Prayer read five times a day dedicated to the health of the Tsar was plain duty for the Vaisovs, who believed in protection of the higher power to be superior, compared to that of armed weaponry. This idea became the core of the pacifist ideas that the Vaisovs expressed in the first decades of the movement's existence.

More than once, the personal and family life of B. Vaisov gave reason to authorities for his persecution¹⁷. B. Vaisov never turned to a par-

¹⁷ B. Vaisov had at least five wives. The first two died in 1870 while giving birth, and his marriage with



Gravestone on the grave of B. Waisev.
Settlement Staraya Kulatka of the Staraya Kulatka
district of Ulyanovsk oblast. Photo, 2005.



Cover page of B. Waisev's work 'Tariq-i Khojagan'
(Kazan, 1874).

ish imam and personally performed all important rites (baptism, funerals and even marriage/*nikah*), which drew violent criticism from imams as well as from the leaders of the Orenburg Religious Board of Muslims. The official clergy was frustrated as B. Vaisov became a de-facto imam without any legal grounds. Numerous conflicts resulted in the fact that by early 1880s B. Vaisov claimed that the members of his community would completely ignore mosques and official mullahs, attempt to introduce their own parish registers, and not recognise the Orenburg Religious Board of Muslims.

The activity of the movement leader, Bagautdin Vaisov, made the authorities anxious, and in the late 1870's to the early 1880's, he was repeatedly brought before civil and criminal court and examined by psychiatrists. In January 1885, the head of the 'sect' and some of his followers were arrested. Those Vaisovs

the third was declared illegitimate. Out of Vaisov's numerous children (according to our calculations, there were more than 20, while according to Vaisov himself, he had 42 sons), the majority died at a very young age or before they reached maturity.

who resisted the authorities were convicted and exiled from the city, and their leader was declared insane and brought to a mental hospital of Kazan, where he died in September 1893.

After his arrest and death, his followers and disciples continued the cause of their community's founder. In the final twenty years of the 19th century, from the mid 1880's to 1905, the community struggled through hard times of the threat of collapse and the aspiration to the continuity of its traditions. The place of a charismatic leader remained vacant. His children were too young to take up their father's cause. In those years, a group of the most active and influenced people (Jusuf Fayzullin, Shigabutdin Sayfutdinov, Nazmutdin Izhbayev, etc.), disciples and immediate followers of B. Vaisov stood out, but even they could not replace him and 'nominate' a legitimate head of the movement that would be recognised by everyone. With the conviction that their cause was just, they possessed neither the necessary knowledge nor moral the authority or charisma of their teacher. Moreover, cataclysms of life brought them to an extremely marginal posi-

tion among the Tatars and they were at the very bottom of social and intellectual hierarchy. More important was the fact that in those days, the Vaisovs were in search of actual problems that could replace the ideas that had united their community beforehand. This took place as Tatar society was forming a wider intellectual context—an intricate combination of Islamic and European forms that affected the make-up and organisational structure of the community.

From the 1870's to the 1880's, the movement was an obvious exponent of religious protest by Volga Region Muslims against the Russification and Christianisation policies of the government. During the 1897 general census of the population, the Vaisovs were propagandising among the peasants, as they saw the census as a measure the government was taking for the further Christianisation of Muslims. At the same time, the movement featured some traits of social protest against the aggravation of social contradictions resulting from the capitalist modernisation of Russian society. The Vaisovs were very active in propagation of B. Vaisov's teaching and attracting numerous followers among Tatar peasants of the Volga region, who suffered a shortage or lack of arable land.

By the early 20th century, the movement had spread beyond Kazan to cover some areas of the Kazan and Simbirsk guberniyas. Some cases were noted in Siberia and Central Asia. The movement totaled approximately two thousand followers. In the early 20th century, his sons, Gainan (1905–1918) and Gazizyan (1918–early 1920's) headed the movement,

which had obviously become political by then. Its ideology underwent further evolution.

The Vaisovs community (and the entire movement) appeared out of a compound of various moods and ideas of the Muslim environment in the Volga-Urals region in the late Empire period. Protest movements aroused by an uprising in social tension were of great importance alongside modernisation, the religious policy the Christian state pursued against people of different faiths, deepened bureaucracy in official Islamic structures, and their alienation from common believers. Terrors and phobias traditional of religious thought also made their contributions, as they caused by anxieties in the reality of modern life and denial of modern civilisation. Some ideas are rooted in the bizarre historical memory of the people. The personal delusions and ambitions of some charismatic personalities should not be overlooked. However, the conflicts that arose from both the unsociable (or perhaps even quarrelsome) nature of Bagautdin and provocations by authorities and people of the same faith could have remained a personal problem for one of many historical figures relegated to obscurity. This, if not for the fact that the preachings and ideas of B. Vaisov fell on the favourable grounds of the social, national, and religious tensions and dissatisfactions that were so obvious before the collapse of the Russian Empire. Ultimately, the movement took a form that allowed it to be treated like a peculiar cultural, religious, and political phenomenon in Tatar history.

CHAPTER 6

New Phenomena in the Tatar-Islamic Social Movement at the Turn of the 19–20th Centuries

Ildus Zagidullin

Miroslav Hroch, a Czech historian, distinguished three phases of development when he modelled the national movements of European nations. In phase *A*, a rather small group of educated people develops an interest in language, history and folklore. The cultural phase is followed by phase *B*—national agitation, when a group of patriots yearns for a wider distribution of national self-consciousness among the population and its mobilisation into single national community. The third phase *C* is marked by a mass movement where most of society feels seized with ideas of a national self-consciousness and aspires to political autonomy. In Russian nations, these processes took place in different periods and depended on a number of factors, from cultural and social development to the extent of industrialisation and urbanisation. Factors of extreme importance were the elite, traditions (if any), a high level of general culture (language included), typical for 'older' nations (the Russians, the Poles, the Georgians, the Tatars of Crimea, and, to some extent, the Muslims of Central Asia). 'Smaller' or 'younger' nations lacked elites of their own, a middle-class urban population, and had no political structures of their own. Their traditions of medieval statehood were destroyed in the beginning of the New Times, and generally, they were 'peasant nations' dominated by other ethnic elites. Their actions were social by nature and, initially, were directed against 'foreign' dominating power rather than against the state itself. They aimed to eliminate this deficiency, particularly through the creation of a full-scale social structure. 'Younger' nations of Russia were the Ukrainians, the Belorussians, the Lithuanians, the Latvians, and the Finns [Kappeler, 1996, pp. 175–176].

On the basis of social class, a moving force in each stage, A. Kappeler presents the question of possibly ideal noble, bourgeois and peasant national movements. Simultaneously, he is correct in his statement regarding the difficulty of projecting the 'European historical experience' onto national movements in Asia [Kappeler, 1996, p. 176].

A question arises in this regard: what place does the pre-1905 Tatar Muslim social movement take in this model? As known, up until the middle of the 18th century, the Tatars' ideas of national revival, which manifested in a number of public demonstrations, were first of all due to the invitation of their coreligionist, the representative of the feudal estate, the Khan. For the first time, the main ideologists and organising force of the rebellion, led by Batyrsha in 1755, were representatives of the Islamic clergy who turned the slogan 'fight for Islam and free the region from elite representatives of other ethnic confessional groups, exploiting Muslims' into a banner of antigovernment demonstrations. As there were no national representatives among the nobility, religious figures naturally became the driving force of the national movement. However, having acknowledged the Islamic clergy and brought it under its control, gaining its loyalty to the regime, Catherine II government managed to isolate it from participating in the political struggle. As a result, 1755 saw the last attempt of Tatars to revive their national sovereignty. In the late 18th century, new Tatar elite groups were formed: loyal to the legal authority of the Islamic clergy; rehabilitation of descendants of Tatar murzas and princes, inclusion of Muslims in the noble estate based on the period of their

civil and military service; establishment of the entrepreneurial and merchant class.

The Tatar Islamic social movement did not particularly fit in with the classic model of national movements of European peoples regarding the sequence of phases. The Tatar enlightenment, which promoted the cultural awakening of the Tatars, started in the second half of the 19th century and continued up until 1917. The works and educational activities of Sh. Marjani, Q. Nasiri, R. Fakhretdin, M. Aqmulla, G. Chokry and others contributed to the awakening and reinforcement of the interest in their national history and culture. An important step towards success in renovation processes was taken by I. Gasprinski, who profitably employed the newspaper 'Tärceman' to arouse an interest in secular knowledge among Tatars. I. Gasprinski suggested modernising the Tatar community through donations and the use of the legal framework in the Empire to the fullest as to develop a national culture while remaining in cultural-educational institutions. The newspaper encouraged its readers to improve their knowledge and serve society for the good of the people.

In the early 20th century, the baton was passed on to new representatives of the Tatar intelligentsia, who were familiar with Russian culture and often had received education abroad. The introduction of new education methods led to renovations in the confessional school system and brought changes in almost all the spheres of socio-cultural life of the Islamic community in the Volga region and Cis-Urals. As it has been rightfully noted by A. Kappeler, phase *A* of the Tatar national movement was religious in nature [Kappeler, 1996, p. 195].

The start of phase *B*— the phase of national agitation — was driven by the active government policy against the feudal foundations of the Islamic community and its involvement in the modernisation processes, which were implemented at the expense of authentic culture and traditions without choice. The first indications of new phenomena manifested in the peasant movement of 1878–1879.

The starting point of phase *B* in the Tatar national movement is considered to be 1879, when members of the Kazan bourgeoisie, after con-

sultation with the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly [Fäxreddin, 2010, p. 130], informed the Russian authorities of their demands, aimed at preservation of the key principles of Tatar and Bashkir religious and cultural autonomy, upgrading of the status of the head institution of traditional religious communities and the extension of the Muslims' civil rights. Concept-wise, these demands were a reflection of the common opinion of various Tatar elite groups headed by the merchants, considering that at the time the Mufti was the nobleman, S. Tevkelev, and the members of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly board were mullahs from the Kazan guberniya. The merchants, along with the members of clergy, were against the governmental initiatives, aimed at taking over the national educational system and its transformation through the forced entrenchment of Russian educational institutions. The government's actions were primarily driven by the ideology towards the modernisation of Russia and the policy of establishing a national Russian state, according to which not only the Russian peasantry had to be educated, but also the non-Russian peoples were required to speak the state language.

The Tatar merchant estate tried to include large sections of population in petition campaigns against government reforms in the field of school education, pushing forward the slogan of the protection of Islam and preservation of traditional principles. In the latter quarter of the 19th century, the social movement proceeded on a religious basis, which was initially explained by the religious mindset, specific cultural development of the merchant class, lack of officials, small numbers, and the economic weakness of the nobility. In general, the national movement was protective in nature; it protected traditional principles, its ideologists were members of bourgeoisie, and the driving force was traditional religious communities. The main motive of the Islamic social movement and antigovernment demonstrations of the masses during the post-reform period was the 'protection of Islam' and the religious rights of Muslims, the fight for preservation of confessional identity, against interference by the government in the system of national education and the life of mahallahs.

The appointment of spiritual figures with progressive views as members of the religious administration by Mufti M. Sultanov, based on the law of 9 January 1890, soon transformed the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly into a sort of center for propaganda and agitation of progressive ideas. The majority of board members of the Assembly continued their educational activities even after they had left the religious administration.

In this regard, the consolidation of progressive members of various professional and estate groups of Islamic population was an important event, carried out by the Assembly board members on 6 January 1898, along with the establishment of an unofficial organisation 'Islax-i mäqatip vä nöshr-i mägarif muslimin' in Ufa with the sanction of Mufti M. Sultanov, which was the first Tatar society dedicated to solving pressing national problems, including: preparation and the following implementation of reforms regarding the improvement of the Tatar language, school programmes and the publication of new textbooks. From 15–17 June of the same year, Ufa hosted an unofficial meeting of the society, which featured the reformers¹⁸. During the meeting, the participants discussed and exchanged opinions on the key problems of national development, allocated responsibilities along different lines, made a decision with regard to the reformation and programmes of educational institutions [Marash, 2005, p. 182–183]. Although the society was later disbanded and not registered, the Ufa meeting definitely gave a new push for reformations.

At the turn of the century, the influence of the Jadids in the Islamic community increased, many representatives of the conservative part of bourgeoisie reconsidered their attitude towards Russian education, encouraged the development of new method schools, and were actively involved in the renovation processes.

The social movement was not only based on the opposition of Muslims and the government concerning the issues of school education, but became diverse, multifaceted. The new-method schools were shattering the monopoly of mullahs in the field of religious education, as the administrators of these schools became their rivals, and, most importantly, the changes involved financing, by means of which the education system existed (funding from parents and prosperous Tatars).

Intellectual polemics became the new form of opposition among the Qadimists and the Jadids. In terms of lacking national periodicals, it was manifested in the publication of several leaflets by Qadimist mullahs. The new method of education and the changes it brought were evaluated by its antagonists 'as a neofaith threatening Tatars with the falling off of Islam and conversion to kafirs'. Specifically, in 1899 in Kazan, Mullah Gillazetdin Mukhid-dinov published a book 'Steel pikes against the new method', leveled against the modernisation and Europeanisation of Tatar society.

During this period, the Jadids acted cautiously and did not argue with the Qadimists directly. They were sending their new ideas and views to readers through fictional literature, through thoughts and polemics of literary characters about the future of the Tatar society, through their actions. During the Revival of Learning period, literature turned into one of the most important instruments of influence and education for people of the new formation. Significantly, the appearance of such publications was proof of fundamental changes happening in urban communities: it is known that not all of the literary works that passed the Russian censorship in the 1890s, were published; publishers, in fear of confrontation with mullahs, refused to take on their completion. Pieces of literature and publicist essays were produced at the expense of the national bourgeoisie. At the turn of the century, thanks to the 'patron-intellectual' dyad in regard of the ideological influence on the reading audience through the printer's ink, the Jadids seized the initiative and became more decisive in their actions.

¹⁸ Members of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly R. Fakhreddin, K. -G. Gabashi, G. Kapkaev; Orenburg merchant Gani Khusainov, Galimzhan Barudi, Akhmadkhadi Maksudi, Shakirzyan Tagirov, Akhun Gylman Karimi, his son Fatikh Karimi, Ufa akhun K. Usmanov, et al. [Gani, 1998, pp. 113–114, 125–126].



Fatykh Karimi. Photo from the early 20th century.

A member of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, R. Fakhretdin, began publishing a series of educational books for adults and school students aimed at achieving positive changes in the sociocultural life of the people. Readers were greatly impacted by R. Fakhretddin's short novel, 'Salima, and Chastity' ('Sālimā, yāki Giyffāt', 1898), which he published under a pen-name. The main character of the short novel, shakird, addresses his fellows in the old-method of madrasah: 'Our leaders have to be knowledgeable in the studies of Islam as well as philosophically informed on the modern state of things... . National progress comes with the advancement of education, development of trade, and industry'.

The story by F. Karimi, 'Shakird and a student' (1899), where the author shows the advantages of European education compared to a scholastic religious one while comparing the Russian and Tatar youth, was truly a hit among Tatars and took a heavy toll on the Qadimists' position.

In this regard, there is a notably detailed description of literary works and publicist essays of the Jadids given by the police department from early 1901: 'Supporters of new ideas encourage the Tatar population with their literature to receive an education, obtain practical skills in the field of trades and industry, as well as to learn foreign languages, so they would be educated and wealthy. With that, the innovators invite their coreligionists not to join the

common general knowledge school, meaning Russian gymnasiums and higher education institutions, but special Tatar seminaries of higher wisdom, where European studies go hand in hand with the Quran and teach students in Tatar. They point out how important it is to comprehend your own faith, clean it from superstitions and ignorant interpretations of mullahs, consolidate your national ethos, while expanding the use of native language in literature, science and religion, and generally care about the progress of Islam and the Turkic nation' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 6, file 99, s. 1–2 reverse].

In his fantastic short novel '200 yeldan son inkiyraz' ('Devolution Two Hundred Years Later') (Kazan, 1904) a young talented writer, Gayaz Iskhaki, showcased the key ideas of the philosophical publicistic leaflet 'Human Kind' (Kazan, 1899). The author of this leaflet, Surudeddin Miftakhuddinov, wrote that peoples with ancient educational traditions that are stuck in their development and refuse to leave the old views behind, are doomed to extinction in the modern world. The future belongs to people with modern knowledge. At present, this could be said about Europeans, who, by the virtue of their high culture, dominate almost the entire world and continuously reach new achievements [Miftakhedin, 1899, p. 5–26].

During this time period, there were two groups of activists within the new generation to take on the role of leaders of the Tatar social movement. The members of the first group had been educated abroad: in secular and religious educational institutions of the Ottoman Empire and Egypt. While studying as well as travelling and interacting with the local population, they had realised the influence that Europe had on the life of Islamic countries (which Tatars saw as an ideal) and the unfortunate position of Muslims in the world community. The second group was represented by ambitious young people, mostly students and graduates of the Kazan Tatar Teachers' School, raised on national traditions and Russian culture, whose works were also actively published [Khabutdinov, 2005, p. 15–17].

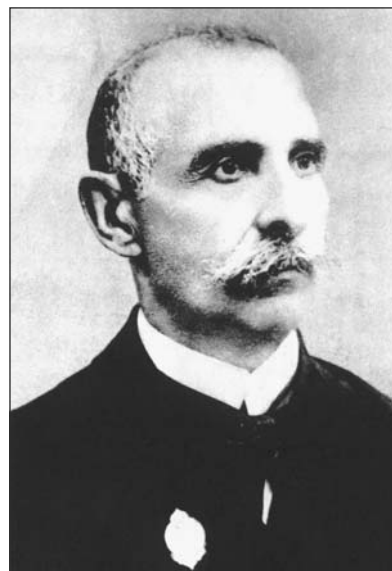
The modern model of the Islamic national development in the Orenburg Muslim Spiri-

tual Assembly, appropriate to the challenges of the time, made the experience and initiative of Tatars attractive to the national elite of Islamic peoples. They made Tatar social activists general Turkic leaders, carrying the banner of the renewal of the Russian Ummah. 'This model was accompanied by an ideology that combined Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism into a unique mix, which, though it protected the cultural unity of all Turkic peoples, nevertheless featured the characteristics of the very Tatar nature', as noted by E. Lazzerini [Lazzerini, 2011, p. 22].

In the late 19th century, the public stage was taken by two figures who played an important role in the spiritual and political consolidation of the Turkic peoples of Russia, I. Gasprinski and R. Ibragimov. From 1871 to 1873, I. Gasprinski traveled to Europe and visited the Eastern countries: Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, and the Ottoman Empire. In 1881, he came to the conclusion that it was the Turkic peoples of Russia who were destined to take the reins in the intellectual development of the Islamic world.

As there were no other private periodical publications in Turkic languages, the newspaper 'Tärceman - Translator' (Bakhchisarai), published since 1883, was the only platform for social activists of Islamic nations where they could publicly express their opinion on events happening in the regions and the country in general; it was their way of communication [Gasprinsky, 2006, p. 213]. By publishing news about the lives of Turkic people and discussing their future in editorial articles, he essentially declared how similar the fates of Islamic peoples of the Empire was. The illuminator called for the idea of cultural and national unity of Turkic peoples of the country, based on the 'unity of language, mindset and actions'. He believed that the creation of a united literary language of Russian Turkic peoples was of political importance [Gasprinsky, 2006, p. 264–465]. The intellectual elite of the Tatars, Bashkirs, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, peoples of Caucasus as well as others were all among the readers of the newspaper [Validov, 1998, p. 78]. However, up until 1905, I. Gasprinski worked only within cultural and educational framework.

Ismail
Gasprinsky.
Photo from
the early
20th
century.



Gabdrashit Gumerovich Ibragimov (1857–1914) described himself as a pan-Turkic leader. He was born in a family of akhun in the city of Tara and studied in the madrasahs of the Tobol and Kazan guberniyas. While studying in Medina (1879–1885), he acquainted himself with the works of Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817–1898), an Islamic reformer from India, who saw the opportunity for the progressive development of his coreligionists in enlightenment and the promotion of European scientific education and culture; he also became familiar with the works of Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani (1839–1897), the founder of the Pan-Islamism doctrine. While in Medina, Ibragimov fully realised the need for a fundamental reformation of the system of religious education in Russia, the development of a new method of training, and to upgrade the programme through the inclusion of natural disciplines [Galimullin, 2003, p. 14–28].

Having left his place on the board of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly (1892–1895), Ibragimov went abroad. F. Galimullin does not rule out the possibility of him, when visiting Paris, coming into contact with representatives of the Turkish Emigrant Opposition Centre, organised in 1891 and headed by Ahmed Riza-Bashi (1857–1930), and the secret Turkish society 'Ittihad vâ tarakki' ('Unity and progress') [Galimullin, 2003, p. 36].



Gabderashit Ibragimov.
Photo from the early 20th century.

In 1895, while abroad, Ibragimov published a publicist book called 'Çulpan yoldizi' ('The Morning Star'), which was very popular among Muslims of the Volga-Ural region and secretly passed from hand to hand. According to Galimzhan Ibragimov, up until the 1905–1907 Revolution, this work, which exposed the unfortunate position of Muslims in Russia and called for reforms and introduction to European culture, was 'the only voice of one crying in the desert' [Ibrahimov, Vol. 7, p. 267–268]. The author wrote that the Russian administration discriminates against Tatars with secular education when compared with Christians: law school graduates can be promoted only to the position of assistant attorney; Muslims, as well as Poles, Finns, Jews and Old Believers, can attain the rank of general only under 'special circumstances'.

Ibragimov believed that the first and foremost condition for a 'bright future for the Tatars' was the reformation of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly. In order to raise the moral credibility of the Assembly, overcome by bribery during exams and formality of tests for mullah candidates, he suggested increasing the monthly salary for assessors of the religious administration and to choose honest and hard-working scholars for these important positions, the appointment of which, he believed, had to be decided through counseling sessions of the Mufti with representatives of the Tatar elite, scientists and wealthy landowners. In their turn, qadis were meant to transform the religious administration into an authoritative institution of Islamic community and raise the demands on candidates for religious positions.

To strengthen the ties between the Assembly and the clergy, he suggested holding an-

nual congresses with prominent scholars so that the Assembly's work could be aimed at the implementation of collective decisions by the nation's leaders. Ibragimov thought that the most important sources of extra-budgetary funds for the Assembly could be put towards creating an official newspaper of the religious establishment with compulsory subscription for all members of the clergy, as well as the exclusive publication of the Quran in the Assembly's typography. According to him, the religious administration had to take care of training for talented shakirds, award the teachers with bonuses and medals, and publicly criticise careless mudarrises. He believed that this approach would hasten reform in the Islamic community. By introducing scholarships in madrasahs and encouraging shakirds to acquire knowledge, the religious figures, as he thought, would cease their personal rows and quarrelling and give people sermons that were useful for the present and for the afterlife [Galimullin, 2003, pp. 36–40].

After his return to his homeland, Ibragimov repeated the actions of I. Gasprinski by translating his ideas to his coreligionists. In 1900, in Saint-Petersburg, he began publishing an almanac 'Mirat yaxud közge', known by people as 'Közge' ('The Mirror'). He published eight issues of the almanac in 1902 and four in 1903.

Ibragimov was the only Tatar activist who appealed (1901) to the state administration with a suggestion (note 'On the status of Islamic primary and high schools (maktab and madrasah) in Russia') to support the reformation of traditional Islamic schools: to determine academic programmes; introduce general education subjects; establish examination procedures; grant madrasah graduates with the benefits and privileges in terms of military duty, and pass the supervision of them to special honoured Muslims, liable to the patron of the educational circuit [Samatova, 2010, p. 188].

In 1902–1903, Ibragimov visited Japan, where he spread anti-Russian propaganda, for which he was removed from the country at the request of the Russian Embassy. Upon his return to the capital, he continued publishing his almanac [Galimullin, 2003, p. 41].

In the spring of 1904, Ibragimov once again took a trip to Istanbul, where his political activity came to the attention of Russian intelligence. Members of the club of Russian migrants, which he organised, drafted a programme of demands to extend the civil rights of fellow citizens-coreligionists in the fields of education and religious and confessional affairs, where Russian Muslims were considered as a single cultural social community for the first time. Notably, the document was not only sent to a number of fellow countrymen, including the first class merchant from Orenburg, Makhmut Khusainov, but to the embassies of England and Germany in Istanbul as well.

The main demands of the programme were found in the subject of Muslims' religious and cultural autonomy: to give them the right to choose members and a chairman (mufti) of religious administrations (clause 1), to transfer the management of religious and national education to the mufti and school curators (clause 3); to stop appointing graduates from Russian educational institutions to the rank of mufti (read: without religious education) (clause 2); to resolve divorce cases and issues of inheritance only according to the norms of Sharia (clause 7); to allow rural communities to have a complete self-government and forbid their integration into Russian peasant communities (clause 15); to open stalls for Muslims during Christian feasts (clause 24); to abolish the practice of burying Muslims only after the issuance of a death certificate (clause 28).

The demands aimed at the implementation of the principle of voluntary studying and advancement of the state language can be put into a separate group: no requirements to introduce secular studies in schools, of imams being fluent and teaching in Russian (clauses 4, 6); abolition of threatening of educational institutions closing if Muslims refuse to introduce secular subjects (clause 5).

Key to understanding demands regarding freedom of religion were the provisions on implementation of the freedom of conscience principle in Russia: 'no one should be forbidden from keeping the commandments of divine

law' (clause 11); 'give us back our rights and the liberty of conscience' (clause 23); to give 'full freedom' when it comes to religion (clause 25); to put an end to Christian instruction of Muslims (clause 17); to allow those willing to convert to Islam (clause 22); to stop priests listing Muslims in parish registration books with Christian names (clause 20) (apparently, this refers to baptised Tatars who converted back to Islam, but were not legally acknowledged as Muslims. — *I. Z.*) et al.

Some of the provisions were related to the need for protection of religious rights and the dignity of Muslims from encroachments by secular authorities, the Russian Orthodox Church, and Christians: do not ridicule Islam (clause 19); forbid district leaders to interfere in divorce cases (clause 29). Protection of religious rights of Muslims in military service came down to the appointment of a military mullah in every military unit where Muslims were serving, a prohibition on feeding them with pork (clause 26), and 'not forcing them to fight against coreligionists' (clause 27). In regard to equal rights with Orthodox priests, it was demanded that mullahs be exempt from compulsory military service (clause 16). There were also demands concerning protection of the religious rights of nomadic Kazakhs: to ban Christian education for Kazakhs, allow them to freely profess Islam and to act according the laws of Islam (clause 10); to allow Tatar and Kazakh ulamas to teach them fundamentals of Islam (clauses 8, 9).

The programme's economic demands: to end the willful interference of the local administration with commercial business, especially of Kazakhs, even with a trade license (clause 14); restore possession (not to take away) of lands to Muslims arriving from Khiva and Bukhara and settling in Siberia (clause 12); to abolish taxes imposed on Muslims' lands on which they built their houses (clause 13); to release Kazakhs and Crimean Tatars handed in to penal battalions, or deported by an administrative procedure, or sentenced to hard labour for signing documents whose contents they had not read (clauses 31, 32) [State Archive of the

Russian Federation, f. 102, DPOO, inv. 226 (1898), file 11, part 3, s. 166–169 reverse]

Importantly, a similar text was distributed among Tatars of different regions as a secret proclamation. Although they were signed by a certain 'Hajji Akhmed from Kazan', the letters were in fact sent by post from Istanbul. [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 791, s. 210, 218]

Thus, the Istanbul political demands of G. Ibragimov were intended to achieve equality for Russian Muslims with the Empire's majority population and an extension of their religious and cultural autonomy. They played an important part in the transformation of the Tatar Islamic movement's priorities in the early twentieth century. On 7 August 1904, Ibragimov was arrested in the Consulate-General of Russia in Istanbul and sent to Russia. However, due to lack of hard evidence, he was released from prison in Odessa on 21 August [State Archive of the Russian Federation, f. 102, DPOO, inv. 226 (1898), file 11, part 3, s. 163–163 reverse]

In the beginning of September, Ibragimov met up with the Interior Minister, P. Svyatopolk-Mirsky, where they discussed the country's political situation. After his meetings in Moscow with leaders of the Zemstvo liberal movement (late September 1904), Ibragimov visited large-scale educational centres and Tatar communities (Orenburg, Ufa, Troitsk, Petropavlovsk, the town of Izh-Bobi in the Vyatka guberniya), met with regional leaders and youth representatives, and resolved organisational and financial issues of the future political unification of Tatars. Initially, Ibragimov was planning to hold a pan-Tatar Islamic congress at the Menzelinsk Fair (end of December—early January). However, after his January 1905 meeting in Kazan with Yusuf Akchura, the author of an academic paper about political Turkism ('Three policies', Cairo, 1903), they took the decision to organise an All-Russian party of Muslims [Senyutkina, 2007, pp. 215–218] Thus the idea of the political unification of Russian Muslims was gaining momentum.

Akchura (1876–1935) was a Tatar leader of the new generation, who in the early 20th century played a crucial part in establishing the

Pan-Turkic movement in Russia. Akchura, a representative of the Akchurins, a clan of Tatar industrialists, was educated in Istanbul, and at a military college there from 1892 to 1896. In 1897, he was arrested and sent into exile for his views by the Turkish government. After his release, he studied at the Free School of Political Studies (1899–1903), and at the same time attended lectures at the Sorbonne's Higher School of Applied Sciences. Having finished his education, he arrived in Kazan in 1904. He had the reputation of an 'intellectual with a European education'. While implementing his plan he drafted with Ibragimov, Akchura sent letters to the prominent activists of the Turkic nations with information about the meeting which was to be held in St. Petersburg regarding the further consolidation of efforts¹⁹.

News about the defeat of the Russian army in the war with Japan, escalation of the agrarian problem, the masses' worsening economic status, and other factors contributed to the population's frustration and social activism. As a countermeasure, the government issued an edict of His Imperial Majesty directed to the Senate, dated 12 December 1904, 'On precepts towards the improvement of the state order'. Government agencies were ordered to 'take appropriate administrative measures to eliminate any constraints in their religious activities that are not established directly by law' [Farkhshatov, 2000, p. 156]. The edict gave rise to new developments in the Tatars' social movement.

One was a petition campaign demanding the urgent resolution of Muslims' day-to-day problems. The first petition requesting political and civil rights for Muslims was submitted in December 1904 to Prime Minister S. Vitte from the akhun of Petropavlovsk, G. Yaushev. On 23 January 1905, Tatar entrepreneurs, on Ibragimov's initiative, gathered in the house

¹⁹ The St. Petersburg congress, which was held on 8 March 1905 in the house of G. -R. Ibragimov, was attended by Alimardan Topchibashev, Akhmet Agaev, Ali Khusainzade, Galim Maksudov, Ibniamin Akhtyamov. I. Gasprinsky, who arrived in St. Petersburg a few days later, also supported the idea of creating a party which could defend the interests of Russia's Muslims [Galimullin, 2003, p. 92].

of the merchant A. Khusainov and worked out a plan for organising a petition campaign [Tataria, 1955, p. 47]. On 29 January, a meeting of about 200 Tatars was held in Kazan, where they discussed and approved the petition's text, drafted by Akçura, the lawyer Said Girei Alkin, and the merchants A. Saidashev and A. Apanayev [Khabutdinov, 2008, p. 121].

Many provisions of the Kazan initiative ran along the same lines as Ibragimov's Istanbul programme (Clauses 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 12, 16, 19, 22). It most notably dropped the special clauses concerning ending Christian education and granting Muslims freedom of religion. It contained more detailed formulations of clauses regarding the abolition of restrictions against Tatars in their rights of residency, free trade, and property acquisition in a number of Russian regions.

There were new proposals to name spiritual figures honoured citizens, to legalise waqfs, to put them under the supervision of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, to grant freedom of speech and of the press, and to equalise the rights of Tatars with those of the ethnic majority: the opportunity to be appointed to public and official positions, the elimination of restrictions in some professions, and the right to open general education and private schools teaching in the native language. It is worth pointing out the suggestion to invite Muslim experts recommended by the Orenburg assembly to draft legislation, in cooperation with government representatives, concerning the religious and social activities of Tatars and their civil rights in general [Tärceman, 1905, No. 17, 4 March].

The petition of Kazan residents to the capital was followed by tens of similar petitions from the guberniya's rural communities. The government received a total of 500 requests, mainly from the Volga region and the region west of the Urals, which had a lot in common regarding the issues of religious rights and creeds, and social (regional) problems [Senyutkina, 2007, pp. 220–243]. Similar to the period of the petition campaigns of 1883 and 1888–1890, regional leaders managed to mobilise religious communities and communicate

the most pressing problems to the government on their behalf.

The 1905 petition of the Orenburg mufti to the Committee of Ministers stood out among these petitions. His request was mainly focused on the idea of equal rights between Muslims and the empire's majority population. Essentially, it pinpointed the key aspects of Tatars' unequal status. The petition of the Orenburg assembly chairman requested the abolition of the following religious restrictions: 1) the removal of the right of Muslims with a diploma from a Russian institution to teach Christians in Russian primary and secondary schools; 2) the disqualification of Muslims studying in institutions of higher education for scholarships and benefits; 3) the prohibition for Muslims called annually for military service to perform religious rituals in military units and even burial ceremonies, the dire shortage of military chaplain-mullahs in the army, and a reconsideration of established procedures on the matter; 4) the ability to open mosques in religiously diverse settlements only upon the approval of the Orthodox diocesan administration; 5) the practice of guberniya administrations of expelling spiritual figures, elected by parishioners, without charge and trial [Tärceman, 1905, No. 28, 12 April].

In March 1905, the Kazan delegation (Yu. Akchurin, S. G. Alkin, G. Apanayev, and A. Saidashev), on behalf of all Russian Muslims, had a meeting with Prime Minister Witte [Tärceman, 1905, No. 26, 5 April]. On 8 April 1905, a group of Tatars gathered for a meeting in Kazan, where they decided to call a nationwide Islamic congress during the August fair in Nizhny Novgorod in order to establish an Islamic union [Khabutdinov, 2010, p. 121].

The 12 December edict and the start of the first Russian Revolution contributed to the development of a new model of Islamic religious governance, designed to raise the status of Islamic institutes and create a millet in the area of the Orenburg assembly according to the Ottoman model [Khabutdinov, 2010, pp. 183–185]. In 1905, during his meeting with Witte, Mufti M. Sultanov received approval to hold



Yusuf Akchura.
Photo of the
beginning of the
20th century.

a conference. In April, a conference was held in Ufa, attended by around 40 influential clergymen from different regions. On

Sultanov's recommendation, it was decided to extend the statute of management of Sunni Transcaucasian Islamic clergy—an 1872 regulatory document granting the region's Muslims the broadest rights in Russia—to the Orenburg assembly. The conference issued a resolution to develop new regulations on managing religious affairs in the assembly's area, based on existing examples and more adapted to Muslims' needs [Fäxreddin, 1905].

However, Sultanov's initiative did not receive the government's support.

Several months later, the issue of religious institutions and Muslims' needs was discussed at a whole new level in Ufa guberniya, half of whose population was Muslim, at an officially authorised guberniya conference with an invitation to attorneys (Ufa, 22, 23, and 25 June 1905). The conference developed a new package of recommendations [Protocol]. Moreover, while in the Kazan guberniya, decisions were made by the merchant class with others following its directions, in the Urals, leadership was in the hands of the Orenburg assembly (taking advantage of the country's revolutionary circumstances), in conjunction with the district councillors, who were mainly Tatar noblemen. The conference secured public joint discussion of religious problems with Muslim delegates from the smaller districts. As a result, the participants approved a new project, recommended by the April clergy congress, for the management of Islamic institutions in the assembly's area.

At the turn of the century, under the influence of social processes in the country, the

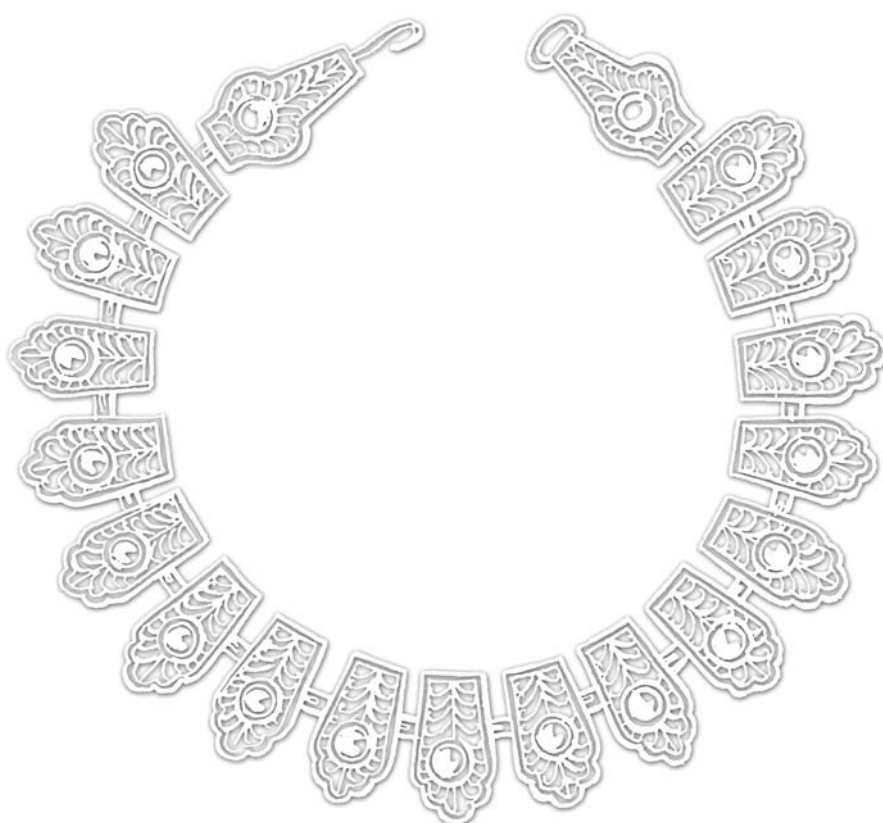
entrepreneurial elite had realised the obsolescence of Muslim opposition to Christianisation. It was aiming to use Russian education and opportunities within existing laws for cultural development, focusing on the expansion of the network of new-style schools and publications promoting a renewal of Muslim sociocultural life. During this period, the direction of social movement was based not on the relationship between Muslims and the authorities, but on attempts to figure out ways to resolve Muslims' pressing problems, to lead them out of crisis, and transform the Tatars into a competitive nation.

The building sociopolitical processes had a positive impact on the elite's activism. Having organised a massive petition campaign in the first half of 1905, it created the appearance of Muslims' preoccupation with their unenviable legal and social status in Russia, while for the larger part of the rural population, these problems were of no concern.

Thus, the changes happening in the Tatar national movement on the cusp of the 19th and 20th centuries, became a sort of transitional stage towards phase *C*. The national movement of 'the Islamic nation of the Volga-Urals region' (a term used by K. Noack) was clearly splitting in two directions: 1) thanks to the new generation of the Tatar creative intelligentsia—the Jadidists—and their published works, the ideas of Europeanisation and progress were growing stronger; 2) new public leaders started a process of the consolidation of sociopolitical Islamic groups, under the slogans of protection of the civil and religious rights of all Muslim peoples of Russia. The most important factors for the transition of the national movement of the 'Volga-Urals Islamic nation' from phase *B* to phase *C* and its transformation into a mass national movement were the 1905 Revolution and the associated democratisation of Russia, the rise of a free press and Tatar printed media, and the formation of political parties. The significant event that led the Tatars to phase *C* of the national movement was the establishment of the All-Russian Party of Muslims, Ittifaq al muslimin, in August 1905.

Section VIII

Ethnocultural Relations of the Peoples of the Middle Volga Region



In the course of the Russian state's development, the Volga-Urals region transformed from a border territory into 'an internal border land', and then, in the second half of the nineteenth century, into 'internal Russia'. In each of the region's administrative-political and socioeconomic positions, ethnic and religious issues underwent particular changes, although the main components of the imperial system of state-confessional relations remained the same.

In the late 19th century, the region had only two governorates where Russians came to less than a half of the population. In the Ufa and Kazan guberniyas, along with Ukrainians and Belorussians, they made up 38 percent of local residents¹. While in the Ufa guberniya, Muslims (Tatars, Bashkirs, Mishars, and Teptyars) were a little more than a half the population, in the Kazan-Volga region, the largest ethnic groups were Tatars and Chuvash (31. 1 and 23. 1 percent, respectively).

The main enclave of Udmurt migration covered uyezds of the Vyatka guberniya (377, 900, or 12. 5 percent of the population). Relatively smaller groups of them settled in the Ufa guberniya west of the Urals (22, 500), the Kazan-Volga region (9, 600), and neighbouring regions.

Another large non-Russian population in the Vyatka guberniya was the Mari people (145, 400, or 4. 8 percent of the population). Major areas of their migration were also the Kazan, Ufa, and Perm guberniyas (122, 700, 80, 700, and 20, 100, respectively).

At the end of the century, there were 843, 700 Chuvash, making up one of the largest ethnic groups of the Middle Volga region. The largest Chuvash groups settled in the Kazan, Simbirsk, Samara, and Ufa guberniyas (59. 9, 19. 1, 11. 0, and 7. 2 percent, respectively), and smaller groups in the Saratov, Orenburg, and Tomsk guberniyas [Chuvashi, Vol. 1, pp. 186–187].

In the late 19th century, Mordvins in the Volga-Urals region resided mainly in the guberniyas of Penza (187, 890), Saratov (123, 900), Nizhny Novgorod (53, 000), Ufa (37, 300), Orenburg (38, 400) and Kazan (22, 200) [Pervaya vseobshchaya, vols. 10, 14, 25, 28, 30, 31, 35, 36, 38, 39, 45, TableXIII]. The centuries-long interaction of Islam, Christianity, and 'paganism' in the Volga-Urals region in many ways predetermined the emergence of a 'peculiar' model of religious self-consciousness amongst the local population and tolerance to members of other religious communities.

CHAPTER 1

The World of a Multiconfessional Village

The region's confessional topography. Religious diversity is a historically developed characteristic of the living space in the Middle Volga multinational village. In the 19th century, this village was a 'common home' for followers of different confessions and confessional groups. The overall majority,

¹ In Simbirsk guberniya they made up 68. 1 % of the population, 68. 9 % in Samara, 73. 1 % in Orenburg, 77. 4 % in Vyatka, 83 % in Saratov, 83. 1 % in Penza, 90. 4 % in Perm, and 93. 2 % in Nizhny Novgorod.

Gennady Nikolaev

the region's rural population, was represented by three religious communities—Christians, Muslims and 'pagans'.

By far, the largest community was Orthodox Christians. Their cultural field united almost the entire rural population of the peoples residing there, with the exception of the Tatars. But this confessional 'mixture' included a fundamentally inconsistent component, since the historical paths of the Russian ethnos and the Volga peoples in Christianity were of dif-

ferent lengths. Based on the level of devotion to faith, and of the acquisition and acceptance of its main tenets, the 'fabric' of the Orthodox living space in the Middle Volga village was torn into a number of 'pieces'. The main social support of Orthodox Christianity were Russian grain farmers, whose syncretic religious worldview and everyday life were based on the principles of Christianity. In the course of centuries-long presence of the ethnos within Christianity, the Orthodox confession grew into a marker and the most important part of Russian national identity. As for the non-Russian village, by the end of the 19th century, the Orthodox adherents with the least 'paganism' in them were Mordvins, who had been living in close contact with Russians from very ancient times. Since long before, there had been synthetic forms of religion in Mordvins' religious consciousness and ceremonial practice, combining Mordovian paganism with Eastern Slavic paganism, and then with Russian Orthodoxy, as well [Mokshin, 1998, p. 225]. By the turn of the century, Christians among the Chuvash, Mari, and Udmurts were mainly 'dual believers' and Orthodox 'pagans'. In the body of their syncretised religious views and rituals, the archaic layer of primeval beliefs was much stronger and more commanding than for the Mordvins [Denisov, 2001, p. 10]. The last ones in line are baptised Tatars: while many 'long-time baptised', although retaining traces of paganism and an affinity for Islam, were relatively firm in their Orthodoxy, the majority of 'newly baptised' (baptised in the post-Petrine era) were Christians only nominally [Kratkaya zametka, 1897, pp. 20–27; Nikolsky, 1912, p. X–LXV].

The Christians in the Middle Volga region who fell outside the fold of the official Church were mainly Russian agriculturalists. The populated areas 'infected' with dissent in the administrative territorial units were relatively few in number. As a rule, Old Believers and those who deviated from standard Orthodoxy lived in groups of no more than a few dozen members. But there also were true 'cradles' of dissent, with public chapels and numerous supporters of the 'ancient godliness': The Kazan

Guberniya Tsivilsk Uyezd—Mozharki village; Simbirsk Guberniya Alatyry Uyezd—Kladbishhi village [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 166, p. 61; State Archive of Ulyanovsk Oblast, f. 76, file 1418; p. 24, 25].

'Authentic paganism' in the countryside was of a non-Russian origin. Those who were the most unyielding in their 'old' faith were the Mari and Udmurts. In the Middle Volga countryside, small groups of supporters of other confessions—Catholics, Jews, Lutherans, Anglicans, Mennonites and others—were represented by late settlers, natives of different governorates and foreign subjects (Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, Jews, Polish, Germans etc.).

The existence of various groups of believers in the non-Russian countryside called for the creation of a number of nominal confessionals. Thus, in the second half of the 19th—the beginning of the 20th century, Orthodox missionaries divided the baptised Tatars into the following groups of believers: 1) '*taza keräshen*' ('*çista keräshen*') (literally: pure baptised) or '*çi keräshen*' (literally: raw baptised)—'a Tatar who is baptised, but not enlightened, not fully educated in the truths of the new religion, who had not forgotten the old religion, nor abandoned pagan rituals and superstitions'; 2) '*qara keräshen*' (literally: black baptised) or '*urissimaq*' (literally: a baptised person resembling a Russian, russified)—a Tatar who is 'relatively more loyal to Christianity and Orthodox Russian traditions'; 3) '*aq keräshen*' (literally: white baptised) or '*tatarsymaq*' (literally: a baptised person resembling a Tatar, tatarified)—'most loyal to Muhammadism, with an ingrained Tatar Muhammadan spirit, follows Muhammadan rituals and superstitions, always washes himself, keeps his body clean, wears clean clothes [Sofiysky, 1891, p. 77, 78].

The issue of interrelations between religious communities is multifaceted, involving ethnic and confessional identity, a dialogue between cultures, the worldviews of members of small and large confessional communities and the milieu of their everyday life, state-confessional relations, etc. An interpretation of life in a Middle Volga multiconfessional village from

the viewpoint of 'insider'/'outsider' relation allows us to enter the backstage of many processes that had been ongoing within it for a long time, and to fill in the gaps in the picture of the co-residence of peasants belonging to different confessions.

The concepts of 'insider' and 'outsider' in a rural environment. The opposition 'our' / 'others' was an integral part of the daily social life in rural communities. This differentiation of the community members was historically based on different types of markers: costume, customs and traditions, dialect, economics, socio-financial and legal status, kinship, administrative-territorial divisions, estate and ethnicity, nationality, and more. This situation automatically forced the peasants to simultaneously play two 'polar' socio-cultural 'roles': 'insider' by ethnicity, but 'outsider' by place of residence; 'insider' by dialect, but 'outsider' by kinship etc. The frequency, closeness and nature of social relations among those who tilled the soils were, firstly, defined by this concept. An observant contemporary pointed out the cautiousness of the baptised Tatars in the way they communicated with Russians: 'When the baptised notice that a Russian among them understands Tatar, they instantly try to warn each other with a phrase: *'çabatasi tishek'* (*çabata*—lapy, bast shoes; *tishek*—a hole) [Mashanov, 1875, p. 40].

Naturally, the content of their own socio-cultural space in all aspects, socio-economic, socio-cultural, spiritual, moral and others, was better for peasants than others, with some minor exceptions. According to the ethnographic notes of a contemporary Chuvash, 'They always put themselves higher in all aspects. They think their nation is kind, patient, that they speak right, and their clothes are more beautiful, and they tread lightly, and [they are not arrogant]. The people are hardworking: they have builders, woodworkers and blacksmiths; their village is wealthier; there are priests, teachers from their village; they have grocery shops, they trade in textiles, have a number of windmills, hulling mills' [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 158, p. 152].

Faith was a foundation of the peasant community lifestyle, its spiritual brace. While being the core foundation of their worldview, perception and outlook, it defined the farmers' attitude towards the earth, nature, family, life values, and informed their household, family, marriage rituals and traditions. The peasants' business, leisure, ethics, morals, customary law were also imbued with faith. Due to its major importance as regards the identification of the cultural field, objectively, the confession served to differentiate the social environment from the onset. All four confessions—Orthodoxy, Islam, Old Russian Orthodoxy, 'Authentic Paganism'—in the Middle Volga villages were represented by loyal supporters, strictly oriented to their own cultural field. Every confessional community, both major and minor, believed that its system of religious views was the true faith. The ones setting the tone of intolerance towards other confessions in rural communities were true believers in their faith [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 266, p. 137].

The confession served the residents of the Middle Volga villages as a useful, complementary criterion for assessments in terms of their perception of reality in the mirror of attraction/repulsion; it defined their patterns of behaviour.

As a useful, complementary criterion, the confession was particularly prevalent in the marital sphere of peasant life. Young people chose their husbands and wives only from among those of like faith, almost without exception. In villages and towns surrounded by communities with another confession, boys and girls went 'to far off lands' in search of marital partners of like faith. In the densely settled communities, interconfessional marriages were extremely rare, and were limited to singular cases. In such instances a young wife usually accepted her husband's faith. In so doing, the woman showed the members of her husband's family and his home folk that she obeyed her husband, respected and accepted his world—customs, traditions, behavioural norms, morals, ethics and other aspects, and tied her life to his forever. A minuscule number of interconfessional marriages in the

rural areas of the Middle Volga resulted naturally from the fact that conversion of Christians to Islam was legally prohibited and subject to prosecution.

Residents of the Middle Volga were supporters of religions with differing belief structures in terms of their acceptance or non-acceptance of resistance. As justly stated by the contemporary ethnologist, A. Salmin, the conceptual frameworks of the monotheistic religions are more conflicted than are those of traditional national confessions [Salmin, 2007, p. 33]. The polytheistic tradition includes beliefs in many gods and divinities; it is flexible, yielding, open and does not have a socio-cultural system with strictly outlined borders. Conceptual ideas of such views are tolerable by their nature, for they are not canonised, hence, they do not reject other Gods from other religions. Missionaries actively working to convert Chuvash pagans to Christianity were met by the supporters of traditional confessions with a rebuff dictated by their subtle worldview. They often received the same answer: 'No one knows whose faith is better, yours or ours, because God sends rain to our fields as well and gives us all that we need for mortal life. If God did not approve of our faith, He would not have given us a harvest and other worldly blessings, but would only bless the baptised. But now we see that God cares about us, too... God created 77 languages and 77 confessions, and that includes paganism as well... Everyone can live the way he thinks best and in which he has lived up until now' [Efremov, 1913, pp. 714].

Adherents of traditional national confessions, having views that the confessionally 'other' is an alternative to one's 'own', were open for a spiritual dialogue—both in the narrow and broad meaning of this word—with people of other confessions. Against the reality of daily life, this socio-psychological quality manifested itself in respect of what was sacred to 'outsiders', their orientation towards trusting relationships with 'outsiders' regarding religion and, if needed, in turning to 'other' Gods for patronage. In the town of Oshtormo-Yumye and its outskirts (Mamadysh Uyezd of Kazan guberniya) Udmurt adherents of tradi-

tional national confessions 'always welcomed the clergymen with a bow, and one of them, old man Petash, during religious processions' even invited them to his house, gladly listened to the moleben, kissed the cross, but refused to get baptised, 'pleading his age: if I were young, then I would get baptised, but my time has passed—I am old, I will die the way I have lived' [Istoriko-statisticheskoe opisanie, 1904, p. 233].

The space inhabited by the worldview of monotheism was a closed system based on the doctrine of the one and only, universal, personified being—the creator of the world and humankind. All three, Islam, Christianity and Judaism, reject other belief systems. The rejection of the confessional 'other' by Orthodox Christians and Muslims in the Middle Volga was manifested in numerous multifaceted forms. In the 19th century, from early childhood, when Tatar Muslim children misbehaved, their mothers would say to them 'Stop crying, or else I'll send you away to the Russians' [read: Christians.—G.N. [Nasyri, 1977, p. 75]. 'To this day, while living among Muhammadans,—as pointed out by a contemporary in the 1870s,—many Russians refuse to eat with them' [Mashanov, 1875, p. 40]. Adherents of different confessions also blackened other religions, depicting their sociocultural universe as a centre of savagery and barbarism. Committed enemies of Christianity among the Tatar Muslims spread rumours in their ethno-confessional environment that when building a cathedral the Orthodox Christians 'bury a person under it alive and it must be from among the newly baptised' [Koblov, 1911, p. 97].

The confessional tension between monotheists and polytheists was lessened, first of all, due to the fact that the versions of Islam and Orthodoxy that had spread throughout the social sphere in the region were more fluid than in other regions of the Russian Empire. Thus, the Volga region Orthodoxy did not have a 'tradition of medieval monastic asceticism' such as prevailed in the territory of the 'Holy Rus'; here it was gaining its momentum 'in the New Age, when Holy miracles and ascetic deeds of religious hermits were a rarity' [Filatov, 2002,

p. 61]. Here is where the most liberal Islamic school of jurisprudence, the Hanafi, were established. The Naqshbandi Sufi order that found its followers among Volga Tatars, was also flexible in its attitude towards people of other confessions [Malashenko, 1998, p. 22]. Secondly, the religious views of the Middle Volga rural community, both Orthodox Russian and Muslim Tatar, included a massive block of 'pagan' beliefs and rituals. The massive consciousness of both of these groups still maintained a number of universal pagan characters as 'evil spirits': including *leshya* and *shurale* (forest sprite), *domovoy* and *yort iyäse* (house sprite), *vodyanoy* and *su iyäse* (water sprite), *kikimora* and *biçura* (female hobgoblin) etc. In these regions, both Russian 'popular Orthodoxy' and Tatar 'popular Islam' were immersed in an unfathomable world of superstitions and beliefs: in Russian villages, at the least gasp of the dying, peasants opened oven chimneys in order to let the soul leave freely; Russian girls wanting to marry the lads of their choice put notes with their sweet dreams into the canons of the Orthodox church bells; before going to sleep, superstitious Muslims, with the goal of protecting themselves against an 'evil spirit', put iron items under the bed—a spoon, an axe, a knife, etc.; Tatar girls honouring ancient traditions, after seeing the first starling in spring, rubbed their face with snow to look beautiful throughout the whole year [Istoriko-statisticheskoe, 1904, p. 202, 247; Koblov, 1910, p. 6, 9, 11, 26, 40, 41].

The pagan component embedded in the belief system thus objectively served well both the Orthodox believers and the Muslims when dealing with ethnic groups which mostly lived 'by grandfather practices', for it allowed them to some extent belong to the foreign confessional environment, reducing or even erasing socio-psychological friction.

Due to the specificity of the Middle Volga community, religious 'hesitation' was a common enough phenomenon even in monotheism. Thus, in 'indigenous' Orthodoxy in the cultural field of those Christians who practised paganism and those who practised two different religions, this kind of peasants' behaviour

was a daily phenomenon. Sometimes in predicaments even parishioners who were zealous in faith sought patronage from some 'other' divine principle. It was this very behavioural stereotype of a peasant woman that was noted, in particular, by the Chuvash priest K. Prokopiev: 'In my parish there is one woman, a zealous Christian, whose husband has the Epilepsy. She served a service of intercession in the church, but when it didn't help, she, as she confessed to me afterward, contacted a *yumza*. Then, she took her husband 12 versts away to a Tatar mullah. Finally, she again came to me' [Prokopiev, 1905a, appendix 1, p. 126].

The opposition monotheist/monotheist in the social space of a village, due to the nature of different religions, a priori should have triggered severe mutual cultural rejection. But only short periods of its everyday existence manifested in such a situation here. In general, this concept should be characterised as neutral and careful, tolerant. The relationships between Orthodox believers and Muslims in the majority of populated areas in Russian-Tatar contact zones reflected the same image as that evidenced by the inhabitants of the Mishavka village in a Kazan uyezd near the governorate of the same name in 1864: 'We are not close with them [Muslims]; and we are not in conflict: there's nothing to argue about. We have our own environs, our own estate, and our own land. The Tatars, too, have their own possessions... There are almost no [debates and arguments about religion]' [Malov, 1892, p. 67]. Both a Russian peasant and a Tatar ploughman built the world of harmony and goodwill in their families, or even beyond, relying not so much on the dogmas of faith—which, by the way, they adopted very superficially [State Archive of the Mary-El Republic, f. 25, inv. 1, file 8, s. 36, 37; Malov, 1892, p. 136]—as on the pragmatic beginning. The mission of a ploughman is to feed society; the abode of religious workers is confessional matters. In the 19th century people of the plough, scythe and flail both from the among the Russians and the Tatars continued to build relationships of trust with each other, considering the 'other' cultural field to be God's providence, as their fathers

and grandfathers once had. By honouring 'alien' religious holidays, as they called them, both Russian Orthodox believers and Tatar Muslims developed close mutually-beneficial contacts. Thus, at the turn of 19th–20th centuries, in Sviyazhsk uyezd of Kazan Guberniya, the neighbouring Tatar Muslims celebrated Theotokos of Tikhvin Day together with the Russian Orthodox peasants [Koblov, 1907a, p. 41].

Gradually mastering the basics of the confessional world of their mothers and fathers, by the age of six or seven, children naturally saw themselves as the adherents of their parents' faith. In this regard, the young generation of Tatar Muslims was more advanced than their peers who followed a different faith. Such a situation was the result of the greater ethnic and confessional readiness of the Tatars, as well as of the relative sophistication of the organisational fundamentals in the form of Islam their followed. The Kazan diocesan foreign missionary V. Eslivanov noted that in a Tatar-Muslim family 'the child from the cradle was subjected to the father's and mother's irresistible influence in education in the spirit of Islam', and 'the 7–to 8-year-old child acquired such a strong Islamic-tribal inoculation that he would surprise each new observer and challenge each zealous Russifier about this' [Eslivanov, 1915, p. 1138]. In the cultural field of Orthodoxy and Islam, confessional educational institutions, primarily represented by grade schools of various types, played a major role in the development of the fundamentals of religious consciousness and behavioural stereotypes that the young generation of Middle Volga ploughmen in the family were exposed to, providing them with structure and inner harmony. In these schools, students not only acquired knowledge about the fundamentals of religion, the history of religion, responsibilities of parishioners, they were also imbued in the spirit of confessions—they read prayers, observed religious rites, attended divine services, etc. [Zakharyevsky, 1909; Koblov, 1916]. In the polytheistic tradition, the confessional education and upbringing of the younger generation were carried out only in the cultural space of such traditional social institutions as the family and rural community. In



At a Chuvash wedding
in the Kozmodemyansk uyezd, Kazan guberniya.
Photo from the late 19th century

some of pagan rites of the Volga peoples—for example, in rainmaking among the Chuvashes [Salmin, 2007, p. 116]—the main participants in ritual displays were children. The youth entered adulthood equipped with a solid sense of their confessional identity. As a rule, those who reached a ripe old age became: in monotheistic traditions, pious parishioners, zealous in faith, and in polytheistic traditions, proficient judges and keepers of religious practices and traditions, inveterate custodians of the spiritual-moral life of the community [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 266, p. 115, 116].

Usually the younger generation, as opposed to the confessional 'alien' generation, was at the cutting edge of the 'automatic' struggle against heterodoxy. Owing to youthful maximalism, it was, as a rule, characterised by intemperance—when defending their point of view, they easily used fists and were prone to rash steps and radical actions: they would

cut down sacred groves, destroyed the objects of the religious cult, etc. [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 587, p. 36; Prokopiev, 1906, p. 333, 334]. The middle generation usually responded to confessional ‘aliens’ with confidence, thus nipping in the bud all potential friction on religious grounds. Only the external challenges of a confessionally intolerant nature could throw staid family men off balance and make them take reciprocal steps corresponding to a threat. A similar case of religious confrontation took place, in particular, at the end of 19th century in Simbirsk uyezd: on 9 May 1897, a procession of Chuvash Orthodox peasants with religious hymns went from Simbirsk to Nizhniye Timersyany village. The participants of the procession held aloft a cross, which they intended to put on a parish church. Their route took them through the Tatar village of Novye Timersyany. The people of Novye Timersyany blocked the sacred procession, driving it from the road in a hailstorm of stones. Soon, new groups of believers started to join both the Christians and the Muslims. A great confessional conflict with unpredictable consequences loomed. It took the intervention of the local administration. The procession, accompanied by a police sergeant, successfully passed through the Islamic village. At the same time, due respect was accorded to the religious feelings of Muslims—the participants of the procession did not sing religious songs or pronounce prayers; the cross was half-mast and wrapped in canvas [Kobzev, 2005, p. 473, 474].

In the confessional opposition to heterodoxy, the senior generation of ploughmen was, in fact, the ideological custodians of a traditional lifestyle. Being a supporter of inflexible positions in questions of faith, it as a rule firmly rejected what was alien to the confession, creating a point of conflict in peasant families and rural societies [Yakovlev, 1904, p. 55, 63].

Socio-cultural mobilisation of religious communities. In the latter half of 19th century, the importance of religious affiliation as a factor differentiating the society grew due to circumstances and conditions of the internal and external environment. After the onset of the

era of capitalism, the ethnic self-consciousness of the rural population of the region rose to a qualitatively new level. These changes were the result of the destruction of former closed communities, an increase in the mobility of members of rural societies, increased communications between ploughmen and their compatriots and members of other communities, a rise in their educational level, and an opportunity to satisfy to some extent their interest in the history of their people. In the minds of village inhabitants, the ethnic principle was solidly intertwined with the confessional, and the confessional was intertwined with the ethnic. A severe external challenge—a sharp activation of missionary work and the introduction of the so-called N. Ilminsky's missionary educational system by the autocracy—served as a confessionally mobilising factor for the rural population of the region.

Losses incurred by ‘true paganism’ in its harsh confrontation with the Russian Orthodox Church were considerable, but by no means disastrous to the community. Even in their best year, the ‘catch’ of missionaries in the provinces of the region did not exceed several dozens of people [Otchet o deyatel'nosti, 1893, pp. 87–89]. The adherents of ‘paganism’ from the Volga peoples regarded those who left their native confession to be alien not only in faith, but also in nationality. Highlighting their ethno-confessional commonness among the compatriots, unbaptised Chuvashes were prone to call themselves ‘*çän çävaş*’ (literally: a real, true Chuvash); unbaptised Maris called themselves ‘*çimariy*’ (literally: a real, true Mari), and unbaptised Udmurts called themselves ‘*çin udmurt`e s*’ (literally: a real, true Udmurt). An interesting fact: an Udmurt who had served in the army tended to consider himself an ‘unclean votyak’ [Yakovlev, 1904, pp. 56]. From a psychological perspective, those ethnoconfessionisms were the locus of two moral-ethical principles. The first of them was a reproach; it was addressed to the compatriots who abandoned their ‘old’ faith. The second was merit; it was ascribed by the adherents of polytheism to, above all, its fathers and grandfathers who, against all odds, had

defended the traditional cultural heritage and passed it on to their children.

In advocating the right of their cultural heritage to exist, the adherents of traditional faith mostly were very determined, firm, and consistent [Prokopiev, 1906, p. 332]. The arsenal used by the adherents of traditionalism to influence those compatriots who plunged into the 'Russian faith' encompassed even such a painful tool as psychological pressure. In Mari El villages of Kozmodemyansk uyezd in Kazan Governorate, 'pagans' in the post-reform time made special sacrifices to Kiremets and asked them to destroy compatriots of the 'Russian faith' who cut down sacred groves [Yakovlev, 1892, p. 11, 12].

The attitude towards former 'insiders' and resistance to external confessional pressure in the space of 'paganism' ranged from grudging to very rigid. In the region, the upholders of the traditional faith represented a heterogeneous cultural field. Some of them maintained the faith of their fathers and grandfathers; others sought a reform of their religion; of these, some were under the 'Christian influence'; others were somewhat submerged in the space of Islam [Kremlev, 1913, p. 938]. And the groups oriented towards monotheistic traditions encompassed different categories of traditionalists [Kremlev, 1902, p. 401–402]. Among those pagans who observed Christianity, the rejection of their former spiritual compatriots was, as a rule, relatively soft.

The absolute majority of the Orthodox non-Russian rural population of the region entered the era of capitalism as nominal adherents of Christianity. Having become an object of impact of N. Ilminsky's missionary educational system, they, for the most part, became the followers of two different religions. Such a confessional shift led to confessional tension in their environment. In the third quarter of the 19th century, during the years of public disasters—a drought, hailstorm, epizootic outbreak, etc.—the members of the Chuvash, Mari El, Mordvin, and Udmurt rural societies conducted their ancient pagan rites almost everywhere and without any disputes, but in the last quarter of the century the unity of peasant communi-

ties of these ethnic commonalities over this question became a thing of the past [Otchet o deyatel'nosti, 1893, p. 81]. Peasants' 'worlds' divided into 'insider' and 'outsider'—into the Christian party and the pagan party. In this religious confrontation, the Christian party whose advanced guard was represented by the younger generation started to take over. The 'fathers' had to, though not without dissent, surrender one confessional position after another to their 'sons': the axe and the plough entered the territory of Kiremet groves and land adjacent to them; rural gatherings began to adopt carnal sentences banning public prayers, etc.

Having become an object of impact in the institutions founded by missionaries, the baptised Tatars preserving loyalty to Orthodoxy became even stronger in faith. In the post-reform era in rural societies, confessional 'battles of local importance' often broke out concerning 'insider'/'outsider' relations between the adherents of Christianity and 'apostates.' Both 'unofficial' Muslims and 'Christian Tatars', trying to reason with their 'lost' compatriots, put powerful socio-psychological, physical and economic pressure on the confessionally disjointed minority. Urging, generous promises, setting dogs on them, manhandling, deprivation of land allotments, etc., were used. [Bagin, 1910, p. 393; Istoriko-statisticheskoe opisanie, 1904, p. 268, 269, 383]. On 12 May 1881, archpriest E. Malov made the following note in his missionary diary: 'F[ather] Kuzma said, as before, that those who fell into Islam had toppled a cross from the old chapel in the heartland of the Yelyshevo village so as not to be ashamed of Mohammedans passing through the village' [Malov, 1999, p. 27].

The confessionally mobilised and organisationally advanced Tatar Islamic community of the region was strengthening its position as a cultural space. Tatar Muslims who betrayed their faith, as 'outsiders', became pariahs both in their families and rural communities. In the post-reform period in the Russian village, ostracism was also used as an effective tool in the fight against confessional betrayals. But this kind of phenomenon was rare in the Russian environment [Arnoldov, 1868, no. 45].

In the latter half of 19th century, a separation from the confessionally 'alien' manifested itself particularly clearly in the contact Islamic-Christian areas. In the socio-cultural space of multinational villages and villages where the adherents of Islam and Orthodoxy lived together in conditions of an ethnic and confessional mobilisation of commonalities, as well as in 'apostate' towns, a movement to establish confessionally and ethnically pure rural societies and land unions began to gain momentum [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 51, inv. 5, file 885, s. 2 reverse, 3]. A similar means of eliminating ethno-confessional tension was, as a rule, a painful, bureaucratic and economic operation, incurring significant material costs and spreading over many years. At the same time, this method often made it possible to put an end to longstanding mutual resentments and complaints [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 51, inv. 5, file 1258, s. 1–17].

A relatively high level of confessional tension in the Islamic rural community of the region in the latter half of the 19th century was supported by several conditions: a religious reformation experienced by the Tatar society; the historical 'tradition' of treating socio-economic, socio-political, and socio-cultural decisions of the autocratic state as preliminary steps to Christianisation [Zagidullin, 2000, p. 166–191]; the second rate nature of the practised confession in the socio-cultural space of the country [Nogmanov, 2003, p. 178], 'clum-

sy administrative steps of local authorities' [Koblov, 1907a, p. 11]; active Christian education implemented by the church in the circles of Tatar 'apostates'; criminal prosecution of the members of rural communities for promoting Islam, etc.

The 'insider'/'outsider' opposition was an integral part of the social life of a Middle Volga village in the latter half of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century. For some time, the basis for such differentiation of members of the rural community served as characteristics of different types. The existence of this division on a confessional basis was the natural consequence of the multi-confessionalism of its population. Faith, by virtue of its great significance for one's cultural identity, objectively was a principle differentiating the social environment. It defined a behavioural stereotype of the peasant community and served as an evaluative and complementary criterion when perceiving reality in a mirror of attraction/rejection. In the era of capitalism under the conditions of ethnic and confessional mobilisation of its population, the demand for and significance of the 'insider'/'outsider' concept as a principle regulating the confessional life in a Middle Volga village increased significantly. The religious confrontation in the ethno-cultural space of the region had different magnitudes. However, almost everywhere its intensity was relative. For the most part, peasants of all confessions were open to a cultural dialogue with each other.

CHAPTER 2

Ethnocultural Interaction of the Russians and Tatars

Guzel Stolyarova, Nail Khalikov

From the middle of the 16th century, Kazan became the centre of the expansion of Orthodoxy to the east. It was from this historical moment in Tatar society that two main stereotypes can be discerned regarding the actions of the Russians against the Tatar state: the stereotype that 'the Russians were colonisers', and, as regards faith, the stereotype whereby 'the Russians were pursuers of Muslims'; to some extent these stereotypes have survived to the present day [Sagitova, 1998, p. 113]. Meanwhile, it's evident that these stereotypes emerged as a result of the policy of the Russian state and had nothing to do with the majority of the Russian population. The absence of antagonism in inter-ethnic relations (including Russian-Tatar) in this and later periods, as L. Sagitova fairly pointed out, 'could be extracted from the fact that the Russians and the Tatars were united by the shared interests of various social groups in their opposition to their state' [Sagitova, 1998, p. 116].

At the state-political level, the relationships between the Tatars and the Russians (represented by their ruling elite) from the moment of incorporation of the Kazan Khanate (however, with some attenuation starting from the end of the 18th century) were a confrontation of an ethno-confessional nature rather than a merely ethnic conflict, and in this economic and cultural elements were subordinate. At the same time, at the domestic level no serious confrontation between the Tatars and the Russians was revealed. As noted by K. Nasyri, 'By virtue of the fact that a Russian and a Muslim (Tatar) live on the same land, eat the same bread, these two nations know each other's habits well and are in close relationships' [Nasyri, 1977, p. 18]. Due to various reasons, mixed villages from the Russian and local yasak-paying people,

including the Tatars, were formed, where the representatives of different nationalities lived 'on their plots of land', autonomously enough, but at the same time belonged to one community ('society', or 'community'). The so-called complex communities (which encompassed the populations of several towns with different nationalities) could be found only in the Middle Volga region. The incorporation of people of different nationalities into one community was the most important factor in the inter-ethnic interaction in the region. In the complex communities, there were common traditions which governed the processes underlying coexistence. 'Pomochi' were the norm in the community's daily life—the joint erection of a house or other household outbuildings, the joint stocking of timber, etc. Even barge haulers' brigades in the Middle Volga region were multinational [Busygin, 1966, p. 80].

Scholars note that in a number of spheres, above all in the spiritual, the influence of Russian culture, including language, affected the Islamic peoples of the region (Tatars, Bashkirs) less than it did the Finno-Ugric peoples [Kuzeev, 1992, p. 209].

Despite a significant cultural and confessional distance, the Tatars also borrowed many cultural elements from their foreign neighbours. K. Fuchs acknowledged their mutual influence with the Russians as a result of the extended coexistence. 'Their houses are built by the Russians, who even worked on the restoration of mosques, and vice versa; I've seen Tatar peasants building wooden houses in Russian villages many times... Houses of wealthy merchants differ little in their appearance from houses of Russian noblemen and merchants. Inside houses, walls are often painted by Russian painters; landscapes with trees, flowers, and a river are

common images; sometimes a sea with ships is depicted; but you will see neither people nor beasts nor birds, for this is strictly forbidden' [Fuchs, 1991, pp. 22–24]. Borrowings by both parties and the similarity of different elements of material and spiritual culture are pointed out by the scholar in the same detail: in the headgear of Tatar women; in childbirth rites of the Tatars and the Russians; in the mastering of traditional Tatar craft of gold embroidery by Russian craftswomen; in the joint participation in Tatar and Russian celebrations and public activities [Fuchs, 1991, pp. 33, 85, 116–117, 140–142]. K. Fuchs also did not overlook some negative, in his opinion, nuances in the relationships, especially noting the unwillingness of the Tatars to study the Russian language, which surprised him the most [Fuchs, 1991, pp. 129–130, 138, 139, 144].

According to the famous ethnographer N. Vorobyev, Tatar culture absorbed influences of different origins. The following influences (according to the magnitude of the impact) became part of the main forms of Tatar culture: 'the Persian, mostly interpreted through the culture of the Middle Asian Turks; the European interpreted through the Russians; and lastly, the Finnish interpreted through the Maris, Votyaks, and Mordvins. The difficulties in conducting ethnographic analyses become even more challenging due to the fact that all the peoples of the region, after living together for almost 500 years, had grown close in terms of culture thanks to their shared interests both in the material and spiritual culture; there are a lot of features common to all the nations of the region' [Vorobyev, 1925].

The 'addition' of largely similar agricultural practices of the Tatars to that of the Russians and the other peoples of the region was one of the most important results of the ethno-cultural contacts of the population of the Middle Volga region and Ural. 'A Tatar's agricultural practice', as N. Vorobyev wrote, 'is in general terms identical to that of the other nations of the region: the same systems of land tenure are used; the same cereals are sown; the same agricultural equipment is used; the breeds of livestock are the same. To move in summer, mainly a cart

of the so-called 'Cheremis' type is used, which differs from a Russian peasant cart in that it has a higher backrest' [Vorobyev, 1925].

Cannabis (a plant typical for the steppe) was especially characteristic of the Tatars, whereas flax cultivation (a plant which due to its biological properties is more suitable for a forest zone) was, most likely, borrowed by the Tatars from the ancestors of the Maris and the Udmurts. From the Russian tradition of land cultivation, the Tatars inherited the cribbed barn under the Russian name (*även*); an ancient shish (*şäş*) was a Tatar construction fire drying sheaves, also known as a 'Tatar drying barn' among the peoples of the Middle Volga region and the Urals [Busygin, 1966, p. 241; Khalikov, 1995, p. 87–88]. But we should not rule out the possibility that Tatar cultivators borrowed a drying barn from their Mari and Udmurt neighbours [Vorobyev, 1953, p. 92]. Thanks to Russian settlers from the Upper Volga and Northern Russia, in the fields cultivated by Tatar peasants such kinds of sheaf laying as *soslan* and *bäbkä* (Russian *suslon* and *babka*; the Tatars also called them *marja başı*—'a head of a Russian woman') became widespread. Tatar types of laying such as a *cross*, and a *sacrum* originate from the agriculture practices of Russian peasants from the southern governorates of European Russia and the Ukrainian people. They also introduced a threshing stone into the practice of the Tatars of South Ural [Busygin, 1966, p. 102; Khalikov, 1995, p. 76–78]. Often such borrowings are not entirely correctly interpreted. For example, it is thought that a prong hoe with a reversible *politsa* that is both traditional and typical of the 19th century was introduced into the Middle Volga by Russian settlers [Busygin, 1966, p. 93]. But the metal parts similar to those of a 'Great-Russian' plough (*soshniks*, *politsas*) were found in the territory of pre-Mongolian Volga Bulgaria and Udmurt lands several centuries before the large-scale migrations of the Russians into the Middle Volga and the Kama regions [Khalikov, 1983, p. 18]. The plough—an instrument which due to its mechanical properties was meant for ploughing light forest soils—likely appeared among the

local Finnish peoples. The plough was most likely borrowed by the Bulgars (Tatars) from local cultivators, since a tool such a plough was a traditional ploughing instrument of the early Bulgars; ploughshares and chiefs of such tools are known from the monuments of the 6–13th centuries both on the Lower Volga and Northern Caucasus, as well as the Kama region.

A special role in the enrichment of the vocabulary of the Tatar language was played by Russian. Words referring to various areas of life (authority, court, trade, military science) were taken from Russian to Tatar over the course of linguistic developments. The vast majority of borrowings from Russian can be considered loanwords only in terms of etymology. In fact, they have been deeply rooted in the Tatar language for a long time and are not perceived as loans anymore. In the bilingual dictionaries of the 19th century, they were already listed along with Tatar words. Some words became part of the Tatar vernacular as a result of oral communications between the Tatars and the Russians; others resulted from the exposure of the Tatars to Russian written texts. The enrichment of the Tatar vocabulary by Russian-European loan words in the 19th century was due to changes in the public and political, economic, and cultural spheres of Tatars' life. At the beginning of the 20th century, a rise in education among the Tatars led to the active exclusion of Arab-Persian loan words concomitant with their substitution by Russian and European words. A. Yusupova classifies this vocabulary thematically, thereby enabling a delineation of the spheres of activity in which the most significant changes were occurring². Among the specified thematic groups,

the largest—that is, the one comprising of the largest number of Russian loan words—is the group denoting different spheres of activity, namely names of plants, beverages, food, etc.; the smallest thematic group contains terms from the area of medicine; the majority of Russian and European loan words belong to the realm of everyday life. Very similar processes also occurred with Tatar loan words adopted in the Russian language [Yusupova, 2009].

The Tatars, in their turn, were influencing their neighbours, which is also reflected in local literature. In particular, the influence of Tatar national cuisine on the cuisine of the other peoples of the area is mentioned [Arkhangelsky, 1911]; borrowings in clothes and decorations are mentioned [Nikolsky, 1911, p. 546; 1925, p. 168; Sokolov, 1925, p. 174]; the influence of the Tatar language is particularly notable: some population groups added 'tatarisms' to their native language; in places inhabited by both peoples, the non-Tatar population spoke fluent Tatar [Nikolsky, 1925, p. 167; Yevseyev, 1925, p. 181, Shestakov, 1884, p. 4].

Forced Christianisation, as well as attempts at Islamisation, were among the negative factors impacting inter-ethnic interaction. Indeed, ethnic conflicts of interest might even have occurred in everyday life. Mentions of ethnophobia among the Middle Volga peoples are rare, but can be found in descriptions of the past [Nikolsky, 1911a].

Regional ethnographers of the 19th century have written about inter-ethnic marriages in the territory of the Kazan Governorate [Laptev, 1861; Lyadov, 1861; Maksimov, 1894; 1902; Rittikh, 1870; Sboev, 1856; Shein, 1907]. There is virtually no mention made of Russian-Tatar marriages: while supporting close economic ties and friendly relations with their neighbours

² On the basis of Russian and European vocabulary, A. Yusupova has formulated 17 thematic categories: 1) the names of dishes and household equipment: *kukshin*, *padnus*, *tyarlinkya*, *samavyr*, etc.; 2) household items: *munchala*, *ponar*, *plitya*, *bstyal*, etc.; 3) tools: *lum*, *shpaler*, *shotka*, *ystan*, etc.; 4) units of measurement: *lot*, *ger*, *birshuk*, *pot*, etc.; 5) names of buildings and structures: *matcha*, *mich*, *zhdesheke*, *zastun*, etc.; 6) names of plants and food items: *kyabestya*, *kryan*, *anise*, *upunka*, etc.; 7) names of clothing items and fabrics: *eshlepe*, *kartus*, *materia*, *plis*, etc.; 8) items used in agriculture: *suka*, *kamyt*, *buryanya*, *burazna*, *salam*, etc.; 9) classroom-related vocabulary: *karta*, *kanikul*, *kompas*,

lineyka, etc.; 10) military vocabulary: *drushka*, *pulyn*, *shtik*, *pristup*, etc.; 11) names of professions: *apikun*, *piser*, *patriot*, *passazhir*, etc.; 12) financial vocabulary: *kassa*, *suma*, *banka*, *pankrutlyk*, etc.; 13) legal terms: *shtrau*, *sut'*, *kontrakt*, etc.; 14) medical terms: *apteka*, *likyer*, *chakutka*, etc. 15) musical terms: *sripkya*, *argan*, *gitar*, etc.; 16) names of minerals: *lazur*, *magnit*, *izbis*, *labastyr tashy*, etc.; 17) religious vocabulary: *manastyr*, *grup*, *pup*, *porfira*, *sochel'nik*, etc.



Bazaar in Bor village of Nizhny Novgorod guberniya.
Photo by M. Dmitriev. 1892.

of other nationalities, the Tatars nevertheless persistently resisted Christianisation, and religious differences became an insurmountable barrier to mixed marriages. At the same time, in areas inhabited by multiple nationalities, mention is made inter-ethnic marriages of the Tatars with the Chuvashes and settled Bashkirs, as well as Maris, Udmurts, and Mordvins. An important role in this was played by linguistic similarities, common features in business and culture, the influence of the Islamic religion, whereby a person was made a Tatar through conversion. Lastly, gender-related differences in inter-ethnic marriages were revealed: Russian women entered into mixed marriages far more often than men; the reverse trend was noted for the other the Middle Volga peoples. Russian men preferred marriages within their ethnic groups and hardly ever married non-Russians.

The writer S. Aksakov, who spent his childhood and youth at his grandfather's estate south of the Kama River in the early 19th century, noted that the peoples who had settled in the same place differed in terms of their languages, cultures and confessions, and yet enjoyed good, neighbourly relations with each other. He argued that the clothes, language and lifestyle of the Russians living south of the Kama River are a patchwork of Tatar and Russian customs, and he emphasised that the Russians knew the

languages of their neighbours very well [Busygin, 2007, p. 286]

Inter-cultural collaboration became a key factor in the formation of the of the Volga Russians, a specific ethno-territorial group in the Volga-Ural region. The influence of other peoples, including the Tatars, on the ethno-cultural image of the Russians, can be traced to many factors that are multifaceted in their origin.

First of all, the ancestors of some of the Russians in the region were the representatives of non-Russian peoples who had been subjected to assimilation, and, as a result, had accepted the

Russian language and culture, but at the same time preserved separate features of their former ethno-cultural identity which were the most convenient and adaptable to local conditions [Busygin, 1996, p. 79].

The second reason for the maintenance of a layer of elements of the culture of other Volga peoples in the ethnic culture of the Volga Russians is the direct interaction of these peoples with each other. The interaction of the Russians with other Volga peoples was manifested in their everyday life, language and anthropological aspect.³

Thus, the Tatar plough—*saban*, known from Bulgarian times, was well-adapted for breaking virgin sod and fallows, and was widely used by the Russians throughout the territory of the region. Russian peasants adopted such crops as spelt wheat from the local peoples, which had a ritual significance to the Tatars. They also used a typical Tatar method to bind sheaves in the field. *chumele* haystack *kibens* on a threshing-floor.

While a U-shaped construction to connect the house with the outbuildings, whereby the house and outbuildings would form a continuous U-shaped line, leaving the inner part of the courtyard open, was the most widespread

³ All of the evidence about Russian-Tatar interactions that follows is taken from: [Busygin, 1966]

in the past, the Russians primarily used courtyards with separate household structures (a farmstead consisted of several farm structures separated from the house and each other). In the past, an estate of this type was typical for Tatars. In regions where the Russian settlements alternated with those inhabited by Tatars, the interior of the Russian dwelling had a free stove placement (in a traditional Russian dwelling a stove always stood close to a wall), boilers embedded or suspended in a stove, which is typical for the Tatar and Chuvash dwellings, as well as Tatar curtains (*kashaga*), separating the residential sections of the house. In many districts inhabited by both Russians and Tatars, polychromatic (multicoloured, in three, four, and even five colours) house painting was a typical feature of the dwellings of the Russian population of the region. Skills and traditions that became widespread in the region back in the Middle Ages, such as gold-work, high quality leather (yuft) work and tanning, felt work, the production of various art objects from metal, were widespread among the Russian peasants in the Volga region.

As for clothing, the Volga Russians adopted attire such as robes and sleeveless clothes, felt footwear with leather galoshes, Tatar hats and Bashkir fur caps (*malakhais*). Russian peasants used to buy Tatar hats at bazaars or ordered them from tailors who visited the Russian villages. It was noted that the women in the Russian villages bound their shawls in the 'Tatar way', wore black onuchas (as the Mari did), used ornamental motifs of the Volga peoples in adorning the individual elements of their costumes.

There were numerous culinary borrowings. From olden times the Russians living in the Western districts of Tatarstan used to eat *kaymak* (a thick brown greasy mass made of baked milk). Sour milk was a widespread dish among the Russians. To cook it, milk was heated until it turned red, and after it cooled, it was mixed with new milk and curd. In many Russian settlements, especially those located near the Tatars, sour milk was cooked in the same way as the Tatar dish *katyk*. Sour milk was used to cook *aryem* (in Tatar—*ayran*), made by stir-



Spoon manufacture in Deyanovo village of Nizhny Novgorod guberniya.
Photo by M. Dmitriev. 1897.

ring one spoon of *katyk* in a cup of water. The water would then be little bit sour, and allayed thirst; *aryem* was drunk during the harvest and hay-making.

As for housewares, of note is that the Russians used Tatar *kumgans*—copper or tin pitchers with a spout, ear and a top, which were used by the Russians to store beer or kvass. Traditional Russian means of transportation were also marked with some distinctive features. Throughout the territory of the region, Russians made wide use of specific tarantasses—from primitive woven ones to more sophisticated city carriages; small Tatar-style hand trucks were also widespread. The existence of some kinds of jewellery, harnesses, the custom of covering horses with coloured pompoms are undoubtedly connected with the Tatar influence. Of course, the similarity of some cultural elements cannot always be explained by borrowings; rather they should be viewed as a result of the long-term cohabitation and joint creative activity of the Russians and other peoples, who lived in the same socio-economic, natural and geographic conditions.

The longstanding working relations and intermingled settlements influenced the manner in which folk holidays were celebrated. Russians took part in the celebrations of Tatar *Sabantuy* and *Dzhiyen*. Holiday traditions of the Volga Russians included sporting competitions, games and entertainments, typical for the Tatars. Even the Russian wedding rite reveals a range of elements typical for the neighbouring peoples: the use of non-Russian terminology (for example, *kalym* instead of *kladka*), supplementing holiday and ceremonial foods with local ethnic dishes, etc.

During the long period of living as neighbours, the language of the Russian population of the Middle Volga region was enriched with a number of words and expressions commonly used by the Volga peoples. In the works of 19th century local historians it is frequently mentioned that Russians living amid the Tatars, Chuvashes, Mordvins, had a good command of those languages, and it is even concluded that the languages of the non-Russian peoples found their way into the Russian environment more often than the reverse. Russians used local terminology to refer to separate parts of settlements, dwellings and farmsteads, articles of clothing, utensils, etc. Linguists who research Turkic and Slavonic interaction present a wide range of Tatar words that were widely used by the Russian long-term residents of Tatarstan. Among them, for instance, is *chilyak*—a wooden bucket (any bucket in the Tatar language); *sarcha*—sheep; *ash*—flour soup (any soup in the Tatar language); *besmet*—an old coat (one of the types of outer protective clothing against the elements in the Tatar language); *bashmak*—a one-year-old calf; *kazan*—a cauldron;

maidan—a square; *urman*—a forest; *bagan*—a post; *urema*—a bush, a thicket along a river; *saban*—a plough, and so on. Not without reason, G. Tukay wrote:

*'We have become relatives with the Russians
Through the centuries, we have exchanged
languages,*

*We have given birth to the same songs,
And glorified the same events'* [Tukay, 1943, p. 265].

Kazan linguists have noted the influence of foreign languages on the Russian dialects of Kazan and adjacent areas, which is reflected in the existence of certain lexical borrowings from the Tatar language, not typical for the Russian language and its dialects outside the Kazan territory [Almukhamedova, 1958, p. 232].

The anthropological appearance of the Volga Russians was also affected by local peoples (both by means of inter-ethnic marriages and by means of the Russification of separate groups of non-Russian peoples) [Shestakov, 1884, p. 4]. Traits of a sub-Lapanoid (Volga-Kama, mixed Caucasian-Mongoloid) anthropological nature are seen in epicanthus, high cheekbones, the generally reduced height, inherent in individuals among the Volga Russians.

Thus, the history of land invasion and cohabitation of territory by the Volga peoples extends back over several centuries. The circumstances and factors of inter-ethnic cooperation were rather different, with some of the forms being anything but peaceful among them. However, the dominant features of inter-ethnic relationships still were, on the whole, marked by tolerance, cultural and language inter-influences, and economic cooperation.

CHAPTER 3

Ethnocultural Interaction of the Chuvash and Tatars

Gennady Nikolaev

The living space of the Middle Volga region is woven from heterogeneous ethnic cultures, which are Turkic, Finno-Ugric and East Slavic. Their complex interaction has continued here for many centuries. The Chuvashes and Tatars are inseparable ethnocultural components of the social space of the region. In distant antiquity, their remote ancestors in Central Asia were members of the same linguistic community: The Chuvash and Tatar languages belong to the Bulgar and Kypchak groups of the Turkic language family and are characterised by a similarity of structure and their lexical nucleus. It was determined by history that the Chuvashes and Tatars would share a 'common home' in the Middle Volga region, having found their niche on its social, economic and cultural realms.

In the conditions of the co-residence of different peoples in the same 'common home', a segment of the ethnically 'pure' settlements of the Chuvashes and Tatars inevitably acquired a new ethnocultural quality over the course of time, and became Chuvash-Tatar or Tatar-Chuvash. According to estimates which we carried out in our economical and statistical investigations of the district councils, at the beginning of the –20th century, in 34 villages of the Kazan and Simbirsk Guberniyas, the Chuvashes lived side by side with the Tatars. In 14 other settlements, these ethnicities were neighbours either with the Russians or the Mordovians, or with both the Russians and Mordovians [Nikolaev, 2009, p. 81]. Changes in the ethnic composition of the settlements were caused by the joint household and economic activities of the representatives of different peoples, their migrations and permanent economic relations with each other, the settlement of 'aliens' on vacant land allotments by village communes, regulations governing the rural communities put in place by

the authorities, and other circumstances [Martynov, 1903, p. 257].

In the latter half of 19th –the beginning of the –20th century, the Tatars and Chuvashes appeared to inhabit different religious worlds in the social space of the Middle Volga villages. In the everyday life of the Middle Volga village, faith principles were deeply intertwined with national principles, and vice versa. In the latter half of 19th –the beginning of the –20th century, Muslim Tatars couldn't envision an ethnic identity outside Islam. For them, faith was one of the most important components of their ethnic identity and lifestyle. A remarkable thing is that up to the beginning of the –20th century many of them continued to designate their national identity as synonymous with their confessional identity of 'Muslim' [Bagin, 1910, p. 119]. In the context of the historically formed ethno-confessional situation, Chuvash ploughmen considered Muslim Tatars to be the ethnic 'face' of Islam in the region. Like other neighbours sharing a 'common home', they regarded 'Muslim' as identical to the definition of 'Tatar'. Chuvash peasants, who lived as a large, continuous massif, were sometimes completely unaware of the existence of an ethno-confessional group of Christian Tatars [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 233, sheet 426]. The behaviour pattern of the Chuvashes can also serve as evidence of how they conceived of the religious and confessional identity of the Tatars. Chuvash peasants who adopted Islam introduced themselves as Tatars, not Chuvashes [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. 1, item 242, s. 249].

If the vast majority of the Middle Volga villagers qualified Islam as the faith of the Tatars, Christianity was considered to be the faith of the Russians. In the perception of unbaptised

Chuvashes, their congeners who changed their faith, broke their ancestral spiritual bonds, lost their singularity, and, as a result, were deprived of the key component to their ethnic identity.

Every ethnic community was a special world. The Chuvashes and Tatars were distinguished by their origin and historical destiny, spiritual and social experience, world perception, customs and traditions, religious beliefs, mentality and other such components. By dint of their respective natures, each of them evolved into a relatively closed, specific cultural field over the course of their historical development. In folk wisdom, such socio-cultural ethnic specificity spiralled into succinct and insightful aphorisms. What follows are Chuvash proverbs read:

'Чăвайăн—чăвайла алак, ырайăн—ырайла алак'—A Chuvash has a Chuvash gate, and a Russian has a Russian gate [Nikolsky, s. 488]; *'Чăвайăн—чăкăт, тутарăн—турăх'*—A Chuvash treats you to cheese, a Tatar treats you to sour milk [Vattisen sâmkhêsem, 2004, p. 160]. The fact that the Volga 'common home' was surrounded by the representatives of different confessions and ethnicities was seen by the Chuvashes as an unalterable reality. According to their world perception, all peoples are the creation of God, therefore all are equal participants in the historical process (*'Этем нур те нĕр: ырайă та, тутар та, чăвай та, мăкши те'*—Everyone is equal: Russians, Tatars, Chuvashes, Mordovians); their cultural field deserves the same respect, as your native one (*'Тутар та турра нуççанат'*—A Tatar also prays to his own God) [Ваттисен сăмахĕсем, 2004, p. 12, 153]. While respecting the socio-cultural space of their neighbours, the Chuvashes, like all the other Volga peoples, were oriented towards their own world in their everyday life. This motif was reflected, for instance, in one of their songs [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 176, s. 257]:

*Ати мана ырайă парас тет,
Каймастăн, килместĕн.
Ырайă, кулач хушинче,
Каймастăн, килместĕн,
Кулачă нĕçерме нĕлместĕн.
Ати мана тутара парас тет,
Каймастăн, килместĕн.*

*Тутар самовар хушинче,
Каймастăн, килместĕн,
Самовар лартма нĕлместĕн.*

*My father wants to marry me to a Russian,
but I don't want to and I won't do it.*

*I don't want to be in the Russian community
where they eat kalatches, I won't do it, I can't
cook kalatches.*

*My father wants to marry me to a Tatar, but
I don't want to and I won't do it.*

*I don't want to be in the Tatar community,
where they have samovars, I won't do it, I can't
use samovars.*

Similarly to their Volga neighbours, the Chuvashes used to find many of the lifestyle features, inherent and typical to other ethnicities, either unfavourable or unwarranted in their culture. This either didn't interface or else it interfaced badly with their behaviour pattern, traditions and standards. Thus, according to Chuvash etiquette, their congeners shouldn't sit down at the dining table at the first invitation. Every Chuvash who ignored this ancient tradition, was bestowed with an uncomplimentary characteristic behind his back: 'just like a Tatar, he sat down at the first invitation' [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 158, s. 153, 154]. Those who lived well without sufficient funds didn't acquire the reputation of clever hosts in the Chuvash community. According to a contemporary, the Chuvashes referred to them thusly: 'like the Tatars, when they have money, they live in lordly fashion, and when the money is gone, they come and make requests of the people' [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 158, pp. 153, 154]. Socio-psychological and ethnocultural distancing from the Tatar living space was more noticeable among the upper Chuvashes (those living upstream of the Volga River), as due to geographic factors they had more contacts with the Russians and Mari, rather than with the Tatars. At the beginning of the 20th century, a resident of the Anatkassy village of the Yadrin uyezd of the Kazan Guberniya characterised the relationships between

the Chuvashes and Tatars as follows: 'The local Chuvashes don't like the Tatars at all. They are always spoken of as wicked people. They are said to be inhospitable, they won't invite you to stay with them and share their dinner... That is the reason why the Chuvashes are very afraid of the Tatars' [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. 1, item 184, s. 363]. At the same time, the rejection of the culture of the Muslim Tatars remained relative, especially as regards the economic sphere. The Chuvashes, strong in their Orthodox faith, tended to view the Muslim Tatars as bearers of another monotheistic tradition in the 'mirror' of rejection, while as the participants of economic relations and neighbours at the 'common home' the latter were viewed in the 'mirror' of attraction. As is further written in the ethnographic notes of the Anatkassy village resident, 'Although they don't like the Tatars and are afraid of them, when they approach them for one reason or another, either on a contractual basis or to trade, they are very friendly to the Tatars'. They offer lodging for the night, share their food and drink, provide cheap accommodation' [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. 1, item 184, s. 363].

Ethnocultural exchanges have always accompanied ethnicities on their thorny way in the historical space. The culture of every nation is not a kind of formation that is based entirely on its own ethnocultural component. It certainly includes elements of other people's culture with which these nations have direct or indirect contacts. At the same time, ethnocultural exchanges are not a multilateral process of an automatic exchange of cultural elements. An alien element takes roots in a new culture and becomes its integral part only when it finds an appropriate 'response' in the body of the 'foster mother', and passes a cross-match test with her 'flesh and blood'. In the course of implantation, a borrowed element nearly always undergoes a certain transformation. For instance, an anonymous author of ethnographic notes, writes at the beginning of the 20th century about the residents of Apanasovo-Temyashi village of the Tetyush uyezd of the Kazan guberniya as follows: On the whole, the local Chuvashes have

become strongly Russified; there are many Russianisms in their language, clothes and all skills related to the struggle for existence. They have adopted many features from the neighbouring Tatars, but, I guess, this happened long ago, and, in terms of customs, these things are currently held as something native [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 151, p. 280].

Genetic affinity, cohabitation, and contacts between ethnic groups indispensably result in numerous 'markings' on their cultural. Brief songs of the Chuvashes and Tatars, with all their differences, though essential, but not fundamental,—as musicologist M. Kondratyev concludes, are distinguished by the identity of the principal elements of the plot composition, as well as the identity of particular plots, including the most ancient ritual and mythological motifs [Kondratyev, 1993, p. 56]. The mythologies of these peoples are congruent. They have many similarities—both in the names of the main characters (Tatar: *arish anasi*, Chuvash: *irash amāshē*, 'rye mother'; Tatar: *alip*, Chuvash: *olān*, *ylān*, 'a hero; a giant; a mythological giant ancestor', etc.), and in the plot motifs (the Tatar *yarymytk* and the Chuvash *ar suri* were known as those who liked to tickle people to their death, while the Tatar *upkin* and the Chuvash *vupkhān*, *vupkān* were famous for their extraordinary gluttony, and so on) [Akhmetyanov, 1981, p. 9, 17, 44, 49]. The Lower dialect of the Chuvash language, which had interfaced with the dialects of the Tatar language for a relatively long time, is richer due to the Tatar borrowings than are the Middle and the Upper dialects. It was discovered by the linguist N. Egorov that the Tatarisms in the Lower Chuvash dialect 'often pushed out existing Chuvash national words, or co-existed with them, sometimes pushing them to second place' [Egorov, 1985, p. 64]. By conducting comparative analyses, the linguist A. Akhmetyanov concluded that the majority of words that were 'equally understandable by both Chuvashes and Tatars' were borrowed from the Tatar language by the Chuvash and vice versa—from the Chuvash language by Tatar [Akhmetyanov, 1978, p. 104]. The wedding poetry of Mishar Tatars has distinctive features



A group of Chuvash people in national costumes.
Photo from the late 19–beginning of the 20th century.

that are close to Chuvash poetry [Mukhamedova, 1972, p. 200]. The Chuvash headdress for women was an intricate concoction that included several separate details, including a headscarf *surpan*. Molkeevo Kryashens, Mishar Tatars and Qasim Tatars had similar headdresses *tastars*. They were wrapped around the face under the chin. It allowed the woman to fully cover her hair, neck, back and shoulders. The way of wearing *surpans* was the same among the lower Chuvashes (the upper and middle Chuvashes used it as a decoration for the neck and the back) [Yagafova, 2007, p. 52, 55]. The traditional cuisine of Chuvashes, Kazan Tatars, and Mishar Tatars suggested keeping sour dairy products that 'were not prepared by sun-drying, as other Turkic peoples did it, but by wringing out the whey' [Mukhamedova, 1972, p. 129]. Such remnants of ethnocultural inter-influence between two kindred peoples are very common [Ivanov, 1984, p. 103–120].

The ethnocultural exchanges between Chuvashes and Tatars resulted from ethnic pro-

cesses that took place in the Middle Volga Region. Chuvash ancestors became part of the Kazan Tatar nationality that formed in the Middle Ages [Khalikov, 2011, p. 248]. The Chuvash nationality that formed during the same period also included an ethnic layer from the Kypchak Tatars. However, this was insignificant [Ivanov, 2000, p. 37]. Chuvashes who converted to Islam during different periods of their history, were assimilated by the Kazan Tatars and Mishar Tatars before the abolition of serfdom [Yagafova, 2009, p. 10–29]. The process whereby Chuvashes became part of the Tatar ethnos in zones or contact resulted from their ethnocultural assimilation with

their neighbours, as well. According to calculations made by D. Iskhakov, during the 18–19th centuries, 4–5 thousands of Chuvashes were assimilated by Molkeevo Kryashens who lived in 9 villages of Tsivilsk and Tetyushi uyezds in the Kazan Guberniya [Iskhakov, 1993a, p. 16]. There were Tatars joined the Chuvashes as well, although this was a rare phenomenon [Nasyri, 1977, p. 54, 55].

In the latter half of 19th –the beginning of the –20th centuries, ethnocultural contacts between Chuvashes and Tatars in Middle Volga villages 'differed in frequency and closeness'. In this regard, villages situated at small distances from one another and mixed Chuvash-Tatar and Tatar-Chuvash settlements formed a special zone in the socio-cultural space of the Middle Volga. As a rule, this was the space for good neighbourly relations and mutual understanding based on common everyday contacts. A report done by a priest from the Bayglychevo village in Tetyushi uyezd Kazan guberniya, Alexei Rekeev (1898), paints the following

picture: 'In Chuvash settlements of Menchi, Vyshnyovaya Polyana, Bilyar-Ozero and Alexandrov sloboda all of the Chuvash like to speak Tatar with each other. They sing Tatar songs and have begun adopting Mohammedan traditions, such as shaving their mustache the Tatar way. Relationships between Chuvashes and Tatars are so close here that Christian Chuvashes relate to Tatar Mohammedans' [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 195, p. 556]. In the vicinities of the Izbakhtino village of Tetyushi uyezd, Tatars organised banquets for Chuvashes. 'During the feast they were served special dishes—*bäleş* (a large round pie with sweet or savoury filling.—*G.N.*) and *kort* (a dairy product, a sort of curd.—*G.N.*). Chuvashes did the same for their hospitable guests' [Kremlev, 1913, p. 1075]. Mixed Chuvash-Tatar-Kryashna round dances for maidens were common in neighbouring villages of the Christian Tatars and Chuvashes from the Tetyushi and Tsivilsk uyezds [Filippov, 1915, p. 753–759].

Chuvash-Tatar ethnocultural exchanges in the Middle Volga region were an asymmetrical process: The Tatar cultural influence was dominant. This was especially evident from the traces of ethnocultural predominance in the latter's contact zones. In some places, only a keen observer would be able to distinguish Chuvashes from Tatars, namely in Chuvash villages situated as islands among Tatar settlements, and in some mixed Tatar-Chuvash villages where Chuvashes were the minority⁴.

⁴ For example, in the early 20th century, in the village of Maloye Rusakovo in Sviyazhsk uyezd, Kazan guberniya, the population of Chuvash peasants was half that of their co-confessionals, the Muslim Tatars. Here is how local teacher Mikhail Maksimov portrayed the everyday life of a Chuvash grain farmer in his ethnographic notes: 'One can hardly recognise the Chuvashes from Maloye Rusakovo during the winter. The Tatars sew fur coats for them and remove shirs from them; they also sew Tatar-style chapans for them out of grey homespun cloth. They never take off their Tatar caps, which all of them have. On holidays, they wear Tatar beshmets. Everyone wears long knee-length shirts and no belts; the Chuvashes can be distinguished only by their long hair' [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I., item 207, s. 82–83].

But this picture was not universal throughout the socio-cultural space of the contact zones in the Middle Volga region. To some extent, acculturation of Tatars by the Chuvashes also occurred. This was typical of the regions where Tatars lived in small communities surrounded by Chuvashes. In the vicinity of the village of Podgornye Timyashi of the Tsivilsk uyezd in Kazan Guberniya, for instance, Christian Tatars spoke the Chuvash language [Manuscripts Department of the Russian State Library, f. 424, inv. 1, card 1, file 11, s. 2, 3]. Tatars who lived near the village of Kovali of the Tsivilsk uyezd spoke Chuvash well. As a contemporary wrote, they 'adopted the culture of cultivating hop from the Chuvashes of the Kovalinsky region' [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 217, p. 454]. Sometimes Muslim Tatars settled in Chuvash villages and 'dissolved' in the foreign ethnocultural environment [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 183, s. 194]. Molkeev Kryashens were especially embedded in the cultural field of Kazan guberniya Chuvashes as they lived nearby and had Chuvashes in their midst. They presented a peculiar cultural field in the ethnocultural sense: ethnic borders between 'Chuvash' and 'Tatar' areas, as well as between Tatar-Kryashens and local Chuvashes, 'were rather vague' [Iskhakov, 1993b, p. 138, 139]. According to a statement of a contemporary, Molkeev Kryashens adopted almost all of their traditions from Chuvashes [Filippov, 1915, p. 753]. For a long time, as was mentioned by N. Zolotnitsky in the 1870s, Chuvashes spoke Tatar fluently, while Christian Tatars spoke fluent Chuvash. During joint 'maiden feasts' (literally: in Chuvash—*xěp cāpu*, in Tatar—*kiz sirasi*) for Chuvash and Christian Tatar young women, songs were sung in the two languages 'with almost equal' motifs and lyrics 'from the olden times' [Zolotnitsky, 1875, p. 227]. Close ethnocultural connections 'between Molkeev Kryashens and Chuvashes were based on mixed marriages' that were a typical phenomenon in the 19th–the beginning of the 20th century [Magnitsky, 1896, p. 248; Pchelov, 1913, p. 126, 127]. In such an ethnic and ethnocultural situation, some Molkeev

Kryashens were inclined to see themselves more as Chuvash than Christian Tatar [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 310, p. 224].

The ethnocultural dominance of the Tatars over the Chuvashes was preconditioned by a number of factors. The first is the *demographic* factor. The second is the *socio-economic* factor. The Tatar ethnocultural community surpassed that of the Chuvashes in socio-economic development. Chuvash peasants acknowledged that Tatars were the leaders in trading and industry, while the Chuvashes were not. Ethnographic records written by a resident of the Chuvash village Murzyvan-kassy in the Tsivilsk uyezd, A. Adelev (1914), said: 'Tatars... are people who trade. If they have at least 50 rubles, they don't just sit at home. But even if our Chuvashes have 1500 rubles, they are not successful at anything' [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 251, p. 317]. The social systems of Tatar and Chuvash farms had their own peculiarities. Tatars who were 'wealthy peasants' were more economically powerful than the same social group in Chuvash villages [Nikolaev, 1998, p. 148–166]. Owning smaller allotments and being less proletarianised, Tatar crop farmers were less focused on producing bread. As a result, they were forced to look for side work outside their villages, and even outside their uyezds much more often than did Chuvash farmers. The Tatar 'industrial wave' represented by small merchants, tailors, reapers, horse doctors, tinsmiths, glaziers and other working class people 'washed over' the Chuvash socio-cultural space sporadically, penetrating its most hidden corners. For example, in the 1880s in Yangildino, a Tatar village in the Cheboksary uyezd in Kazan Guberniya, 'up to 60 peasants' were engaged in herding the cattle in different villages of the Chuvash region. 'All the rest' were selling lemons, apples, fish, cattle and other goods there [State Historical Archive of the Chuvash Republic, f. 15, inv. 1, file 2087, s. 123]. Chuvash peasants, had more agricultural land, and so they tended to prefer earning a living by farming [Nikolaev, 2006, p. 309, 311]. Chuvashes engaged in trade and business visited Tatar villages as well, but there were few in

number. 'Chuvashes prefer to work among Russians, less often—among Tatars'—as was stated in the ethnographic notes of the beginning of the 20th century [State Historical Archive of the Chuvash Republic, dept. I, item 151, p. 106].

The third factor was *socio-cultural*. Owing to their dramatic historical fate, the Tatars and Chuvash entered the age of capitalism as 'rural' ethnic groups. But, unlike the Chuvashes, the Tatars were not strictly a 'minor' nation because they had the remnants of a nobility and a basis for a new elite made up of merchants, business people and clergy, they had maintained a literary language and their Islamic culture [Kapel'ner, 1996, p. 204].

As for the Chuvash ploughmen, their knowledge of their own historical past was fragmentary and less distinct. According to the records of the Chuvash educator S. Mikhaylov, many of his contemporaries in the 19th century lacked even 'a flawed conception', only the 'wise' among them spoke about their ancestral heritage, and this was done 'haltingly' [Mikhaylov, 2004, p. 50]. In the community of nations of the Volga region, this particular community was also distinguished by a relatively low conception of their national identity. Very few among the Chuvash peasants put their ethnic community on the same level as that of the Russian or Tatar communities. The humble attitude of the Chuvash to their ethnic identity is found, in particular, in their folklore. A Chuvash proverb states: '*Чăваш кайран шухайлатъ тет, тутар малтан шухайлатъ тет*' ('The Tatar will first think everything over, and the Chuvash will think afterwards') [Timofeev, 2002, p. 194]. They say in one of their songs: '*Мăн çул тăрăх утмашкăн, / вырăс-тутар мар эфир*' ('We are neither Russians nor Tatars, /to walk on the main roads') [Ashmarin, 1892, p. 51]. '*Темĕскер кирлĕ мара çуратса янă тире Турă, чăвашене*' ('For what purpose did God bring us, the Chuvash, into the world'),—according to a contemporary, some of the Chuvash who lived 'in the Russian manner' spoke thusly about their ethnic community at the turn of the 19–20th centuries [Timofeev, 2002, p. 57].

The ethnocultural realm of the Tatars was distinguished by the confessional mobilisation

that was expressed, and an earnest attitude towards religious belief. To some extent, nearly everyone was a missionary among the Tatars. Owing to the specific features of the way their spiritual life was arranged in the Muslim community and, as a result, the structure of religious culture, the Tatar ploughmen, as a rule, prevailed in religious disputes with the Chuvash 'pagans', whose religious worldview was in an acute ideological crisis during the post-reform period. Similar verbal 'fights' pertaining to their worldview between the Muslim Tatars and Orthodox Chuvash, who for the most part were not consolidated in the 'Russian faith' usually ended to the detriment of the latter⁵. The world of the Chuvash village in confessional relations was variegated—followers of traditional beliefs, Orthodox Christians, and Muslims were represented. Among the first, a part of the community 'stood behind' the belief of their fathers and grandfathers, a part called for

⁵ Here is how N. Okhotnikov, a native inhabitant of the village of Chuvashskaya Cheboksarka, reflected in his memoirs on an incident from everyday peasant life during the first post-reform decades in the town of Chistopol, Chistopol uyezd, Kazan guberniya: 'We delivered bread to the same merchant and returned home the next morning after staying there overnight. My curiosity was aroused as I listened to the arguments that the Russians, Chuvashes and Tatars carried on in the merchant's hall, where there were always many people, and everyone slept in groups on plank-beds, on sleeping-benches underneath the ceiling and atop the oven. The Tatars always started arguments over trifles. For example, a Chuvash might pronounce a Tatar word incorrectly when talking to a Tatar in his language. This was enough of an excuse to start an argument. The Tatars start to pick on the Chuvash without delay: How is it that he still can't speak Tatar correctly after having lived amongst them for a century? That's how they drag him into an argument. The number of people arguing keeps growing and growing; first they talk about customs, then about ways of dressing, and lastly, they move on to religion. It goes without saying that the Tatars usually emerge victorious, as the incoherent, muddled religious views of the Chuvashes hold no water against the Islamic faith, on which the Tatars most rely in their arguments; on the other hand, the christened Chuvashes cannot say much in defense of Christian religion, because the truths and fundamentals of religion are alien to a Chuvash Christian, who cannot understand what he hears only at church, let alone in the Church Slavonic language which is completely incomprehensible for him' [Okhotnikov, s. 25 reverse–26].

a reform of this, a part supported 'the Russian faith', and a part—the Tatar faith'. The orthodox Chuvash community also united different groups of believers—firm in 'the Russian faith', 'believers in two different religions', 'pagans' and 'Mohammedans'. In the after-reform period, the most of the Chuvash ethnic community was drawing close to a firm faith system: the category of 'strictly Orthodox Christians' were in the minority among them [Kremlev, 1913, p. 938; 1913a, p. 1069–1078].

The fourth factor was *socio-psychological*. In the ethnocultural interaction between the Tatars and the Chuvash, the Tatars, owing to their mentality were, figuratively speaking, the driving members, while the Chuvash were driven. This feature of the two 'elements' is reflected in the works of many contemporaries. Writing about the above specific feature of the relations between the two ethnic communities, the ethnologist G. Komissarov, for example, deemed it necessary to emphasise that 'tribal kinship and some similarity of languages promoted the unification of the Chuvash with the Tatars, and the mobility of character of the Kazan Tatars, their aptitude for trading, cleanliness, sobriety and the external attributes of the religion led the Chuvash to recognise the superiority of the Tatar over him' [Komissarov, 1911, p. 414]. The Chuvash gave those tribesmen who were noted for their quickness and courage a flattering socio-psychological characteristic—'as courageous as a Tatar' [State Historical Archive of the Chuvash Republic, dept. I, item 217, p. 453].

As economic entities, the Chuvash and Tatar peasants, together with other ethnic communities of the region, were participants in economic relations. In this respect, the social space of the village was itself a unified living organism. Directly or indirectly, the economic activity of all of the ethnic groups of peasants was interdependent. Thus, the economic space of the village, both for the Chuvash, and for the Tatars, as well as for other ethnic groups, was a realm of mutual interaction. The ethnographic notes of contemporaries made at the beginning of the 20th century provide a very detailed picture of the joint economic and community

relations of peasants of various nationalities in 'a common house'⁶.

In areas of contact, close economic relations between neighbours, as a rule, developed into close good-neighbourly trusting relations. In the villages of Alsheyev, Takovary, Rakovo, Kishhak, Pimurzino, Byurgany, Koshki Tenyakov, Novye Mertli and Chuvash Sorokamysh in Buinsk Uyezd in Simbirsk Guberniya at the turn of the 19th–20th centuries, in bumper-crop years, the Tatar peasants were employed in harvesting the crops of the Chuvash. The Chuvash used Tatar women and girls of the adjacent villages to spin linen and weave. The Tatars and the Chuvash interacted with each other easily in business and maintained mutually hospitable relations. Many Chuvash peasants had sworn friends among the Tatars—places to socialise, 'in times of need' they invited their neighbours to heal the sick. The Chuvash youth communicated with their Tatar peers on equally friendly terms, and would take part in their merrymaking [Timofeev, 2002, p. 23, 91, 162]. The inhabitants of Tatar villages located 10 versts from Podgornye Timyashi village in Tsivilsky uyezd in Kazan Guberniya were hired on as shepherds and watchmen by the Chuvash, and together with them 'kept bees'. On 8 November, on 'Mikhaylov day' (the Day

of Archangel Michael), which coincided with dedication day in the parish church, 'welcome guests from olden times'—the neighbouring Tatars visited the Chuvash 'almost every house' [Manuscripts Department of The Russian State Library, f. 424, inv. 1, card 1, file 11, s. 3, 4]. A similar situation prevailed in Tsivilsky uyezd in the Chuvash village of Staroe Muratovo and in the outskirts. And here, the Muslim Tatars worked among the Chuvash, some were shepherds, others were watchmen. Neighbours 'served bread and salt' to each other. 'on the Chuvash holidays the Tatars visited the Chuvash, and on the Tatar holidays, the reverse was the case, the Chuvash visited the Tatars' [Otchet o deyatel'nosti, 1883, p. 766].

The economic relations between the Chuvash and Tatar peasants were based on pragmatic principles. They strengthened the relations with those tribes people who entirely discharged their obligations by the target date, provided competent 'economic' services, traded fair and square, purchased agricultural products at reasonable prices, etc.: they showed them affection, provided them with board and lodging⁷.

But in their economic relations, in their dealings with the Tatars the Chuvash were faced with trading partners with rather high standards, as the Tatar farmers were a more advanced community in terms of their socio-cultural development. The Chuvash were not always able to meet these standards, and sometimes had to refuse engaging in transactions with their neighbours. In the ethnographic notes of one native of Malye Bikshikhi village of Tsivilsky County from M. Zaitsev we read: 'When the Chuvash

⁶ Yargunkino village, Yadrin uyezd, Kazan guberniya 'The Chuvashes trade with the Russians and the Tatars. The Russians buy meat, skins and fresh wool from the Chuvashes. The Tatars buy old horses from the Chuvashes; in their turn, they bring them dried fish. The Chuvashes buy good horses and other highly-demanded items from the Russians. Both Russians and Tatars earn money at the expense of the Chuvashes... The Chuvashes are taken in as workers by wealthy Russians' [National Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanitarian Sciences, section I, item 151, sheet 105, 106]. Novoye Izambayevo village, Tetyushi uyezd: 'Chuvashes and Russians live well together here; they borrow things and money from each other when necessary and spend time at each other's houses during holidays. And they live in peace with the Tatars: Many of them lend money to each other and borrow bread' [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 151, sheet 260]. Azbaba village, Sviyazhsk uyezd, Kazan guberniya 'More than half of Tatar homeowners lease out their land allotments to Chuvashes living in the same village' [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 208, sheet 96].

⁷ A resident of Mokry village, Tsivilsk uyezd, wrote the following in his ethnographic memoirs, which were compiled in 1911: 'The Chuvashes love the Tatars very much; they wear Tatar hats. When they come to the countryside to sell dried fish, even though they do not know the language properly, they engage them in conversation with great pleasure. To imitate the Tatars, some Chuvashes started shaving their heads. They also invite the Tatar fish-sellers to spend the night with them. Their horses are fed with oats. The Tatars are very happy to be received in such a way, and they treat the owners of the house to dried fish' [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 179, sheet 33].

do not manage to finish reaping, they employ co-villagers who have already reaped completely or the Tatars coming to the village. Sometimes there come whole families of the Tatars, but the Chuvash employ the Tatars reluctantly, only by necessity when there is nobody else to employ because the Tatars demand good food from the Chuvash; otherwise they reap badly and treat the Chuvash roughly' [Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 271, p. 241].

Due in part to the conditions of national heterogeneity of the social space in the villages of the Middle Volga region, the economic life as well as other components of daily country life was imbued with an ethno-cultural component. In order to build strong and durable economic links, both the Chuvash and Tatar farmers, first of all, had to consider one another's sense of 'self'. Ethno-cultural and ethno-confessional diplomacy was an important factor and condition that defined the economic-relations dynamic between the two ethnic communities. In some form or other it preceded or accompanied all of their interactions in this sphere. Courteous acknowledgment, show of thoughtfulness, and respect for a foreign culture, in addition to other habits, were customary. Making economic and other contacts with the neighbouring Tatars, the inhabitants of the Chuvash village of Novoe Izambaev of Tetyushi County often invited them over. Keeping this in mind, the Chuvash always were interested in whether the Tatars ate this or that product. And the Tatars showed a similar courtesy towards the Chuvash farmers [Scientific archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 151, p. 280]. Some Chuvash peasants who engaged in seasonal sartorial work for Muslim Tatars put on the Tatar skullcap with the hope of earning their affection [Nikolsky, 2004, p. 69].

The economic, living, and everyday relations between the Chuvash and Tatars resulted not only from the process of ethno-cultural merging of the two communities, but also from the emergence of local hot spots despite any ethno-cultural chill. In trading, contractual, credit, rent, and other operations, the Tatars, more developed in these spheres of activities,

did not always consider the interests of the Chuvash, which, based on the realities of the market conditions, resulted in the emergence of short-term economic frictions [Scientific archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 237, s. 87]. Within the sphere of land relations, in cases of substantial infringement of one of the side's interests, the frictions between representatives of the two communities sometimes turned cutting and long-lasting [Scientific archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 208, p. 293–295]. In certain settlements unprovoked violence by Tatars against the Chuvash took place [Scientific archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 237, s. 87]. The Chuvash, who incurred material and moral damages as a result of forgery, deception, false-weight, fraud, physical abuse, and other harms, were inclined to see the entire ethnic community as offenders in the 'mirror of rejection' [Scientific archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. X, item 1070, p. 239 reverse].

As is well known, religion unites, and separates, society. Owing to its nature, religion and the religious component had a mixed effect on the relationship between the Chuvash and Tatars. The Chuvash peasants entered the capitalist period as 'pagans', which in large part meant 'pagan' Christians [Smelov, 1880, p. 529]. In the Chuvash village, still living according to age-old traditions, the fact that they called on mulahs or invited them over to perform religious ceremonies in cases of diseases of relatives in the second half of the 19th –the beginning of the –20th century was not an isolated phenomenon [Shilek, 1913, p. 909, 910]. The Tatar 'national Islam' was relatively tolerant towards the religion of their neighbours. In N. Okhotnikov's memoirs, written in 1888, we read: 'I myself heard the Tatars assuring the Chuvash that we were children of one God' [Okhotnikov, p. 27 reverse, 28]. Under the administrative policy for religious unification of the country and in the existing situation of relative confessional tolerance, a part of the Chuvash 'pagans' and 'pagan' Christians 'became Tatars'; choosing the belief of their neighbours—Islam—as a moral support in life. Long-term co-residence, affini-

ty for languages and cultures, and close contact in different spheres were the major factors that determined their choice. According to modern researcher A. Kobzev, the number of Muslim Chuvash in Simbirsk guberniya amounted to around 400–600 people at the beginning of the 20th century [Kobzev, 2007, p. 124]. The community of the Muslim Chuvash in Kazan guberniya was rather striking: several thousands of adherents were united [Yagafova, 210, p. 126]. So-called Muslim-neophytes of the Chuvash already preferred to have economic, everyday, household, and marital relations with Muslim Tatars⁸.

During the period of capitalist modernisation, a main part of the Chuvash rural population became an object of attention of the missionary and educational system of N. Iminsky, a system that was fully entrenched in the 'Russian belief'. Such a religious change resulted in confessional and ethno-cultural distancing of the Chuvash peasants from Muslim Tatars. Becoming firm Christians, they began to focus and adhere to the Russian manner of life in household and everyday spheres. And so, the inhabitants of the Chuvash villages Kovali and Musirma of Tsivilsky County 'were on intimate terms' with the Tatar farmers of the villages of Akzegitovo, Tugayevo, and Sunchelevo up until the 1880's: 'Tatars were welcome guests at the Chuvash, the Chuvash welcome at the Tatars'. During Easter and Semik, whole families of the latter stayed with their neighbours. In the early 20th cen-

tury in the villages Kovali and Musirma, there was a different situation on holidays—as a rule, except watchmen and shepherds, there were no other Tatars amongst the Chuvash [Spiridonov, 1909, p. 538–539; Scientific archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humanities, dept. I, item 206, p. 183]. In some multi-ethnic settlements, during a period of ethnic and confessional mobilisation of the two distinct ethnic communities, 'the cultural pressure' of the Tatars sharply increased upon the Chuvash. Most frequently, passions ran high in those Chuvash-Tatar settlements where one part of the Chuvash accepted Islam and the other remained faithful to the Orthodox belief [Kobzev, 2007, p. 124].

By the end of the 19th century, 98.9% of the Chuvash lived in the Volga-Ural region [Ivanov, 2005, p. 151]. Outside this ethno-historical territory—in the Samara, Ufa, Saratov, and Orenburg guberniyas—a part of the Chuvash people lived side by side with the Volga-Ural Tatars. In the second half of the 19th –the beginning of the 20th century, the ethno-cultural interaction of the Chuvash and the Tatars in new territories had the same nature and dynamic as in the Kazan and Simbirsk guberniyas. And almost everywhere in the multi-ethnic settlements and contact areas, the Chuvash lived 'the Tatar way': They, among others, celebrated Friday instead of Sunday, shaved their heads, wore skullcaps, ate horse meat, and secretly or openly kept Muslim ceremonies. At the same time, in certain areas the palette of the Tatar ethno-cultural dominance had many different shades. They were expressed, in addition to others, through the extent of the Chuvashes' acceptance of their neighbours' life style, their practice of speaking the Tatar language in daily life, and the close contact of the two communities in economic, everyday and household spheres [Yagafova, 2010, p. 115–127]. In the latter half of 19th –the beginning of the 20th century, outside the Kazan and Simbirsk guberniyas—and as a rule in contact zones—the Chuvash endured several waves of 'backslide' to Islam. Here, as well as in the ethno-historical territory, the Chuvash Muslim-neophytes considered themselves part of the Tatar ethnic community [Yagafova, 2010, p. 115–127].

⁸ On 15 December 1908, peasants in the Tatar village of Nizhneye Chekurskoye and the Chuvash-Tatar village of Staroye Chekurskoye (which consisted of two societies: one Tatar and one Chuvash), Buinsk Uyezd, Simbirsk guberniya, issued a decree on the division of the common plot of land between the three village societies proportional to the number of people in each of them according to the census. A year later, as the land was being allotted, 18 Starochekurovsk Chuvash peasant families who had adopted Islam appealed to the land surveyor of the land survey commission with a request to be given land in the same area as that of their co-confessionals the Muslim Tatar society of the village of Nizhneye Chekurskoye. This unforeseen development was quickly resolved. Assemblies of all three of the village societies found it possible to honor the request of these new 'Tatars' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1311, inv. 1, file 204, s. 238].

CHAPTER 4

Tatar-Mari Relations

Guzel Stolyarova

The Tatars and the Mari were close neighbours and active partners in interethnic interactions. In the east of the Mari El Republic and in the north-west of Tatarstan, it is almost impossible to draw a dividing line of ethnic areas of the Mari and the Tatars: here we can see the imposition of ethnic territories and, as a result, the existence of long-standing Tatar, Mari, and mixed settlements (including the Arsk and Baltasi districts of the Republic of Tatarstan and the Paranginsky, Mari-Turek, and Morkinsky districts of the Mari El Republic). Contacts between the Tatars and the Mari in this region are the earliest. Researchers note that the Finno-Ugric element is considerable among the Tatar population of the northern area of Trans-Kazan, and based on the toponymy in many Tatar villages they have '*çirmeş yagi*' (Cheremis region) [Galimzyanov].

Another area of the Mari settlement amongst the Tatars—the Kama-Ural region—was formed both as a result of resettlement in the 16–18th centuries of parts of the Mari into Zakamye and Cisurals and when, still amidst the ethnic majority of the Tatars and the Bashkir, another ethnic group of the east Mari appeared in the middle *e'rvet mari*) [Sepeev, 2006, p. 126]. Thus, the Tatars had the greatest impact on the meadow and east Mari, while the mountain Mari who lived on the right bank of the Volga among the Chuvash and Russians had closer contact with these groups.

The results of the historical contact between the Tatars and the Mari can be observed in numerous materials pertaining to cultural and linguistic subjects.

In the territory of Tatarstan, the Mari toponymies apply across an immense territory and indicate that the ancient Mari tribes lived

here. In the Yelabuga district of the Republic of Tatarstan, for example, the Mari influence is distinguished in the following toponymies: Aitalan village, Atiaz village (inhabited by the Kryashen Tatars); and the following place names: Aktazik, Akhtiyal, Dyum-Dyum (Tatar and Russian), Kokshan, Kuklyuk, El-net, Yurash (the settlements include the toponym 'Tatar'), Pseevo village, Tzhesh village (Tekashevo), Lake Pinere, the Shurminka river, Anzirka village [Arslanov]. Moreover, names of some settlements can be explained by the linguistic traces of the Mari language. Kuk Mari, Kukmari—Mari villages in Kukmor district of the Republic of Tatarstan. The Mari of Russko-Mariyskie Kovaly village (the Mari name is Mari Kaval, the Tatar—Rus-Mari Kovaly) in the Vysokogorsky District (in Tatar: Zur Kaval and Keche Kaval) and also 6 villages in the Volzhsky District of Mari El (located closer to the border of Tatarstan) consider themselves belonging to the Kukmari village. 'Kuk mari' of the Zvenigov Mari meant 'Chuvash'. Perhaps, 'kuk mari' meant '(up)hill Mari, people of the uphill side'. In the Mari El Republic there are several place names of Kukmor (Mari: Kukmara) and Kukmari. Knya-Bash—the Tatar village in Kukmor district—was originally Mari. In Ocharma—officially the village of Berezhnyak of Kukmor district in the Republic of Tatarstan, live the Tatars. The Tatar name is Buchirme, the Udmurt name is Chaltaygurt. The Mari of the village Pochinok-Kuchuk believe that their ancestors were forced out of there. The Vochkash Pamash is a spring (and the area around it) near Staraya Knya village of Kukmor district in the Republic of Tatarstan. The Mari name was Vochkash, which means 'a tree suitable to make a barrel'; Baydankino

village (Nizhnekamsk district in the Republic of Tatarstan) bore the informal name 'Shirmesh Avyly', meaning 'Mari village'; and in the name of the village Bolshye Aty, the word 'Aty' is close to the Mari word '*oto*' (grove). The people of some Chuvash and Mari villages, being in close proximity to the Tatars, lost their national features: they accepted the language, life and customs of the Tatars. Among such villages are Staroe Azmeevo (*Iske Äcmi*) of Bakalinsky district in Bashkortostan. The population of the village Staroe Azmeevo is mixed. The founders were the pagan Mari who in the middle of the 19th century moved here from Menzelinsk County. According to the archive materials and stories of the natives, the baptised Tatars, the Chuvash also began to arrive almost at the same time. In the sources of the Ufa diocese it is said that in Staroe Azmeevo village there were '35 yards of pagan Cheremis... gradually they became absolute Tatars, speaking only Tatar (even old men do not know the Mari language). Their dialect differs slightly to not at all from the dialect of the baptised Tatars with whom they have lived for many years together'. However, these Mari have Old Turkic or borrowed names (of Arab-Persian origin) unlike the baptised Tatars: Gölbikä, Balbikä, Gölcimeş, Göşikär, Minnegol, Karligaç, Sandugaç, Asiliy, Çäčkä, Minnekäy, Timerkäy. Almysh, Täñkä, Satiy, Satybal, Tatliy, Balliy, and others. The names of clothes are also interesting: şarpan—tastar: 'head cover'; kikça: 'kerchief', izü—muysa: 'pectoral', etc. [Bayazitova, 1986].

The founders of some Tatar villages were the Udmurt and Mari who were afterwards forced out or became Tatars as a result of relationships with the Tatars. The Mari names of the Tatar villages of Trans-Kazan: Bimer, Bitaman, Ilnet, Kenär, Mängär, Pimer, etc.—is evidence of the ethnic assimilation of the Mari by the Tatars [Galimzyanov]. Adayevo village (Kukmor district in the Republic of Tatarstan), Izh-Bob'a village (Agryz district in the Republic of Tatarstan), Mari Yamaly village (Aktanysh district in the Republic of Tatarstan), and so forth are referred to as settlements that in the past were Mari, but became Tatar af-

ter adoption of Islam. In Tatarstan, there are Mari villages whose people have practically lost their native language and speak Tatar; but they maintain their self-identity since they still practice their traditional religion (in the Terpele village of Aktanysh district, the Bikmes' village of Muslyumovo district, etc.) [Molotova, 2011, pp. 172]. The Cheremysh (Tatar, Cheremysh-Apakaevo, and Cheremyshovo (on the Nurme and Ushne rivers)) lived among settlements on the Zyureyskaya Road (Trans-Kazan) in the Kazan Khanate. According to the first toponymist of the Kazan region, I. Iznoskov, the Cheremysh-Apakaevo village had the names Cheremyshevo Poganoë, Maloe Cheremyshevo, and Apakaëvo, while in Tatar—Apakay Chirmesh and Chirmesh ile. Concerning the name of Cheremyshevo village, I. Iznoskov wrote: 'According to the name of the village, it is possible to assume that the Cheremis were the first inhabitants there. In the Kozmodemyansk County there is a Cheremis village by the name Cheremyshevo' [cited by: Sattarov]. In the villages of Perm Krai (Ottuz, Chistyakovo, Tesh Bash, Solyanka) the Tatars mixed with the Mari. The same happened in the Agafonkovo village (there, a Mari is considered to be the founder of 'kăbăç năsel'). Such mixture is explained by the fact that in the past the population was not great in these regions. Therefore, the Tatars and the Mari lived in the same villages and mixed [Mukhametshin].

In the Tatar and Mari languages you can find a large number of linguistic parallels and mutual influencing. As noted one founder of the Ural-Altai linguistic studies, Strahlenberg, the Mari language is very close to Finnish but at the same time it is mixed, and the Tatar influence is expressed stronger than the Russian. G. Miller noted practically the same: 'The Cheremis language resembles Finnish, and there is a lot of Tatar words as well as a small number of Russian words on account of their habitation near the Tatars and Russians [Miller, 1791, p. 38]. Close contact with Turkic languages resulted in different changes in the Mari language: labial harmony and similar tendencies in word stress developed under the

influence of the Tatar and Chuvash languages there; types of doubled verbs, many suffixes, and analytical past forms were borrowed. Of four dialects of the Mari language (mountain, north-west, meadow and east), the east and meadow dialects were affected by the Tatar language most of all, and this effect is found both at the phonetic-grammatical and lexical-semantic level. In general, there are about 4 thousand words of Tatar origin in various lexical blocks of the Mari language. For example, there is vocabulary connected with wedding rites—*archi*—a wedding train (in Tatar: *arçi*); *aulak*—the house where the youth gather in the absence of seniors (also a Tatar term); *bashkyda*—matchmakers (in Tatar: *baş koda*); *kaynesh*—the younger brother of the wife (*kaenesh*); *kalash*—bride (*käläsh*); *kiyau*—son-in-law (*kiyäu*); *baldyz*—sister-in-law (in Tatar: *baldyz*); *bicha*—wife (in Tatar: *biçä*); *akcha*—women's decorations of the wedding clothes ('money' in Tatar is *akça*). Names of many Mari national heroes also bear the mark of Turkisms: *Boltush* (from the word 'balta'—an axe), *Ak patyr*, *Ak pars*, etc. [Galimzyanov].

In the Tatar language the influence of the Mari is much weaker but is present; researchers distinguished about 100 lexical units—Marrisms, generally in the form of the middle dialect of the Tatar language. For example, in *Zakazanye* dialect of the middle dialect they use *alabaj*—camomile (scentless) (Tatar: *ala* + Mari: *vuj* 'head', 'ear'); *be'lche*—a truss, a bunch, a fruit spur, an ear of oats or millet (Mari: *velshe* 'shattered'); *e'shhen*—a tendon, a gullet (Mari: *shun* 'vein', 'rubber', Udmurt: *son* 'vein, tendon'); *ly'by'*—a bag made of lime bast (Mari: *lupo* 'brush pile'); *ne'shte*—a layer of red clay (Mari: *ne'nche* 'mud, clay'; cf. Komi: *nyasha* 'mud deposits on the meadows'); *ongo*—a ring of a scythe or a hook (Mari: *ongo* 'ring, loop', Udmurt: *ugy* 'ear-ring'; cf. Finnish: *onki* 'fishing rod'); *te'nel*—a chair, a stool (Mari: *tengy'l* 'bench'; *shue'jk* 'joker, deceiver') (Mari: *shaya* 'speech', 'rumor', 'story', 'offer, short message', 'insignificant talk, fiction'; *shoya* 'tale, fiction'; *shoyache* 'liar'); *shy'lan*—a silty horsetail (Mari: *shy'lan*,



A group of Mari. Photo from the late 19th century

Udmurt: *shilan* 'marsh horsetail'); *y'shty'r*—onucha (also puttee), puttee, footcloth (Mari: *y'shty'r*, Udmurt: 'y'shty'r'), etc. The frequency of usage of some Marrisms in the dialects of the baptised Tatars is also worth mentioning: *buty'sh*; *surzhe'*; *shy'lshh* etc. A large number of the Mari borrowings are used also in the peripheral (marginal) Cis-Ural dialects of the middle dialect of the Tatar language: *mzhe*; *csugy'l*; *csy'bry'*; *csy'jshannac*; *labra*; *le'pzh*; *ly'py'sh*; *nor*; *pechter*; *poshy'j*; *terke*; *she'mke'*; *she'mke'lek* etc. In sub-dialects of the Mishar dialect, Marrisms are uncommon [Nasipov].

Language contacts and language compatibility of the Tatars and the Mari contributed to the successful acquisition of both languages by them. Local historians and researchers of the 19th century had noted the mastery of the Tatar language by the Mari. As the local historian N. Spassky noted, the Kazan Mari knew both the Russian and the Tatar languages while the Mamadysh Mari knew only Tatar. 'The Cheremis of the Kazan guberniya, if not greater in fact, are exposed no less than the

Chuvash to the influence of the Tatars; as well as the Cheremis in the east part of Tsaryovokokshaysk uyezd, Kazan uyezd, and Mamadysh uyezd, and the Cheremis of the Birk and Menzelinsk uyezds of the Ufa Guberniya and part of Malmyzh Uyezd of the Vyatka Guberniya. The Cheremis of the mentioned areas are very close to the Tatars and took the Tatar customs and morals, together with the language. Many Cheremis have Tatar names, try to wear clothes similar to the Tatar, and feel honoured if it is difficult to distinguish them from the Tatars. The speech of a Cheremis of these areas is enriched with Tatar words, proverbs and humorous sayings... In other places of the Kazan guberniya, though, the Cheremis didn't become Tatars so yet, but nevertheless it is necessary to say that the Cheremis of the above-mentioned uyezds considerably lost their national features, and familiarised themselves with the Tatar customs, morals and language so that sometimes it is absolutely impossible to distinguish them from the Tatars' [cited by: Khafizov].

Language contacts of the Tatars and Mari in the 19th century were also supported by the fact that the written Mari language was crafted in Kazan, where many Mari teachers were also receiving an education. In 1817, the archbishop Ambrose (Protasov) ordered the Kazan academic administration to craft an alphabet and grammar for the Mari language. The priest A. Albinsky attempted to improve the alphabet and to systematise the grammar of the Mari language. His 'Cheremis grammar' was published in 1837. Albinsky's major accomplishment was to provide a complete alphabet for the first time in the history of Mari writing. The first alphabet book in the Mari language was made by I. Kedrov and published in Kazan in 1867. In 1870, G. Yakovlev wrote an alphabet book on the meadow dialect which he then republished in 1873 and 1892. In 1892, 'The Alphabet Book for the Mountain Cheremis' by I. Udyurminsky and 'The Alphabet Book for a Beginning Education of Russian Grammar For Cheremis Children' by S. Nurminsky were published, among others. The latter half of the 19th century was a time

of rapid development of writing in the Mari language; from 1867 to 1905, more than 80 books were published. In 1732, the episcopal school was reorganised into a school of theology and in 1906, the first Mari scientist, V. M. Vasiliev, graduated. He was also a famous linguist, specialist in folklore, and ethnographer. Teachers for the Mari schools were trained by the Kazan Central Christian Tatar School which was officially opened by N. I. Ilminsky in 1864. The Mari also studied translation of their native language there [Islamov, Bashirova, 1999]. The baptised Tatars who were appointed as priests in their settlements played a significant role in the mass education of the Mari (and Udmurt).

The influence of the Tatars on the Mari was observed in ethno-contact zones in the confessional sphere. G. Miller noted that 'some of the Cheremis keep within the Mohammedan law and soon after birth they continue the rite of circumcision: this may be due to the fact that the Cheremis and other pagan people, just as the Mohammedans, celebrate Friday as a great day in the week when they do not do any work. They do not hold a service on this day and do not know the reason why they celebrate Friday more than other days of the week; it seems to me that it was a civil custom which came from the neighbouring Tatars' [Miller, 1791, p. 53]. And at the end of the 19th century, A. Eruslanov wrote: 'The Cheremis of the Ufa guberniya, owing to a long-term relationship with the Mohammedans and hidden unscrupulous propaganda of Islam, were strongly affected by the Mohammedans. Islam enters into all aspects of life of the Cheremis, forcing out all original, cheremis-pagan features both in the external living environment as well as in their religious, moral, and legal views' [cited by: Molotova, 2010, page 86]. And so, under the influence of Islam, the meadow Mari began to call the pagan priests 'kart' (the Tatar word '*kart*' means 'old man') while the Eastern Mari called them 'molla' in the second half of the 19th century. The latter began their prayers with the Tatar exclamation 'Basmalah—My God, bless me'. Up to the present day, a cap of white felt still

exists as an obligatory attribute for the priest-mollas. A part of the Mari living among the Tatars and the Bashkir also gradually came over to Islam. Appeals from pagan Mari to the Spiritual Assembly for adoption of Islam, as a rule, occurred in two cases: either due to the registration of mixed marriages with Muslims or due to the actual fidelity to the Islamic religion [Molotova, 2010, page 86, 88]. In the Mari settlements of Tatarstan, there remained many ceremonial places where prayers and sacrifices to various hierarchies were made in the past. For example, Mari sacred groves in Kukmor district have been well preserved [Molotova, 2011, p. 171]. And according to one version, the word 'keremet' appeared in Mari paganism under the influence of the Tatars. In some sources, there are mentions of a keremet spirit appearing in the form of a Tatar as well as mentions of the Mari offering sacrifices to a keremet by the name of Sultan (Soltan), etc. The influence of Islam explains the Mari's custom up to the end of the 19th century to celebrate Friday instead of Sunday [Zeleneeva, 2011, pp. 325–326].

In pre-revolutionary literature, there is much evidence of the Tatar-Mari cultural interactions in which the Tatar components clearly prevailed. 'These people (the Mari and the Udmurt—G. S.), ' G. Miller wrote at the turn of the 19th century, 'have their yards built like the yards of the Tatars, a fact that distinguishes them from the rural yards of the Russian peasant because they have no black huts; but they do make smoke windows and chimneys above furnaces and fireplaces. In their huts, as well as the Tatar huts, they have wide benches everywhere so that a man can lie across them, but these benches do not have equal width inside the hut [Miller, 1791, pp. 19–20].

The North Russian traditions of planning remained in the Mari huts: the furnace was placed near the entrance door on wooden foundations, the 'red' corner was diagonally across from it. In the Kama Mari huts, according to travellers of the first half of the 19th century, the features of a Tatar-Bashkir house were observed. It was expressed to a large de-

gree by the presence of plank beds [Mode of Life]. The hut of the Mari who lived among the Tatars had a different interior: a furnace with an imbedded boiler, wide plank beds along the front wall, a curtain instead of a kitchen partition, with small curtains on walls and in other parts of the house. The Mari villages in the west and north regions of Bashkortostan were little different from the Bashkir and Tatar settlements. However, in comparison with the latter, they were rather small. The furnace was to the right of the entrance and the fireplace was located on the front wall. Along this wall, there were wide plank beds. Small plank beds were also to the left of the entrance. The entrance of old houses faced the south.

The Mari clothes, both of men and women, were also affected by the Tatars. Trousers were cut the same as the Chuvash and Tatar and were held at the waist by means of straps. Inhabitants of villages located near the Tatar settlements wore oriental broad-brimmed bicorne hats similar to the Tatar hats. Shirts of Eastern Mari women were a little different from the shirts of meadow and mountain Mari. Women's shirts were often made of white linen and also of striped linen, and sleeves were made of factory fabric. The style of a woman's shirt was also affected by the Tatars and the Bashkirs. Its placket was trimmed with several strips of coloured material and multi-coloured bands, like shirts of the Tatar and Bashkir women. The Eastern Mari also wore trousers, but they, as well as their Bashkir neighbours, sewed them using striped linen. The east Mari women's summer caftans resembled the Bashkir and Tatar waistcoats; they sewed them to the waist with gores, sometimes without sleeves. There were also caftans of white, black and green cloth. Green caftans were wedding clothes for the bride and matchmaker. The female hennin, '*shnashoby'cho*', gradually fell out of daily use and was put on only on great holidays. It was informally called by the term 'bashlyk', borrowed from the Tatars [E'tnografiya, 2001, pp. 66–79].

In the traditional suit of the Mari, like the Bashkir and Tatar suits, there are caftans with

side plackets and pegged-leg trousers. In some Cheremis settlements of Birska Uyezd, for example in the villages of Cherlak, Sakhayaz, Torgem-dur, all men wore tubeteikas. They even had a custom: during a wedding, the father-in-law would give his son-in-law a brocade tubeteika as a sign of respect. The Mari peoples inhabiting suburban settlements and settlements near highways, who were engaged in forest and other seasonal works (the wealthy elite and, especially, the younger generation) generally switched to new forms of clothing, headwear and footwear. Along with Russian clothes, such as shirts-kosovorotkas and trousers made from industrial fabrics, wide-brimmed hats, forage caps and peaked caps, ear-flapped caps and flat round fur hats (kubankas), pleated boots, among the Mari, there began to appear Tatar caftans, waistcoats and tubeteikas. The latter were mainly worn by the Eastern Mari. And the language itself has preserved many borrowed words connected with costumes and their details: *takiya*—maiden cap of the Belsky and Ufa Mari, *peshmet*—outer garments, *chachkap*—a helmet-shaped hat resembling *kashpau*, it was put on a white piece of cloth (*tastar*).

Griddle cakes with porridge or puree inside were popular with the Eastern Mari. *ky'sty'vi* (*ky'sty'by'j*), a pie with meat and fat filling with cereal—*paly'sh* (*bälesh*). They stocked up on dried horse sausage for the winter (*kaza*), prepared ajran (*gyra*). G. Miller also mentioned that the Mari were 'great hunters for horse meat, and they do not keep pigs according to Tatar customs' [Miller, 1791, p. 34]. During prayers, they used 'only wooden dishware', the only exception were pots where sacrificial meat was cooked (in broth or in porridge). In the past, they also used leather vessels for storing meat and dairy products like their Turkic neighbours. Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century, during a wedding ceremony, according to tradition, they put ceremonial food in a leather bag belonging to the wedding's chief as gifts for the bride's relatives (bread, pancakes, cottage cheese and omelettes). Through the Tatars, tea and a number of fermented-milk drinks

became popular with the Mari [E'tnografiya, 2001, pp. 79–88].

Researchers found several features in the rites of family ceremonies borrowed by the Mari from the Tatars. Thus, the Mari, along with their own ancient Mari names, also had popular Tatar names. When a daughter was born again after her sister had died, she was given the name Almashbika (Tashbika) so that the girl would not die [Molotova, 2011, p. 180]. G. Miller mentions that the Mari do the following: 'parents or close relatives do not marry their maids for nothing, but according to Tatar tradition, the groom pays some money for the marriage... the Cheremis call it Olon... When the groom comes to the village where his bride lives, he goes... with his best man around the yard several times, and all the while his best man loudly congratulates him in Tatar: Solom Maliko!' [Miller, 1791, pp. 80, 87]. The following elements have been observed during wedding ceremonies of the Eastern Mari: the kidnapping of the bride (during traditional Mari marriage by way of match-making); a large size of bride wealth and dowry, part of which was paid in cattle; the groom's premarital visit to the bride; several crucial wedding events take place in the house of the bride; the bride gives presents not only to her own relatives, but also to the relatives of the groom; the simplification of a very significant procedure in the traditional wedding ceremony of the Mari—the use of a woman's headwear instead of a girl's headwear—and moving it into the post-wedding period; the unusual phenomenon of a post-wedding cycle in general, when the bride came back to her parental home after the wedding where her husband had the right to visit her. She moved into the house of her husband after her parents had given the rest of the dowry to the husband [Belevtsova, 2010, pp. 94–96]. In the funeral tradition of the Mari, there is an element considered to be Tatar, which is 'the custom to bury the dead in a wooden block in *lyakhet* niches, with the head turned towards the Kaaba' [Sadikov, 2010, p. 14]. The place on the small plank beds (Tatar tradition) was

honourable among the pagan Mari: candles were placed there, as well as food for the dead during family funeral feasts.

Describing the culture and life of the Cheremis, G. Miller dwells on their concepts of months and weeks: 'By the same token, they have no concept of months, however, they know of weeks, one week being seven days, and each day of the week has its own proper name, which they mostly borrowed from the Tatars'. He also mentions Mari musical instruments: *gusli—kyusel'* (considering that the term was borrowed from the Tatars—'*gusli*'), the Tatar bagpipe (*surnaj*), in Cheremis language—*shyubber* [Miller, 1791, pp. 41, 91]. Tatar-Mari links are certainly found in music

(the presence of pentatonic scale) and song poetry. Kayum Nasyri highlighted the ancient friendship of the Tatars and the Mari in his works. In 1900, his article 'Tales of the Kazan Tatars and their Comparison with the Tales of other Peoples' was published, where he covers in detail the tales of the Mari. The Tatar scholar described Mari tales presented to him by the famous Mari writer-ethnographer T. Semenov.

Thus, we can state the Tatars and the Mari had a tradition of good-neighbourly relations and cooperation over the centuries. Historical parallels give ground to highlight the social, ethnocultural and linguistic compatibility of these peoples.

CHAPTER 5

Zones of Contact Between Udmurts and Tatars

Nikolai Pislegin, Vladimir Churakov

By the early 19th century, the Volga-Ural region developed several contact zones in which there were cross-cultural interactions of the Tatars and the Udmurts. It is possible to distinguish five separate Tatar-Udmurt contact zones: 1) *the southern zone* (Kazan and Mamadysh uyezds of Kazan guberniya, Yelabuga, Malmyzh and Sarapul uyezds of Vyatka guberniya), 2) *the northern zone* (Glazov and Sloboda uyezds of Vyatka guberniya), 3) *the eastern zone* (Belebey and Birsik uyezds of Ufa guberniya, Osa uyezd of Perm guberniya), 4) *the south-eastern zone or the Iksk zone* (Bugulma Uyezd of Samara guberniya), 5) *the central zone or the Izhevsk zone* (the village of Izhevsk Factory of Sarapul uyezd). It should be noted that interethnic interaction with the neighbouring Tatars was generally at the level of peasant folk culture and education.

The southern contact zone is the most ancient one. It appeared as a result of natural changes in the settlement of neighbouring ethnic groups even before the Kazan Khanate joined the Russian State⁹. One of the most recent micro-regions of this contact zone is the territory settled by Tatars in the River Izh basin, currently found in Agryz District of Tatarstan. It began to form in the middle of the 16th century (Tersya volost) and it became the boundary which stopped the advance of the Udmurts eastward in the area of the lower reaches of the Izh river. The southern contact zone had the following distinctive features: clear ethnic boundaries dividing one people from the other

and a variety of options for their interaction. In particular, only in this region could the so-called 'conversion to a Tatar' be accomplished twofold: an Udmurt (a pagan or an Orthodox Christian) could become either a Muslim Tatar or a Tatar Kryashen.

The Muslim Tatars exercised significant influence over their non-Russian neighbours. Pre-revolutionary researchers noted the custom to celebrate Fridays, the high prevalence of the Tatar language, as well as the adoption of certain items of clothes and daily life habits, and ultimately the conversion to Islam. When in 1832, the Malmyzh uyezd court reported to the church administration about the acceptance of 'Mohammedanism' by 30 Udmurts in Maskara village, thereby confirming the 'fact of the Votyaks becoming Tatars and assimilating the Tatar way of life': the inhabitants of the village spoke Tatar, they intermarried with the Tatars, and 'their clothes, the arrangement of houses, their ceremonies and prayers—*N. P., V. Ch.* was all Tatar' [Luppov, 1911, pp. 485–486]. In the official report (1840) to the higher management, the rural dean of Malmyzh uyezd, the priest of Adzhim village, Georgij Voyetskoy noted that the baptised Udmurts of Tsy'pyinsky parish who lived among pagans and Tatars 'are much more rough and persistent in their misconception; and although they do not perform idolatrous ceremonies openly and fearlessly, they do attend gatherings of the unbaptised for offering pagan sacrifice' [Luppov, 1911, p. 114]. Similar situations existed in Yelabuga Uyezd as well [Luppov, 1911, pp. 486–487]. According to Sh. Marjani, during his time, the population of several Udmurt villages converted to Islam. For example, he wrote about a certain Mussa who convert the local Udmurts [Märcani, 1989, pp. 352–353,

⁹ This land mostly coincided with the territory of the modern adjacent districts of the Republic of Tatarstan and the Udmurt Republic; it also included the native area of the Udmurts within the Baltasinsky and Kukmorsky districts of Tatarstan and the Mari-Turek district of the Republic of Mari El.

388]. In 1881, the baptised Udmurts of Kainsar village of Mamadysh uyezd adopted Islam. The strong influence of Islam was also registered 'in other Udmurt villages of this guberniya—Novy Kumor, Suter, Ishturganov, Vezheshura, Maly Yumey, and others' [Iskhakov, 2009, pp. 125, 140]. Researchers pointed out that such influences could be even stronger if the Tatars 'had been kindly disposed towards the Votyaks', without oppressing them [Lupov, 1911, p. 487].

The pagan Udmurts worshipped Aktash, Alyak-inmar, Kaba-inmar. Undoubtedly, this was due to the influence of the Muslim national culture. In particular, according to contemporaries, the fact that the south Udmurt (pagan and baptised) did sacrifice of horses was accounted for the influence of Tatars [State Archive of Kirov Oblast, f. 56, inv. 1, file 278, s. 15 reverse–15].

G. Vereshchagin called the Agryz Tatars the main sellers of headscarves and chintz (and other textiles), and noted that Udmurt women preferred these sellers to Russian sellers because 'the Tatars speak the Votyak language and that bargains are much better in the native tongue'. Among the so-called retailers and sellers of various miracle remedies the Tatars also prevailed. Since the Tatars knew the Udmurt language it primarily 'provided them with trust and hospitality' [Vereshchagin, 1996, pp. 60–63]. The lack of division in Islam between the secular and the spiritual allowed 'not only Tatars, but also other non-Russian people of the district, to perceive and follow the Muslim clergy'. Mullahs served as mentors, healers and teachers [Iskhakov, 2009a, p. 122].

It was in the southern zone that baptised Tatars played a crucial role at the level of interethnic contacts by acting as missionaries of Christianity amongst the Udmurts. There were recorded cases of official and unofficial 'church services of baptised Tatars by scribes in volosts', inhabited by the Udmurts and the Mari. Tatar Kryashens took part in the prosecution of pagan ceremonies [State Archive of Kirov Oblast, f. 56, inv. 1, file 300, s. 2 reverse—2, 53, 57]. In the post-reform period in Kry'ndy' village, along with the old-baptised,

Udmurts who knew the Tatar language took part in prayers. Sh. Marjani, noting that the female costume of the Tatar-Kryashens was similar to that of the southern Udmurts, assumed that the former had Finnish roots [Marjani, 1989, p. 74–75].

Touching upon the issues of interethnic cooperation, it is important to note the presence of conflict situations which inevitably arose between the communities which differed from one another. Apart from the above-mentioned cases of tension based on religious belief, there were other conflicts which occurred and were reflected in the sphere of criminal proceedings. The high level of socio-cultural development of the Tatars, among others, contributed to a significant increase in population which aggravated the problem of land shortage and brought about a clear polarisation in terms of material and behavioural factors. On one side, there were people with delinquent behaviour, on the other side, were 'trading Tatars' and merchants. In the 19th century, the cardinal measure was applied twice in relation to the inhabitants of Tatar settlements of Sarapul uyezd, in the mid-thirties and the early sixties. In 1834–1835, there was an investigation of 'thefts and robberies by Tatars in the vicinity of the Izhevsk plant'. In June 1834, during a gathering of Danilov Volost inhabitants, comprising the Tatar villages of Agryz, Izh-Bob'a and Izh-Bajki, it was resolved 'to remove from residence' 139 people along with their families. Most of them were actually conscripted or sent to Siberia [Pislegin, 2011, p. 97–98]. These events were described in journalism as 'a robbery in full daylight' by several Tatars of a populous Udmurt village [Herzen, 1838, p. 11–12].

Another case took place on the eve of the Great Reforms. On 28 August 1860, the Udmurts of Bolshaya Norya and Buranovo volosts of Sarapul Uyezd and Ilyinskaya volost of Yelabuga Uyezd, totalling more than 700 people, 'summoned by representatives of the elected self-administration', surrounded Agryz village and carried out the lynching of 13 inhabitants, accusing them of stealing horses and cattle. There were cries such as

'we need to beat the rich', and that they would expose thieves. The speakers singled out 40 to 70 people who had to be exiled, as was the case 20 years before. This was followed by an investigation and a village assembly resolution. This time the relatively homogeneous society of Agryz volost, in terms of ethnic composition, agreed to exile only 3 persons. This was obviously not enough for the authorities and the indignant neighbouring Tatars, therefore in March 1862, a new sentence was passed 'on the exile of 18 people from society'. The Vyatka chamber of state property recommended 10 more persons for exile. According to the Sarapul district police officer, the reason for 'the growth of theft among the Agryz Tatars' was due to the lack of land (a little more than 2 desyatinas of arable land and 1.5 desyatinas of meadow plots per capita) [Pislegin, 2011, p. 98].

In 1822–1825 (at intervals), in the territory of Sarapul, Yelabuga and Malmyzh uyezds of Vyatka guberniya and in several neighbouring areas of Perm guberniya, 'a band of robbers' existed, led by the unbaptised Udmurt Hamit Usmanov. His henchmen were Tatars, the brothers Kurbanavevs (Vakhit and Mukhit). The period from 1811–1814 also became well-known when robber chieftains Abdullah Saparov and Fayzulla Munasypov operated in Sarapul and Yelabuga uyezds. Mainly non-Russian peasants (Tatars, Udmurts, and the Mari) were members of their gang [Pislegin, 2011, p. 96–97].

Traditions are very important in everyday consciousness. Perhaps, this is what accounts for the recorded in 1835 intention of Russian and Udmurt inhabitants of the Danilov volost in Sarapul uyezd to separate the Tatars 'into a special volost', along with the relief of duties. At least, two villains (koshtans) from Izh-Bob'a village wanted the same thing [Pislegin, 2011, p. 101]. Before a separate Tatar Agryz volost appeared in 1859, there was a polyethnic Kyrlygan volost (it was not completely homogeneous) [Pislegin, 2010, p. 256].

The northern contact zone consisted of two micro-regions—the slobodsky (appeared first) and the glazovsky (a noticeable influx of Ta-

tars occurred in the early 18th century). The Tatars lived here among the Udmurts, in close vicinity to the Besermians. Since there was a small number of them, their influence on the Udmurt neighbours was as a rule limited to the sphere of direct contacts. For instance, according to a remark of a priest from Balezino village (1840), Udmurts living as workers for the Muslim Tatars were weakened in faith and morality [Luppov, 1911, p. 110]. The reverse influence was also insignificant, at least owing to the historical memory of their possessory status as the Arsk princes. At the same time, for example, sacrifices among the Chepetsk Tatars in honour of the construction of new buildings (building sacrifice), prayers for good weather, and so on, can be explained by the Udmurt-Besermian influence. Such holidays as Roshpo, Bozho, Mashhenshha-bajram are probably borrowed from the Russian Orthodox culture through the Udmurts [Kasimov, 2012, pp. 50–52].

Among the original crafts of the Kestym and Paderin Tatars at the end of the 19th century, P. Sorokin considered their shepherd-ing (pastushestvo) amongst the neighbouring Udmurts. The Tatars were hired for a specific type of horse protection for the summer period, and in case of loss of a horse, they helped in searches, demanding payment for the return of a lost horse. They rewarded them with '30 kopeks per head', products (flour, meat, oil, etc.), and arranged 'friendly meals'. Some took 5–10 villages under their protection and behaved as 'the real suzerains': 'One village provides him with flour, another one gives oil, and a third one pays monetary tribute'. The poor Tatars of Glazov uyezd wore clothes similar to Udmurt homespun clothes made from linen which they bought from their neighbours (very often paying half the price); the Kestyms, having finished works on their small land plots, were hired by the Udmurts as farm labourers. This researcher did not agree with the statements found in literature, claiming that the reason for the alienation of Russians, Udmurts and Besermians towards the Tatars was due to their religion [Sorokin, 1896, pp. 86–87, 92–94].

According to remarks by contemporaries, 'the Tatars do not forget their past; they cherish commendations, given to them by sovereigns at different times, and use any convenient or inconvenient opportunity to assert their rights' [Spitsyn, 1884, p. 156]. Scarcity of land, which was also characteristic of the Tatar population of the northern contact zone, led to land wars which paved the way for appeals to ancient charters. As part of the General land division, the offspring of the Karinsky Tatar Mavlish (Mavlyush) Kasimov, inhabitants of Kestym'skaya village and Padera village (72 census serfs in the petition of 1830, peasants and bourgeois, the latter were the descendants of Usman Kasimov, who in 1791 registered as a merchant of Glazov), like many others who lost their land, tried to get it back. Asking to return the meadows to the area of Gordynsky ancient settlement which had been given to the Udmurts of the villages of Omutnitskaya, Kozhils'kaya, Bolshoi and Maliy Karavai, Verh Kestym (Pybya) and Nuryzov'sky, the petitioners relied upon the decree of the Moscow city hall dated 5 December 1709, and, perhaps, upon even more ancient documents. Petitions and claims first appear in 1811 up to the middle of the 19th century. At a certain point, in the 1840's, they brought about the desired result. The adverse party, hypothetically recognising the possible purchase of Mavlish Kasimov's land by the Udmurts ('Mavlish Kasimov was given a lot of land in Glazov Uyezd, but he could not cultivate it himself'), doubted that so many inhabitants of Kestym and Padera were descended from one common ancestor and, accordingly, they doubted the existence of the ancient document itself ('and when all this was forgotten, and our old men who knew all the affairs with the Tatars had already passed away,... only now do they think of asking'). Both parties 'appealed on the lack of land and the need to pay tribute' [Pislegin, 2011, p. 102].

Closer ties between the Tatars and the Besermians led to mass conversion of the latter into Islam and they ultimately became Tatarised. There were many among the yukamen Tatars of the Glazov group. The report of

Vyatka bishop Nil to the Synod of 17 January 1837 states that the Besermians ('or the newly-baptised Tatars'), 'quite often co-existing in the same villages with the unbaptised, for example, in Vortsy',... are strongly interested in Mohammedanism. They do not know of fasting days established by the church here and they very seldom go to church' [Luppov, 1911a, p. 72]. The strong influence of Islam was also noted among the Besermians of the villages of Imanaev, Dososa, Kashchur [Iskhakov, 2009, p. 125]. It was suggested that they 'spoke the Votyak language, while conforming to Tatar customs. The wives of wealthy people dressed like the Tatars' [Rednikov, 1839, p. 12]. The Vyatka missionary A. Emelyanov noted that during the post-reform period, a mullah was more respected than a priest in many Besermian settlements: '...a mullah for the Besermians was a person whom they trusted, who perfectly spoke the Besermian language, and in terms of everyday life he was a regular farmer', 'Tatar mullahs treat the Besermians like their spiritual children...', the latter make it a point of honouring the mullah the same way they honour a priest' [cit. ex: Iskhakov, 2009a, page 122, 125].

The eastern contact zone was the third according to the time of occurrence. It covers the areas of settlement of the Trans-Kama Region Udmurts. The joining of the Kazan Khanate to the Moscow state and the policy of forced Christianisation served as the basis for its formation. Mainly the Udmurts of Trans-Vyatka, partially the migrants of Cheptsy' village, including the Besermians, and to a lesser extent the inhabitants of the central regions moved to this territory. Distinctive features of this contact zone include a sustained (up to the present day) retention of paganism, and very close ties with Tatar and Tatar-speaking Bashkirs. Most Udmurts adopted Islam and became Tatarised. In the 18th century, the inhabitants of the villages of Klyashevo, Votskiye Kurzi, Yanaul (1756), Tuprala (1789) became Tatars [Sadikov, 2001, p. 29–30]. The Udmurts of Garibashevo village (Tatyshlinsky district of the Republic of Bashkortostan) began to speak Tatar, presenting themselves as Bashkirs. In

the middle of the 19th century, mullah Fajzulla, an Udmurt who converted to Islam, settled in Gareybash village. Before him there were about 10–15 Muslims in the settlement [Sadikov, 2010a, p. 10–11]. Tatar Dymsky village is also considered to be Tatarised [Atamanov, 2005, p. 112]. The terms *ar zirati* (cemetery of the Udmurts), *arlar oči* (Udmurt neighbourhood), *arlar urami* (Udmurt street) are traces of such assimilation of the Udmurts. On the other hand, such a Slav-Turkic-Finnish neighbourhood contributed to the preservation of many archetypes of compact residential places lost by the Udmurts.

Conversion to Islam at the same time meant a change of ethnic self-consciousness: the Udmurts perceived the adoption of Islam as 'a conversion to Tatars' and called Islam 'biger vos' ('Tatar belief'). Finnish scholar Yu. Vikhmann who visited the Udmurts of Birkseyezd in 1894, noted that 'a majority of Udmurt villages have become Tatarised completely and have converted to Islam' [cit. ex: Chuch, 1990, p. 40].

Islam also had an impact on the traditional beliefs of the Udmurts of the eastern contact zone, in particular on the evolution of beliefs about the Kylchin deity; a great number of characters of Tatar and Bashkir mythology entered the mythology and demonology sphere of the Trans-Kama Region Udmurts. Under Muslim influence, the Trans-Kama Region Udmurts sometimes use the terms *ran* (instead of *lul*) and *ky't* (instead of *urt*) [Sadikov, 2011a, p. 33, 36].

The southeastern contact zone was formed from 1740's due to the resettlement of the recently baptised Udmurts and pagans. Nowadays, it comprises of several settlements incorporated into Bavly district of the Republic of Tatarstan (before the revolution—Bugulma Uyezd) and Kupcheneevo village of Yermekyevo District of Belebey Uyezd). Tatar influence on the Bavly Udmurts was weaker in comparison to the eastern contact zone. In particular, it resulted in the fact that Turkic origin names, which were replaced in the 19th century by Arab-Persian names amongst unbaptised Udmurts of Bashkiria and Perm Krai, remained here [Sadikov, 2007, pp. 119–120, 125].

The central contact zone (Izhevsk contact zone) This contact zone has substantial differences from the other zones as it emerged under urbanistic conditions of a large factory settlement. Tatar-Udmurt interaction is ruled out due to an extremely small number of the non-Russian population, nevertheless, the so-called 'Tatar bazar' had a considerable impact on the development and the cultural image of Izhevsk.

The rise of the Tatar settlement on the Zarechnaya side of Izhevsk falls on the early 19th century. In the autumn of 1822, an Islamic parish was organised here [Märdanov, 2006, p. 259; Vasina, 2006, p. 89]. By 1859, Tatars and Udmurts accounted for around 2 % of the twenty-one thousand people of the Izhevsk factory (456 and 424 respectively) [Vasina, 2006, p. 92]. The number of Tatars and Udmurts increased mainly at the expense of recruits who came to work at the arms factory and iron plant [Central State Archive of the Udmurt Republic, f. 4, inv. 1, file 417, s. 44–102, 103–136, 187–203 reverse]. The factory administration kept strict records on the marital status of newcomers, it sought to marry bachelors to the daughters of factory foremen and it required the civil authorities to send the wives and children of married recruits to the factory immediately. Such a requirement caused stubborn resistance on the part of peasants and even compassion from local authorities [Grishkina, 2009, p. 113; Central State Archive of the Udmurt Republic, f. 4, inv. 1, file 34, s. 5 reverse].

In 1870, the Tatar settlement numbered 88 yards. In the post-reform era (1875) some of them, within the framework of the program on the allotment of land to former serf-craftsmen, moved out from Izhevsk (1866) and founded the village of Abdulmenevo.

The interaction of the Tatar and Udmurt peoples was reflected in the educational sphere. In areas where the Udmurt population had converted to Islam, parents often sent their children to maktab of neighbouring Tatar villages. They often opened new schools at places where the newly-converted created their own mahallah [Sadikov, 2011, pp. 90–93;

Marjani, 1989, pp. 352–353; Yuzefovich, 1883, p. 33]. As a rule, the program of these elementary educational institutions only provided for reading, writing and learning prayers by heart. Despite a low educational level [Steinfeld, 1893, p. 247], these schools allowed to achieve another goal—the complete adoption of Islam and the Tatar language by Udmurt children. Some of them, having finally become Tatars, continued studying in local madrasahs and educational institutions of Bukhara [Sadikov, 2011, pp. 90–93; Marjani, 1989, pp. 352–353], and eventually became mullahs.

In the early 19th century, the government and the Synod allowed the organisation of primary education of several non-Russian peoples including the Udmurts in their native languages [Grigoryev, 1948, p. 253]. But no specific measures were taken in this direction for a long time. Only the mass conversion of baptised and unbaptised non-Russians of the Middle Volga region into Islam forced the authorities to undertake a number of 'anti-Muslim' measures, for example, in the sphere of elementary Christian education. The system of education developed by N. Ilminsky also became popular with the Udmurts. Among the first followers of V. Timofeev, who became the head of the Kazan Central Christian Tatar School in 1864, there were Udmurt children present as well. Some of them, for example, an inhabitant of the Udmurt village of Kuzmichi (Kazan guberniya), later became teachers themselves [Ilminsky, 1913, p. 59; Zhurnal po obozreniyu cerkvej, 1875, p. 151; Bobrovnikov, 1899, pp. 46–47; Timofeev, 1868, p. 219]. Education at Christian Tatar schools did not always mean the loss of Udmurt ethnic identity; it also consolidated them within the orthodox church.

Afterwards, they established elementary educational institutions which used the Udmurt language, taking into consideration the experience of Christian Tatar schools. Udmurt-speaking Christian Tatar teachers made a significant contribution to the creation and formation of these institutions in terms of the educational process during the initial stages [Bobrovnikov, 1899, pp. 46–47]. Namesakes

B. Gavrilov and F. Gavrilov are especially noteworthy.

The priest F. Gavrilov (from the christened Tatars) is connected with the history of a school located in Stary Karlygan village, Urzhumsky uyezd, Vyatka guberniya. This school was destined to become one of the training centres for Udmurt teachers like Kazan Central Christian Tatar School. The school was founded in 1882 (initially as a private school) by a local native K. Andreev who had completed Starotsipyinsky and Sardabashsky Christian Tatar schools. In the ensuing years, relying on assistance and support from N. Ilminsky, he became a distinguished teacher and missionary, and he played a crucial role in educating Udmurt people [Zaitsev, 2006]. Since the first years of the school's existence and up to his death (1896), non-Russian diocesan missionary F. Gavrilov provided invaluable assistance in terms of the school's development and the organisation of the educational process. K. Andreev held religious and moral conversations with pupils and their parents under his supervision [Turanov, 2009, p. 15]. Talented Udmurt teacher and educator I. Mikheev worked at the Central Udmurt School as a teacher's assistant after graduating from Kazan Seminary for Non-Russian Teachers (1896)¹⁰.

B. Gavrilov, being a schoolteacher in Apazovo village, Kazan uyezd, where he came to work in 1867 after graduating from Kazan Central Christian Tatar School, began to be interested in the Udmurt language. In 1868, he was transferred again to an Udmurt school in the neighbouring Ushma village. In 1873, according to the instructions of the missionary Brotherhood of St. Gury, he studied the Udmurt language in Verkhnyaya Shun village, Mamadyshsk uyezd [Gavrilov, 1891, p. 80] and by 1874, on the basis of christened Tatar textbooks, he had prepared an ABC-book and a work entitled the Initial Doctrine of the Christian Faith in the Udmurt language, later used in Udmurt schools as teaching manuals

¹⁰ In the early 20th century, he developed an original method of teaching Russian to pupils of national schools, which also found practical use in Tatar schools [Suvorova, 1990, pp. 71–72].

[Izvlecheniya iz otcheta, 1874, p. 462]. In the late 1870s, before becoming a priest and transferring to Kyryndy village, Yelabuga Uyezd, Vyatka guberniya, B. Gavrilov was a teacher in a non-Russian college in the Udmurt village of Puzhe-Ucha (at present—Ilinsky village, Malopurginsky district, Udmurtia) [Turanov, 2009, p. 5].

B. Gavrilov had a distinguished record not only as a teacher and missionary but also as a researcher. Samples of Udmurt storytellings and unique information on the customs and rites of the Udmurts of Kazan and Vyatka guberniyas, collected by him in the late 19th century, form a priceless collection of Udmurt folklore and ethnography [Gavrilov, 1880, 1891]. The manuscript by B. Gavrilov 'Pagan religious and ritual life of contemporary Votyaks from Kazan and Vyatka guberniyas, which includes a preface on Votyak dwellings, costumes, jewels, food and drinks,

as well as their character', received the Minor gold medal of the Russian Geographical Society in 1884 [Korobeynikov, 2008, p. 9].

Other ethnographic works on Tatars of Vyatka guberniya were made by distinguished Udmurt educator, scientist, and writer G. Vereshchagin. In particular, he pointed out the aspects of Tatar mentality which allowed to find mutual understanding with Udmurts, which was due to 'Tatar influence on Udmurt women's costume in the Izh river region' [Vereshchagin, 1996, pp. 52, 60–63].

Tatar-Udmurt relations reflect a centuries-old history. Starting at the peasant and household level, in the latter half of the 19th century, these relations soon reached a new level of contacts in the sphere of education and science. This example shows how ambiguous and complex the process of longstanding interethnic and intercultural interaction was, but at the same time it was productive.

CHAPTER 6

Mordovian-Tatar Relations

Guzel Stolyarova

In the territory of the Volga-Ural region, there are two directions of interaction between Finno-Ugric (Mordovian) and Turkic (Tatar) elements: 1) the formation of local ethnocultural groups of Finnish-Turkic origin and 2) Mordovian-Tatar mutual influence conditioned by close proximity.

Several Tatar and Mordovian sub-ethnic groups exist in the region, having a strong Finnish-Turkic influence in their ethnogenesis: Tatar-Mishars, Kasimov Tatars, Tatar-Kryashens and Mordovian-Karatais.

The Tatar-Mishars emerged during direct contact with Mordovian groups influenced by Finno-Ugric components in the area between the Volga, Tsna and Oka.

The Kasimov Tatars' ethnic substratum was formed by Finno-Ugric (mainly Mordovians) and Turkic groups, inhabiting the lands of Meshhera before the existence of Kasimov khanate. Subsequently, this stratum was heavily influenced by the Turkic and Finno-Ugric people, taking into account their close proximity. Mordovian groups had the greatest impact. Traces of burial mounds and burials left by the Mordovians have been found near Tatar villages (Temgenevo, Muntovo, Akhmatovo, Sobakino). The inhabitants of these villages remembered legends about the fact that Mordovians (Moksha) lived close to their ancestors. A small portion of Mordovians started practising Islam in the 16th century and later they intermarried with the Kasimov Tatars [Sharifullina, 2004a, p. 545].

Some Tatar-Kryashens were the offspring of those who used to be pagans, especially from the borderline Finno-Ugric population which long had strong Turkic linguistic and ethnocultural traditions. As a result of christening, a part of the Finno-Ugric population, af-

ter its subsequent migration into mixed Tatar-Udmurt, Tatar-Chuvash and Tatar-Mordovian villages, gradually assimilated with the Tatar-Kryashens [Makarov, 2002; Bayazitova, 1986]. Many facts confirming that several villages of Tatar-Kryashens belonged to neighbouring peoples in the past, may be found in the works by I. Lyapidovsky, I. Iznoskov, I. Smirnov, Y. Koblov, etc. [Mukhametshin, 1977].

If in the 18th century, Mordovians actively settled remote territories, increasing their share in population of the Middle Volga region, including the territory of modern Tatarstan, then in the first part of the 19th century, the share of Mordovians in the Volga-Ural region decreased in every area. This was related to a reduction in the intensity of Mordovian migration processes, but even more so, it was due to the intensification of Mordovian assimilation which was typical in the post-reform period [Kabuzan, 2002].

The manner of settlement of Mordovians in the region is mainly the disperse type. At the same time, a network of Mordovian settlements was being formed in the Republic of Tatarstan. Some were mono-ethnic Mordovian, however, the majority intermarried with other Volga peoples. For example, in Kazan guberniya in the late 19th century, Mordovians only lived in the territory of three uyezds (Spassk, Tetyushsk, and Chistopole), only 9 of them were purely Mordovian [Yurchenkov, 2007]. From an ethno-demographic point of view, contacts between the Tatars and the Mordovians are expressed by intermarrying and forming mixed-race families, as well as ethnic identification of the younger generation in such families. Regional and scientific studies of the 19th century contain many plots concerning the Russification of Mordovians, inter alia, at the

expense of inter-ethnic marriages, however, actual instances are presented incompletely. For example, there is evidence that the Tatars had a special influence on their neighbours, especially the Bashkirs and the Chuvash, to a lesser extent—on the Mari, the Udmurts and the Mordovians [Laptev, 1861].

Local cultural complexes were formed as a result of close ethnic ties between the Mordovians and the Tatars, closely intertwined with Finnish and Turkic components. This was reflected in all the spheres of culture (the material, social and spiritual spheres), in different elements of culture and with a varying degree of intensity.

First of all, one can see a similarity in the domestic forms of all Volga peoples in the literature sphere, conditioned by close economic-cultural ties, common natural-geographical conditions and a generally close level of economic and social development of the region's peoples. This similarity can be seen in household equipment and labour instruments (types of harrows, ploughs, other agricultural instruments), in means of transport, as well as in the cultivation of crops and methods of harvesting and processing (drying, threshing, grinding), and also in the felling character of construction machinery, architectural-decorative design and in the interior design of residential and farm buildings. There were many common elements in terms of clothes (fabrics, style of clothing, aprons, outerwear like sheepskin coats and fur coats, jewellery, etc.), food (products, types of vegetable, meat, and dairy products—griddle-cakes, pancakes, pies, butter, sour cream, beverages, and their methods of preparation and storage, kitchen utensils, etc. [Mukhametshin, 1977] At the same time, there were direct Tatar-Mordovian word borrowings. For example, N. Vorobyev who studied the Tatar-Kryashens in detail wrote, 'Tatar-Kryashens do not have the majority of urban meals imported from the East. The great number of vegetables and kvas that they have is undoubtedly a direct influence of their Russian or Finnish neighbours... Their unique restraint, remoteness to trade centres, lack of aspiration for trade and trade skills makes the Kryashens similar to their Finnish

neighbours who have been making homemade fabrics for clothing since olden times. A direct Finnish influence is seen here, the Tatars do not have this, since it was overshadowed due to trade ties with the East and Russians. Another method of cloth ornamentation was—embroidery which was not as wide-spread among the Kryashens. Apart from the ancient way of embroidery using the chain stitch, they also had a Finnish embroidery technique...' [Vorobyev, 1929]. Ethnographers claimed that amongst western Trans-Kama Region Tatar Kryashens, 'there was a certain Mordovian influence': the consumption of mushrooms, ways of wearing onuchas (puttees) on cloth stockings, wearing belts around women's shirt, similarities in outerwear, certain types of headbands, men's headwear, styles of bast shoes, etc. The prevalence amongst Tatar-Kryashens (especially amongst northern groups) of two-storey barns, cages, log gates, several types of wood crafts (tar-distilling, spinning, producing bast mats and mat-bags) can be also explained by ancient ties with Finno-Ugric peoples of the Volga region [Vorobyev, 1928; Mukhametshin, 1977]. Many elements of the Tatar national costume (for women), as well as headwear, footwear and jewels had a lot in common with those of Finno-Ugric peoples living close by, including the Mordovians. 'This refers to horn-shaped headwear, coin-shaped neck and chest ornaments, made from cloth, the Muslim amulet-ornament khesite, a similar local chest ornament like a shoulder belt which was a pagan talisman for Finno-Ugric peoples. The Temnikov-Azeyev (southern) group of Mishars had Mordovian bast shoes (with a slanted front, low sides, and twisted elements), which were worn with knitted, not broadcloth stockings, as was customary among other groups of Tatars' [Suslova, 2004, pp. 542–543]. V. Gordlevsky noticed traces of the pagan Finnish elements in the compact arrangement of settlements amongst Kasimov Tatars [Sharifullina, 2004a, p. 545]. As for the Tatar-Mishars, according to N. Mokshin, such details in their material culture as a kosulya (plow), putmar (bed), bast footwear (first of all, lapti), typical for Mordovians since ancient times should be considered

Mordovian borrowings [Mokshin, 2006, p. 690].

The Tatars had a significantly weaker influence on the Mordovians than the Russians. Information about Tatar influence on Mordovians is insubstantial. For instance, M. Evsev'ev writes, '...the shape of the Mordovian headwear for women in Saransk uyezd resembles that of Kazan Tatar women, the so-called kolpak (pointed cap)' [Yevseyev, 1925, p. 180].

It follows from the above-mentioned materials that there is a lot of evidence on Finno-Ugric components in the material culture of various Tatar groups, however, the situation is not the same in the social culture sphere. Here we can only refer to Y. Mukhametshin's statement about the fact that the contacts of Tatars with neighbouring peoples were also reflected in social everyday life: in the more lasting existence of large patriarchal families [Mukhametshin, 1977] and also to Mordovian researcher M. Akashkin's remark that 'the pre-Christian way of life of the Mordovians and the pre-Islamic one of the Mishars were very similar, if not identical' [Akashkin, 2001]. But as far as spiritual culture is concerned, the interaction of the Tatars and the Mordovians is manifested more clearly. Researchers noted the closeness of religious notions of the Kasimov Tatars, the Tatar-Kryashens, the Tatar-Mishars, especially in regard to their ancient cults with elements from Finnish-speaking peoples [Vorobyev, 1929; Mokshin, 2006; Mukhametshin, 1977]. Scholars find a lot in common in the wedding ceremonies of different Tatar and Mordovian groups. For example, the Tatar-Mishars often married 13–14-year-old boys to 18–20-year-old girls which was a wide-spread phenomenon amongst neighbouring Mordovians



Mordvins. 1885.

[Sharifullina, 2004a, p. 547]. The quantitative ratio of the percentage of similarities and differences between Mishar and Mordovian wedding rituals is the following one: 73 % of Tatar-Mishar and Mordovian wedding rites are very similar, around 53 % coincide almost completely; the latter include—matchmaking, dowry, the groom's visit to the bride, only girls' bath, buying out (gates, doors), the similarity of wedding rituals, certain rites when the groom meets the bride, presentation of gifts, the introduction to a new home, taking the bride to a well, post-wedding festivities, etc. [Akashkin, 2001]. M. Yevseyev discovered in Saransk uyezd several specific wedding rituals with non-Mordovian titles, which are not found in other areas inhabited by Mordovians [Yevseyev, 1925, pp. 183–184].

Among other components of Tatar spiritual culture, influenced by Tatar-Mordovian contacts, researchers emphasise the musical works of the Tatar-Kryashens (to be more precise, circle songs) [Mukhametshin, 1977] and folk dances. The basis of the peoples' choreography is formed by working and social practices. Many dance elements arose from imitating the work process: a work mode is reflected in both men's and women's dances. The elements

of labour which are common for Tatars and Mordovians were reflected in the Tatar dance 'Almagachlary' and the Mordovian one called 'Umarina' [Khuzina].

As for Mordvinic languages, Tatarisms rank first in comparison with other Turkic borrowings, in addition, there are more Tatar borrowings in the Moksha-Mordovian language than in the Erzya-Mordovian one [Butylov, 1998].

Mordovian-Tatar ties had an effect on Mordovian anthroponymy where there were both pre-Muslim Tatar and Muslim names in the period before conversion to Christianity. These were mainly preserved in Russian records and various bureaucratic documents. Some have reached us as surname stems and are widespread amongst Mordovians at present.¹¹ [Mokshin, 2006, p. 691]

Thus, ethnographic, folk and linguistic materials confirm the close ethnocultural ties between Mordovians and various Tatar groups from the Volga-Ural region.

During this period, the social basis, contributing to sustainable ethnocultural interaction of the rural multiethnic population of the Middle Volga region, was formed by: a tradition of tolerant relations and the equal social and legal status of cultivators (taxed population, inhabitants of state villages); favourable climatic conditions and an economic system; joint settlements in several villages¹² and the existence of contact zones—the close location of various ethnic groups, economic ties, seasonal work, etc.

The predominance of the Tatar population in comparison with the Chuvash and Finno-Ugric populations, their activity in commercial transactions and their relatively high literacy, the favourable attitude of the Tatar clergy (unlike Orthodox priests) to pagans, a rational lifestyle, etc. formed an attractive image of the social and cultural life of the Tatar population. However, interaction had its limits, the main limitations were the following: religion and ethnic traditions, stereotypes and mentality, knowledge of neighbouring languages, etc.

Ideologically, there was a struggle between the Russian Orthodox church and the Muslims for spiritual influence on non-Russian peoples in the region. After the introduction of N. Ilminsky's system, when contacts between Christians and Muslims began to be monitored by priests of national parishes and teachers of the Brotherhood of Saint Gury, as well as the Ministry of National Education, Islamic influence became less intense. The clerical culture created by N. Ilminsky and several missionaries contributed to the rapprochement of christened non-Russian peoples.

The traditions of interaction between Tatars and Russians go back to the Golden Horde era. During this period, relations between rural Russians and the Tatar population were mainly determined by economic ties. The influence of Russian culture on the Tatars began to increase in cities where the latter constituted an ethno-religious minority.

¹¹ Abaikin, Akaikin, Alyamkin, Arslankin, Arkaikin, Asmankin, Bazarkin, Bashkaikin, Bekaikin, Bektyashkin, Bekaikin, Bulatkin, Diveyev, Zhiganov, Isabaikin, Islamkin, Kabayev, Kamayev, Kanaikin, Kasimkin, Kitaev, Kolganov, Kumanev, Kunyayev, Mamaikin, Murzayev, Murzakayev, Saraykin, Sultanov, Tyugayev, Uraskin, Chebaikin, Chelmatkin, Chembulatov, Yurtaev, Yamashkin, Yaushev, etc.

¹² According to the 10th revision, in Kazan guberniya, 12. 4 %, of state peasants, mainly Russians, Tatars and Udmurts, lived in multi-ethnic settlements [Shkapin, 2011, p. 161].

Section IX

**Ethnography
and Tatar Folk Art**



CHAPTER 1

Settlements and Dwellings

§ 1. Rural Settlements and Dwellings

Nail Khalikov

Settlements and dwellings are essential aspects of material life and form the basic life necessities for people and their families. Building and construction, as they developed, assumed the form of an integrated complex with complicated functional, territorial, temporal, ethnographical, and other parameters.

Traditional Tatar settlements—villages (*avyl, il*)—were built along waterways: rivers, brooks, streams, and also lakes. In this respect they differed from the settlements of other peoples. Tatar villages in the 19th century were somewhat larger than the settlements of the Mari people or the Udmurts. There was a steady increase in the number of homesteads as well as the population of the villages in a north-south direction. By the end of the 19th century there were often fewer than 100 homesteads in the villages of the Vyatka and Perm guberniyas [Materialy' po statistike, Vol. 9, part 2, p. 410; Materialy' dlya statistiki Krasnoufimskogo, Ed. 1, 2, 4]. In the Laishevo Uyezd of the Kazan Guberniya there were on average 139 homesteads in Tatar settlements [Materialy' dlya zemlevladieniya, Ed. 7]. The majority of the Tatar settlements in the Samara and Saratov Guberniyas contained over 100 homesteads, often as many as 500 [Yakhontov, 2008, pp. 310–311]. 40 Tatar villages in the Orenburg Guberniya had an average of 160 homesteads [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 164, inv. 1, file 5, 6, 80, 81, 82].

Street planning in most Tatar villages in the late 19–early 20th centuries were along the lines of: two rows of manors, facing each other, or linear planning: one row of manors. Streets (*uram*) had side streets after every few homesteads (*tykryk*) for access to a watering place, vegetable garden, or a field. Large vil-

lages had block planning. In the Middle Volga Region, the Ural, and neighbouring regions this was the result of the replanning of traditional settlements, which was carried out in 1839 at the initiative of the Moscow State Mining University and further developed in the post-reform period thanks to the activities of Zemstva.

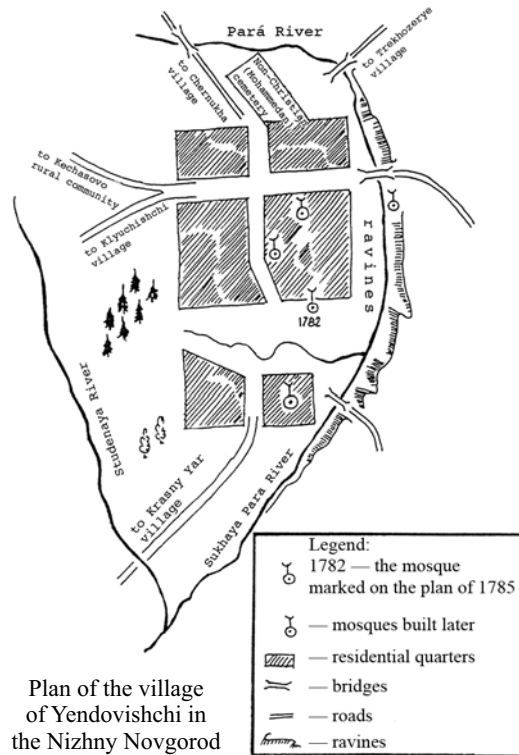
The replanning was most successfully carried out in the settlements of military estates. In 1843 the model plan for the aul, drawn mainly from the 'Building Statute,' was approved by the Orenburg military governor: straight streets in regular lines, 10 to 15 sazhen apart, the distance between the houses should be around 12 sazhen, the bath houses and blacksmiths shops should be placed outside the estate, close to natural water sources or on the slope of the ravine. From 1847 a mass resettlement from the river valleys to the post roads and cart tracks was in process as well as the migration of a significant part of the Bashkir-Mishar army, whose settlements were built according to the model plan [Shitova, 1984, pp. 38, 47; Shirgazin, 1992, p. 47]. Almost half of the housing stock of the Muslim irregular army was renewed in 4 to 6 years [Yanguzin, 1989, p. 114].

The old-style curved street planning, referred to as 'purely Tatar' or 'oriental,' was preserved chiefly in the Kama region, in settlements untouched by the replanning [Krest'yanskoe zemlevladienie, Ed. 8, p. 80]. The planning of such villages was cumulative and clustered and was characterised by a mesh of tangled streets, back streets, and cul-de-sacs. This was a relic of the early stages of the settlement of the Tatars' semi-nomadic ancestors into ethnic and tribal groups and of the formation of permanent settlements.

The layout of the village was also defined by social conditions. Civic buildings were found in the centre of the settlement: shops, fire brigades, occasionally the volost's authorities, and also estates with permanent buildings of wealthy householders. There were also bazaars. A mosque was built on a small square roughly in the middle of each hundred or so homesteads; there might be several mosques in large settlements. On the outskirts of the settlements were clusters of dilapidated houses belonging to poor peasants, with several simple farm buildings.

In the Tatar villages of the Kama Region, as in the villages of the Mari and Chuvash peoples, a lot of the streets were tree-lined and almost every house had a small garden in front of it. This tradition was practically non-existent in the Mishar Tatar villages. But common to and obligatory for all groups of Tatars was the planting of trees and shrubs in cemeteries, a custom which found its origins in the distant past.

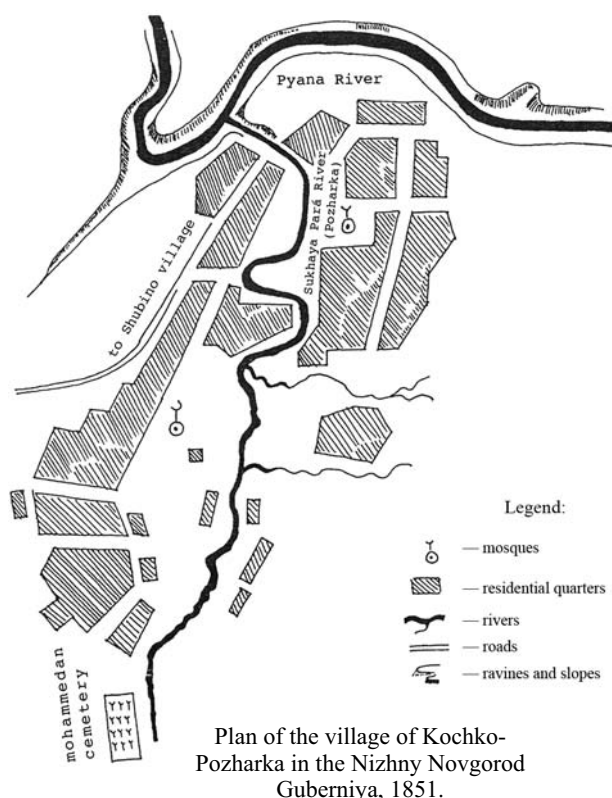
Tatar rural manors (*jort*, *naz'ma*) were usually rectangular in form and were divided into two parts: the homestead itself with its buildings and a vegetable garden. Manors with a homestead only, and no vegetable garden, were occasionally found among poor peasants. In the southern steppe regions, where the population kept large numbers of cattle, and among the Tatars of the Kasimov Uyezd of the Ryazan Guberniya manors were sometimes divided into three parts: a 'clean' homestead with a dwelling; a farmstead with barns and sheds; and a vegetable garden. The manor was usually separated from the neighbours by the backs of the homestead's structures and fences (*kojma*, *kura*) in between them. The vegetable gardens were separated by simple fences—wattling, a stack stand, baulk, or an earth trench. The homesteads were securely fenced off from the street; the fencing was of timber, or more rarely of logs or stones, etc. Gates, especially in forest and forest-steppe regions, were built high, on 3 or 4 posts. There were so-called 'Tatar' gates (the posts were connected at the top by a board or bar, or were not connected at all) and 'Russian' gates



Plan of the village of Yendovishchi in the Nizhny Novgorod Guberniya, 1785.

(with a dual-slope covering). In the southern steppe regions gates were not usually higher than the fences.

Homesteads differed in the number of their buildings and their grouping. The manors of poor peasants, who kept hardly any cattle, consisted of one or two structures constructed from the materials they had to hand (poles, wattle, clay) and located at random. The appearance of the homesteads was also affected by adverse environmental factors: droughts, livestock disease, fires, etc., which led to the impoverishment of the peasants. In contrast to the poor homesteads, the manors of wealthy peasants, merchants, and the clergy were distinguished by their order and the large number of farming facilities (several store rooms, cold and warm barns, stables, sheds). The buildings were made of quality materials and, even in unforested regions, were often constructed from wood. For example, the generally wealthy Tatar Cossacks from Orenburg had 'barns, sheds, various cowsheds, aviaries, and special stables for horses..., constructed for the most part of thin logs...' [Litunovsky, 1878, p. 102].



Plan of the village of Kochko-Pozharka in the Nizhny Novgorod Guberniya, 1851.

The manor's appearance also depended on the system for building cattle yards. A typical feature of the Tatar manors in the northern uyezds of the Kazan Guberniya, the Vyatka and Perm guberniyas, the Oka-Sur' interfluvial area and the Trans-Kama Region was the erection of timber barns and stables under a dual-slope overhang or under the entire roof of the barn (*lapas*, *aran*, *abzar*). The vacant space between the timber barns and stables formed an enclosure (*karda*) where cattle were kept during the daytime. A semi-dugout for cattle and birds or a paddock (*karda*) sometimes adjoined the wall of the building from the side of the vegetable garden.

In the south-eastern uyezds of the region structures in the barnyards were set apart. More space was allocated for cattle enclosures, shelters, and light sheds made from wattling or wooden stakes. Heated buildings for cattle were much less common than in the forested areas. According to N. Litunovsky, the building of the Tatar homesteads in the Orenburg Guberniya consisted 'mainly of poorly constructed sheds and shelters with partitions for keeping cattle...' [Litunovsky, 1878, p. 102].

The appearance of the homestead was defined to a large extent by the position of the dwelling and its orientation in relation to the street, as the dwelling was the centre of the homestead and determined the positioning of the farm structures.

In the Tatar settlements of the Volga-Ural Region the dwelling was situated at the heart of the manor, in accordance with ancient traditions, which set a precedence for later forms. In the middle of the 19th century M. Laptev remarked that in ancient times the Tatars 'positioned their houses in the oriental manner, in the middle of the homestead, fenced off on all sides; nowadays not only cities are built according to plans, there are also villages constructed in the correct layout, but even here the Tatars try to hide their houses from public view' [Laptev, 1861, p. 216]. This old style reflected the Turkic tradition, whereby buildings were scattered haphazardly, and curved street planning in villages in the near Kama, Trans-Kama, and Ural Regions.

In some Tatar settlements houses were positioned at some distance from the street. This different style of layout for dwellings is the next level in the development of the early form, which was necessitated by the replanning of settlements and the replacement of the old, unsystematic building plan by a new, structured one. A third type was the positioning of houses in line with the street. This style, known as the 'posad' or 'urban' style, was used by the Tatars during the complete reconstruction of settlements from the beginning of the 1870s. In accordance with the latter style, houses were placed at a short distance behind the line of the street, which gave the street an irregular, zigzag appearance. This tradition appeared as a result of the close proximity of the manors; this feature was most common in the narrow homesteads of the Oka-Sur' interfluvial Region.

In rural manors there were open, half-covered, and covered types of homesteads. The open-type homestead had no covering over the central space, which was free of structures. The half-covered homestead had a well-

ordered arrangement: the space between the house and the farm buildings, placed in parallel to it, was enclosed by a covering made of wooden stakes and straw. In the summer the covering was dismantled. In the covered homestead the structures were under a common permanent roof.

The covered and half-covered types were generally characteristic of manors with a dwelling located on its building line. In Oka-Sur' interfluvial area and in the southern volosts of the Trans-Kazan covered homesteads could be found, where the house and the homestead had dual-slope roofs. The covered homestead was sometimes positioned at some distance from the house, and the space between them was covered with a flat roof for the winter. In the Trans-Kazan, Volga, and western Kama Regions covered homesteads were built, adjoining the house on two sides. In the covered Tatar homesteads of the northern areas of the Kama, Ural, and partly the Volga Regions, which were characterised by their large size and massive walls and roof, the house and household buildings, placed in parallel, had their own roofs, and the centre of the homestead was covered with a sloping roof made of boards. There were also other versions of covered homesteads.

The Tatars of the Volga-Ural generally possessed open homesteads, which was an ethno-cultural tradition of the rural manor, preserved in all natural zones throughout the long history of the development of architecture. The traditional conditions for household activities could be met most closely by a manor that was suitable for keeping cattle without a cowshed, which was common in southern areas, and with a cowshed, which could be found in northern areas.

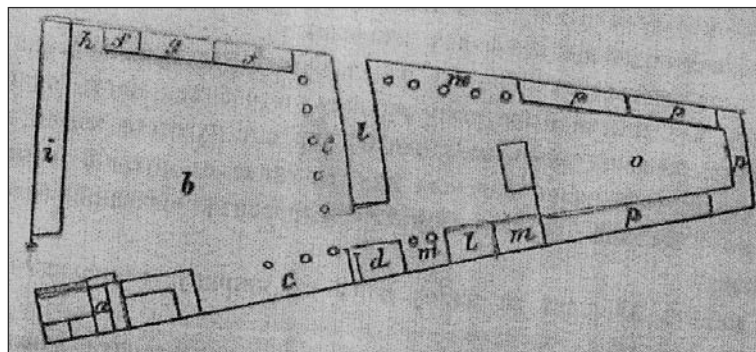
Half-covered and covered homesteads were far less common. The first type was mainly encountered in certain areas of the Kama Region and the Middle Volga Region; the second was evident in the Perm and Kungur Uyezds of the Perm Guberniya, in the Sloboda Uyezd of the Vyatka Guberniya, in the Kazan, Mamadysh, and Laishevo Uyezds of the Kazan Guberniya, in the Simbirsk Uyezd of the Simbirsk Guber-

niya, in the Saransk and Kerensk Uyezds of the Penza Guberniya.

The half-covered type of homestead was found in manors with coverings between sheds and barns, and on this basis covered homesteads appeared in the early 20th century. The appearance of covered homesteads amongst the Tatars can be partly explained by the fact that they kept inns in settlements near the road.

Certain patterns could be seen in the layout structure of the manor (types of homesteads). The most archaic of these in the late 19–early 20th was the haphazard layout of Tatar manors, which was a feature only of the open homestead: structures were positioned without any kind of order, and with no connection between them. This form, reflecting the first stage in the development of the manors, and which dated back to the 'traditions of the semi-nomads during settlement' [Shennikov, 1977, p. 26], could be observed in old Tatar manors in the Volga, Kama, Trans-Kama and Lower Volga regions and the Perm Trans-Urals. In contrast to this unsystematic layout was the ordered form of different types: single-row, 'II' and 'T'-shaped, and other forms of homesteads.

The most common layout in the Tatar manors was the 'chamber' style, where the homestead buildings were positioned in a 'II' shape around the perimeter of the homestead, leaving its inner area open. The 'T' form of layout was widespread amongst the Tatar manors. The house was most often situated with its narrow side facing the street. At the rear in a single line, or most often adjoining an inner porch, were a cage, a shed or a overhang. Another group of structures, consisting of a barn, an overhang and stables, was positioned along the rear side of the homestead, forming, together with the house, a 'T'. Wealthy Tatars in Kasimov uyezd owned triple-row and 'T'-form manors. In the first case the house, situated in the centre of the manor, divided the homestead into 'clean' and household halves. With the 'T' form the house was positioned with its long side facing the street; its blind side was adjacent to a terrace which was attached to a shed, then a barn and a storage room under a common roof. Each of homesteads had separate gates to the street.



Drawing by A. Haxthausen.
Mid-1840s.

- a) peasant's dwelling house; b) the first yard or homestead; c) overhang on wooden columns, open at the front; d) bath house; e) overhang on wooden columns, open at the front and serving as stables during the summer; hence the trough in the rear wall and hayloft under the

roof; f) two facilities for storing flour and grain; g) a facility for tools; h) overhang with scales above; i) store, one part for oats and the other for farming tools; k) the second or horse yard; l) stables; m) overhangs; n) vault; o) the third or cattle yard for cows, sheep, and goats; p) different stalls for them.

In addition to the reasons mentioned above, ethnic and cultural traditions reflecting the early stages of the appearance of settlements (open homesteads with an asymmetrical plan, the unsystematic or disordered placement of buildings in the manor, the positioning of the house at the back of the homestead) also had a part to play in the formation of the homestead's structure. It would appear that the forms of covered homesteads and the 'П', 'Г' and 'Г' layout of the homesteads were in most cases a

In rural house building, the structures were designed for the storage of supplies of bread, produce and property, and were divided into ground pantries, barns, storerooms and basements and cellars built into the ground.

Single-chamber pantries were widespread. Double-chamber and two-level pantries could be found in the Kama region. Barns, which differed from pantries in that they were larger and had a wide two-leaf door, could be found mostly in the Kama region, the northern areas of the Volga region, in the Sergach uyezd of the Nizhny Novgorod guberniya and in the Perm and Ufa Cis-Urals.

Domestic pantries were generally referred to as black (*kara kelät*), and contained chests (*lar*; *bura*) made of custom-fitted thick plates. An ancient tradition of the Tatars was to use the pantries for newlyweds as a summer dwelling. (*ak kelät*). They had a floor, ceiling and a small

window, and had thorough internal finishings. Pantries of this kind were typical for the Tatars of the Kama region, the Perm part of the Ural and Trans-Urals regions and the western and Eastern Trans-Kama Region.

Storerooms with brick walls appeared in the final quarter of the 19–early 20th century. Like other brick buildings, these belonged to the wealthier peasants, the clergy, merchants, owners of artisan businesses and were concentrated in the economically more developed areas of the Kazan region and the northern districts of the Oka-Sura interfluvium.

Stone storerooms (*tash kelät*) were often found in Tatar villages in the Kama, Trans-Kama, Ufa, Orenburg Cis-Urals and Trans-Urals regions; in the unforested steppe regions, in the southern area of the forest-steppe zone storage rooms made of adobe were widespread.

A common occurrence were semi-basement storerooms (*podval*), designed for storing household goods.

Most households had underground storage cellars (*baz*) for keeping potatoes, meat and dairy products. These cellars were often built underneath sheds, coverings, pantries, granaries and storerooms.

A cone-shaped covering (in the form of a tent), which even in the middle of the 19th century was described as one of the characteristic features of the Tatar homesteads in the Kazan guberniya [Sboev, 1856a, p. 18], was an ancient traditional building, typical of the agricultural lifestyle of the Kazan Tatars. All other forms of coverings were characteristic of all groups of Volga Tatars.

The most important buildings in the peasant households were those used for housing animals: cowsheds, stables, overhangs, paddocks, etc.

A traditional, important and almost obligatory building of the Tatars of the Volga-Ural region was the bath house (*muncha*). In three villages in the north-western part of the Malmyzh uyezd of the Vyatka Guberniya there were 234 bath houses

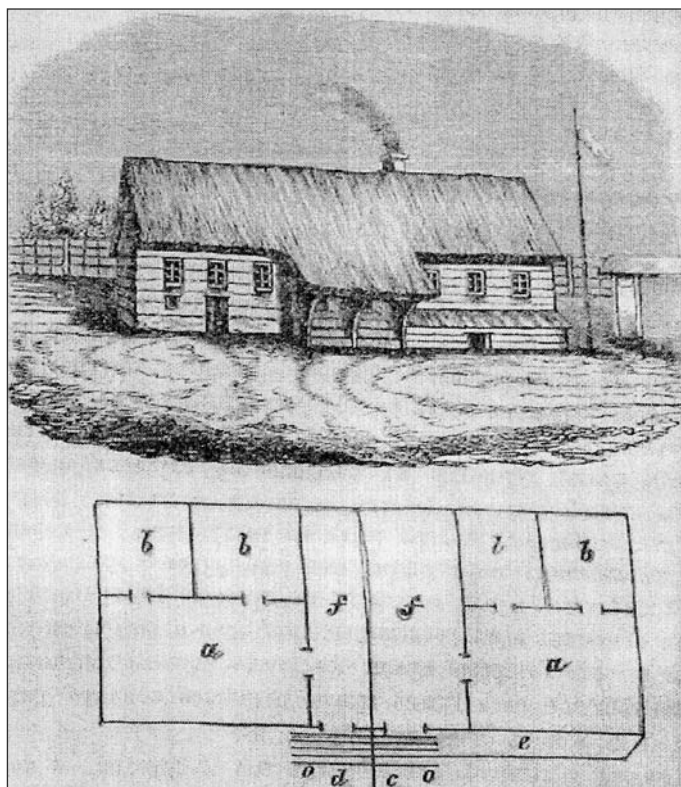


Wattle hayloft (*çitän çinnek*) in the village of Chegakly. Abdulinsky District of the Orenburg Region. Reconstruction by N. Khalikov.

es for 453 residential homesteads [Statisticheskoe opisanie, 1876, Table]. The Meshcheryaks of the Orenburg guberniya were characterised as 'great lovers of bath houses', baths were for them the 'necessary attributes of almost every house' [Litunovsky, 1878, pp. 93, 104]. But there were villages where these buildings were rare [Glotov, 1929, p. 37]. Bath houses were sometimes located on the front yard or in the vegetable garden, but in most cases, for reasons of fire safety, away from the manors, near water.

Baths were constructed of wood (logs, poles, wattle), stone, adobe and so on. Log bath houses were most commonly found throughout the forest and forest-steppe zone of the Volga-Ural region. Adobe bath houses were predominant in the steppe areas of the Lower Trans-Volga Region and in the Orenburg Cis-Urals. Bath houses made of poles and wattle were found in the same areas as those made of adobe. Stone baths were occasionally built in the villages of the forest-steppe and steppe areas, from the Kama region to Orenburg Trans-Urals region.

Depending on whether the stove had a chimney, bath houses were divided into those with 'black' heating (*kara muncha*) and 'white' heating (*ak muncha*). The first type of stove was archaic and common to all bath types. This type of stove was of clay adobe or of stone. Water was heated in a boiler, installed on the stove or in front its mouth. Smoke was emitted through an opened door. This bath type was most common in all Tatar villages of the Volga-



Peasant's house in the village of Yepanchino of the Kazan Uyezd and its plan.

Drawing by A. Haxthausen.

Mid-1840s.

a) large living room; b) small rooms; c) part of the covered stairway leading to the men's half, white stairway; d) black stairway; e) bench against the outside wall of the house; about 2 arshins in height and 3.5 arshins in length, underneath an overhang, sometimes uncovered, serves as a sleeping place for men during the summer; f) hallway.

ly used in the forest areas and, to some degree, in the forest-steppe areas. The walls of storerooms (pantries and granaries), bath houses, barns, stables and summer kitchens were made of timber. An embedded technique was used in the construction of fences, walls of buildings for livestock, semi-cellar storage rooms, etc. In the absence of construction timber

Ural region, with the exception of the Kasimov and Yelatma uyezds. The above-ground two or three-chamber bath house was supplied with a 'white' heating type stove. The stove was made of brick, occasionally of stone, and had a niche over it, above which was a straight smoke chimney. Water was heated in the same way as in the 'black' bath, or in a cemented-in boiler at the side of the stove chamber. These bath houses were mainly found in the original territory of settlements of the Tatars in the Kama region and of their close neighbours, the Kasim Tatars.

Common amongst the buildings of the homestead was the summer kitchen (*alachyk*), which was widespread throughout the Middle and Lower Volga region, the Orenburg Cis-Urals and the Trans-Urals region. The *alachyk* was used for residential and household purposes at the same time. In summer the older family members and young couples lived and also cooked here.

An analysis of the structure of the household buildings clearly shows the dependence of the materials used in the construction on the local natural conditions. Naturally, wood was wide-

for these buildings a frame-pillared technique with single and double walls of poles or wattle was widely used in the southern, south-eastern and eastern uyezds of the Cis- and Trans-Ural regions. In the unforested steppe and forest-steppe areas, adobe (Lower Volga region, Orenburg Cis-Urals) and stone (Cis-Urals and Trans-Urals regions) were also common forms of construction material. Bricks were used for construction predominantly in the economically developed areas, where the tradition of the stone and brick architecture of the ancestors of the Volga Tatars (the Kasimov Tatars in the Kazan area) had been handed down.

Log huts were most widespread in the forest and forest-steppe areas. The timber was cut by the men of the family, hired carpenters from amongst fellow villagers, or foreign craftsmen (Russians, Mordvins, Tatars). Up until the end of the 19th century poor peasants in the forest-steppe area had frame-pillared houses with walls made of poles and wattle.

Brick houses appeared in Tatar settlements at the end of the 19th century—beginning of the 20th century. Their appearance was occasioned

by the development of commodity-monetary relations and the growing numbers of the trading class in rural areas.

Adobe huts made of mud bricks were widespread in the unforested south-eastern uyezds, and stone was used for construction in the foothills of the Urals.

Walls of timber or other material were placed directly on the ground or on a foundation. The absence of a foundation was typical for low ground-level huts, built in the southern steppe regions with a mild, dry and warm climate. Similar huts were also encountered occasionally among the poor Tatars in the southern areas of the Kama region. In Tatar rural architecture in general walls were erected on a foundation (*nigez*) of wood, stone or other material raised above the ground. Almost all ground-level dwelling types, regardless of the structure of the foundation, had a cellar (*idän asti*). In the tall houses, 15–18 beams high, of the northern regions, the cellar was often replaced with an underground space up to 1 m deep, which could be extended to form a basement storey. At the end of the 19th century, L. Zmeev described the dwellings in the Bugulma Uyezd as follows: 'But the main feature of the Mahometan dwellings was a striving for height, that is half to two arshines, sometimes three, from the ground..., which in ancient times was called the basement...' [Zmeev, 1883, p. 43].

The floor in the rural dwelling could be earthen or wooden: of poles, logs, planks. Earthen, clay and adobe floors were mainly found in the adobe, wattle mud huts in the villages of the forest-steppe and, especially, the steppe areas. But dwellings with wooden flooring (*idän*) were prevalent throughout the Volga-Ural region.

The roof (*tübü*) was erected with or without rafters. In the middle of the 19–to the early 20th century most rural dwellings had a two or, more rarely, four-sloped rafter roof. Mass dwellings with two-sloped rafter roofs had blind gables and were covered with planks. A variant of the non-rafter roof, which was common in the southern-east areas, was a flat roof sheeting of thin logs, which at the same time served as a ceiling.

Planks were the most commonly used material for wooden roofs. Wooden laths and lime bast were quite often used for making roofs. Of the other types of material used for roofing (except for wood) the most widespread and traditional was rye straw. A well-fixed straw roof could last 10–20 years or more without much renovation. The methods of straw covering were either heaped or, more rarely, harvested. Roofs made with rushes were also encountered, which were covered over with earth and turf layers. In the early 20th century metal roofs started to appear sporadically, mainly among the prosperous Tatars of the Yelatma and Kasimov uyezds, and among merchants and the clergy in the Kazan area. This type of roof was often painted green.

A lot of attention was paid to the external decoration of houses to meet the artistic and national demands of the population. But this decoration depended to a significant degree on the wealth of the homeowners [Vorobyev, 1953, p. 170].

The houses' timber covering, the method of fastening external panels and the form of the laths were often of a decorative architectural style. The panels on the walls were applied vertically or horizontally. Walls 'with a herringbone-design covering' were particularly beautiful. The same techniques were applied to cover the gable niche, the angles of the timber and also the gate posts.

A variety of techniques for creating ornamentation were used in the log houses: notched blank carving, blind carving in bas-relief, flat applique work, joint open ornament, lathe applique or freely located details (balusters, etc).

A combination of wooden decorations and painting was typical for the rural Tatar dwellings. Gates, the street side of the fence, the covered walls of the house, gables, architraves, etc. were all painted.

Different coloured paints (so-called polychromy) were usual. They were chosen to be bright and contrasting, which created a special 'Tatar style'. The most common colours were white, yellow, brown, light blue, dark blue, green and combinations of these (white + blue, white + green, yellow + brown, etc.). The walls

of the house, the gable and gates were often painted in dark tones: green, dark blue, brown, and the prominent parts of the architectural decor and applique details in the lighter tones: white, yellow and so on.

At the turn of the 19th century, the 20th centuries, the architectural decoration of dwellings decor was prevalent first and foremost among the Tatars of the Kazan region, in the Kasimov uyezd, and to a lesser extent in the Sergach uyezd, in the Middle Volga and West Trans-Kama regions, and practically did not exist in the Glazov uyezd of the Vyatka and Perm guberniyas, and in the southern forest-steppe and steppe regions.

All types of dwellings were divided into houses built along horizontal and vertical lines. These in turn may be divided further according to the number of rooms.

The simplest dwelling among the horizontally built buildings was the single-chamber type, which was called a *yalgy'z öy*. Appearing in the early stages of the house building culture development, were related to the beginning of the 20th century, the *yalgy'z öy* was preserved only among the poorest peasants. In the forest-steppe regions it was frequently made of logs, and in the unforested areas a frame-pillared structure. The dwelling had a roof with two sloping surfaces, sometimes with very shallow slopes, or a single-slope roof made of log roof sheeting with filled earth. These buildings could be found in the southern areas of the Oka-Sura interfluvium, in the Lower Pre-Volga, Trans-Volga regions, Cis- and Trans-Urals, and among the baptised Tatars of the Volga area.

Two-roomed dwellings were developed from single-roomed dwellings when hut extensions were added. At first these consisted either of lean-to porches made from thin poles covered with brushwood or straw, or an inclined awning resting on supports outside the entrance. They featured open or partially occluded walls. In the mid-19th century entrances such as these 'were known in the Tatar dwellings of the Orenburg region' [Cheremshansky, 1859, p. 169]. Up until the 1920s similar extensions were still present among the Tatars of the Trans-Kazan. However from the middle of the 19th century

to the early 20th century three-walled log cabins were the most widespread dwellings. They consisted of an outer entrance hall connected by an opened side with rear (entrance) side of the hut. The dwelling's two rooms were under one single roof.

Three-roomed dwellings typically consisted of a hut plus an outer entrance hall plus another hut (*kara-karshy' öy*). Both rooms in old huts were equipped with bread ovens. At the turn of the century, the room facing the street was kept as the clean half *ak öy* (white hut), in which there was often a tile stove or burner in place of a bread oven. The second room was known as the *kara öy* (black hut) or *ash öy* (kitchen). It always contained a bread oven, and this was where household chores were carried out. By the end of the 19th century, and start of the 20th century, this type of house was increasingly replaced by tripartite dwellings consisting of two huts plus an outer entrance hall (a five-wall butt and pass log cabin) known as a groined vault hut. Another sort of three room dwelling consisted of a hut, which was connected to a storeroom via an entrance hall. The storeroom was not only used to store goods, but was also used for work and for living in during warm weather. Dwellings such as these were present in the Kama, Perm Cis-Ural, Pre-Volga, and Trans-Kama regions. They were more common among Christian Tatars.

Five-walled houses and butt pass log cabins (hut+hut+outer entrance hall) *alty' pochmakly' öy* had identical layouts. Five-walled houses dominated in the Kasimov uyezd of Ryazan guberniya, in the Yelatma Uyezd of Tambov guberniya, were present in the adjacent uyezds to the South, and also among the Tatars of the Sergach uyezd of Nizhny Novgorod guberniya, in the Glazov uyezd of Vyatka guberniya and in Perm guberniya. They appeared in the second half of the 19th century, originating in the Russian population of the Kama and the Middle Volga regions [Busygina, 1966, p. 148]. They also spread among the Tatars [Vorobyev, 1853, p. 159]. In the early 20th century, the area over which five-walled houses were built expanded. Butt pass log cabins were often built in the forest-steppe and steppe zones.

Half-earth dwellings (*cir izba*) were occasionally used by poor peasants and the first settlers in the forest-steppe and steppe zones in the second half of the 19th century. Walls made from logs or using a wood frame technique were built atop a pit measuring up to one metre deep. Roofs of one or two pitches were covered with earth and lined with turf. The floor was earthen or covered with planks. The entrance was covered with a porch supported by poles. Often the building gained a second room thanks to an entrance being built from the materials to hand. In the living quarters a bread oven would be constructed near the entrance: a fireplace would be installed and a cauldron cemented in place.

In the second half of the 19th century two-storey houses were built by wealthy homeowners in the Kasimov uyezd as well as the Kama and Cis-Ural regions. There were many to be found in settlements near highways and trading villages: in the village of Karabolka in the Yekaterinburg uyezd of Perm guberniya, for example, the main street consisted solely of two-storey buildings.

Two-storey houses with living quarters in semi-basements were usually made solely from logs. It was uncommon for a semi-basement level to be stone built. The two-pitched roofs were made from planks. The layout of both stories of these houses followed that of four-walled log cabins (a hut plus outer entrance hall). In the semi-basement living quarters a large bakery furnace was installed. Its chimney led to the upper floor, where there was a tile stove.

More sophisticated two-storey log houses (*asly'-ösle öy*) were built by the wealthy part of the rural population. They were uncommon throughout the region as a whole, but in the Kama region, northern parts of the Oka-Sura interfluvium and the Perm Cis-Urals they were present in almost every village.

The population's dwellings in the southern regions of the Oka-Sura interfluvium, Lower Volga and Trans-Volga Regions, Southern foothills of the Urals and Trans-Urals shared general similarities. They mostly consisted of a hut plus outer entrance hall. Archaic single-room constructions, though rare, could still be found almost

throughout the steppe and forest areas. Three-room dwellings, five-wall houses and butt and pass cabins were particularly widespread in the steppe and forest-steppe areas. However, there were almost no multi-roomed groined vault huts or similar, two-storey buildings.

The most important aspect of a dwelling is the organization of its inner space, its layout: the division of rooms by function, the location of the heating system, furnishings, fabrics and other interior decor.

The interior layouts of the rural dwellings depended on the location and orientation of the stove. It was usually situated to the right or left of the entrance, more rarely—on the front wall facing the door. The first arrangement was typical of Tatars in the Middle Volga and Kama regions. It dated back to the ancient Turkic nomad dwelling, the yurt. The latter was used by the Tatar-Mishars and, most likely, was borrowed from the surrounding Russian and Mordvin populations. In the first instance they placed the furnace away from the walls. This distinguished the layout of Tatar peasant dwellings from those of neighbouring peoples.

The interior layout and stove location were closely linked to how the living space was divided by function and where the furniture was placed. A typical four-walled hut was divided from front to back this way, along the line of the stove. The area facing the stove was used as a kitchen—this was known as the 'female' half (*pochmak*). In front of the window there were narrow beds. Shelves were fastened to the walls, as well as cupboards and racks to store dishes. The other half of the hut was known as the male or 'white' half (*ak yak, tür yak*); narrow beds (*säke*) were laid along the end wall. The two halves of the hut were separated by a curtain (*charshau*) or a partition made of planks (*bülem*).

At the time in question, plank beds (*säke*) were the most notable hard furnishings. They were placed along the front wall from one corner to the other. They were an essential aspect of the interiors of Tatar dwellings almost everywhere. This was because plank beds were traditionally given pride of place (*tür*), and also because of their universal function: they were a place to work, rest, eat, and enjoy festivities.

Plank beds were made of two logs topped by wooden planks. They were usually 1.5 m wide and 0.5 m in height. In some cases, in the southern uyezds of Kazan, Samara, Ufa and Orenburg guberniyas, the plank beds were lower (15–20 cm) and wider. They were filled with clay board (*idän*). At the end of the 19th century, when hut furnishings were integrated into the shape of the hut, short plank-beds appeared. A table was placed in the vacant room. In the second half of the 19th century, short plank beds (*ishek säke*), located in the corner near the entrance were still in evidence in the Volga, Trans-Kama and Cis-Urals regions. In the huts of the Tatars in the Oka-Sura interfluvial area, a closed form of plank bed was called a *woodbunk*.

In Tatar dwellings in the Kama region, Kasimov uyezd, and Nizhny Novgorod and Penza provinces wooden beds were quite common. Long, wide benches were very often used, sometimes replacing plank beds. Benches were especially widespread among Christian Tatars in the Kasimov and Glazov uyezds, and the Oka-Sura interfluvial area.

The upper space of a relatively modest residential four-walled hut was used to place furniture: plank beds, benches, cupboards and other items.

Plank beds (*sänderä pulat*) were present in peasant dwellings across the area to the west of the Volga (with the exception of the Sergach uyezd), in most of the uyezds of the Vyatka guberniya, and in the Kungur and Perm uyezds. They were rarely used by Christian Tatars of the Trans-Kazan. 'The Tatars considered the plank beds they used in their everyday as being borrowed from the Russians' [Vorobyev, 1953, p. 100].

Shelving (*kishtä*) was the second type of hanging fixture. They took the form of thick, wide planks, extended under the ceiling along the walls and joists. They were a place to store baked bread, tow, crockery, small objects and religious books. Long shelves made of poles were often fitted along with wooden shelves. They were used for storing fancy fabrics, clothes, prayer rugs, and bedding.

Cupboards (*kishtä*), either open or with two doors, were hung in the kitchen. They

were used for storing tableware. Other types of crockery storage spaces (*tabakly'k*) varied in size. They featured solid side walls and a rod lattice at the front. Short, single plank shelves for storing large crockery were common. Spoons, soup ladles and knives were kept on the plank (*kashy'kly'k*), which was nailed to the wall. All kinds of ladles, soup spoons, sieves, baskets and other utensils were hung from the walls on wooden sticks and nails. All these objects in one way or another were used to furnish the domestic kitchens of the Volga-Ural Tatars.

At the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, clocks appeared in peasant dwellings. Following the urban fashion, they first began to be acquired in the settlements of the more highly developed commercial and industrial regions, in the Kama region, northern districts of the Oka-Sura basin and Perm Cis-Urals, where there was a significant wealthy and rich rural population that had links with urban centres. By the beginning of the 20th century the 'wag on the wall' clock featuring a pendulum and weights had become a part of middle-income peasants' everyday lives.

In the second half of the 19th century, after being made available on markets, factory-made mirrors became common in the houses of Tatar villagers. Wall barometers were found in the well-kept reception rooms of houses belonging to merchants, priests and other affluent social groups. Due to their attractive appearance they were placed as wall decoration, along with clocks and mirrors.

The *shamail* was an essential part of Tatar-Muslim interiors. They featured a framed Quranic text written on glass or paper containing a wish of peace and wellbeing for the family. They were hung above the door or between windows. The walls of houses belonging to the educated part of population, featured beautifully executed drawings *shäcärä*—which depicted the family tree of the head of the family through the male line. These were even more common among the clergy.

Flowers were often kept on window ledges. They were well cared for. The pots were decorated: either with paint or wrapped in paper. Geranium, balsam and basil were especially

well loved. Figs and palm trees were sometimes placed in the large reception rooms.

Inside Tatar huts, furnishings (wooden beds, tables, chairs, benches, chests) were limited in number. This was also typical of other nationalities' peasant dwellings.

At the turn of the 19–20th centuries, wooden tables (*östäl*) made by rural craftsmen were a popular sort of furniture. Chests were a typical piece of furniture among all Tatar groups (*sandy'k*). Their exterior appearance and quantity were a means of estimating wealth. Affluent Tatars used tall, capacious coffers, featuring beautiful tin-strip detailing.

Thus, at the turn of the 19–20th centuries, Tatar rural dwellings featured pieces of furniture that differed by era, quality, social significance and prestige. Some of these—wooden beds, low tables, chairs without a seat back, short benches, small chests—due to simplicity of their form and modest appearance can be categorized as the 'old' or 'primitive' style. They first appeared earlier than the period under review and were widespread. Another category of furnishings—wardrobes, high tables, chairs and benches with seat backs, artistically decorated chests, couches, sofas, pier glasses and so on, appeared no earlier than the last quarter of the 19th century or the early 20th century. This relatively recent furniture style had a different origin. Some of these items appeared as a result of improvements made to traditional furniture by local craftsmen while other innovations had factory origins that originated in urban centres. The spread of these objects and the time of their appearance in rural life differed significantly by geography. Differences can be noted between the forest areas, some of the northern regions of the forest-steppe zone and the regions to the south. Dwellings in the south-eastern areas were characterized by a significant amount of traditional 'primitive' furniture styles and a small amount of urban-style furniture. The picture is different in the forest and northern forest-steppe regions. Here, there was a mixture of 'old' and 'new' styles, often with the latter being more prevalent. Having coming into direct contact with urban culture, the affluent population also undertook seasonal

work, (either craft or trade), and often fully furnished their homes with factory-made furniture. The process started in the Tatar houses of the Kasimov uyezd, in the northern areas of the Oka-Sura basin, and the Trans-Kama and Perm Cis-Ural regions. These are also the areas where these changes were to be found in the largest concentrations. In comparison with the northern areas, the southern forest-steppe and steppe regions was home to a large number of former state communal peasants, especially Tatar-pripushchenniks, who tended not to change their traditional furniture. Houses belonging to servant Tatar-Cossacks, merchants and wealthy peasants were furnished equally well as those belonging to wealthy Tatars in northern areas.

Curtains (*charshau*) were a mass and geographically widespread element of fabric decor in daily life. They had both a functional and decorative purpose. They were used as an elegant way of separating the different parts of the dwelling and pieces of furniture: they separated off the food preparation area, the guest space in front of the plank-beds, partitions, the gap between the stove and the abutting walls, the sleeping areas on the plank beds or wooden beds, and so on.

A particularly noticeable feature of Tatar dwellings was the division of the hut into male and female parts, sectioning off of the front corner (*tür*), and so on. Plank beds were typically found in the interiors. Their widespread use, the preservation of their archaic form and ritual significance (*tür*), are proof of the ancient origins of plank beds, which were first used in Old Turkic semi-dugout dwellings. Shelving (*kishtä*) was a distinctive aspect of kitchen furnishing. The average Tatar dwelling tended to have a lot of bedding. Apart from its main purpose it was also used as decoration during the day. Chests, mirrors, clocks and so on were part of the interior decor. Aside from their main purpose, they were also decorative. Textiles used for mainly aesthetic, artistic and decorative purposes were typical in Tatar dwellings: they comprised valances, curtains, festive towels, tablecloths, napkins, homemade rugs, carpets, and so on. All of these made traditional rural Tatar interiors unique.

§ 2. Urban Dwellings

Dilyara Suleymanova

Kazan was home to the largest urban Tatar community. The Starotatarskaya sloboda took shape here in the second half of the 16th century. After a great fire in the middle of the 18th century, part of the urban population was resettled, moving to the south of the Starotatarskaya sloboda. This was 'the beginning of the Novotatarskaya sloboda' [Nugmanova, 2001, p. 7]. Kazan's Starotatarskaya sloboda was the most prestigious Tatar quarter. In the middle of the 19th century it was home to all of the noble merchants [Nugmanova, 2002, p. 133]. The Novotatarskaya sloboda was populated mainly by the craftsmen and small-scale entrepreneurs. It featured single-story wooden houses with outbuildings built on small plots.

The Starotatarskaya sloboda in Kazan was different from the Russian part of the city in terms of its structural layout, dimensions and architectural features. While the Russian part of the city, combining Orthodox traditions with secular European novelties, resplendently showed off its luxury and wealth, the Tatar part of the city featured no large pompous buildings: the houses opened onto large open courtyard spaces [Valeeva-Suleymanova, 2008, p. 141].

The Tatar slobodas, as a rule, were comprised of wooden and stone manor houses with individual houses one or several families lived. City manor houses were privately owned. They featured numerous buildings constructed for residential and domestic purposes, including premises for trade and industry [Nugmanova, 2001, p. 4]. Most Tatar urban manor house estates were multipurpose. They were home to shops, warehouses and workshops, as well as residential buildings where the owners lived. Some manors had additional residential areas that were rented out. The unique feature of Tatar manor houses was that several families would live often there, mainly close relatives. Furthermore, relatives from the countryside and fellow villagers who had decided to move to the city often moved in. For this reason, the residential areas of the house were intended to accommodate a large number of residents.

Outbuildings were added to the house with the same aim.

Despite the enforcement of building rules which homogenised the construction of Russian and Tatar manor house estates in Kazan, the latter retained certain particularities mainly related to the position of the house in relation to the street and room layout. As was the tradition in rural house building, up until the second half of the 19th century, many residential houses in the Starotatarskaya sloboda were placed in the heart of the property, significantly set back from the 'red line'. The properties themselves were surrounded by high solid fences.

From the middle of the 19th century, Russian building regulations stated that residential buildings and outbuildings should be built with a facade on a red line that ran along the street. This development met with resistance from owners. Nevertheless, the Tatar slobodas changed significantly when houses started to be constructed along the red line. However, even in this case, a traditional front garden was often laid out in front of the house, which allowed it to be set back slightly from the street. These instructions were not observed as strictly in the outskirts of the Tatar slobodas. This is why houses there retained their central positioning and high fences until the start of the 20th century [Aydarova-Volkova, 1999, p. 25].

Urban manor houses belonging to Tatar entrepreneurs were almost indistinguishable from Russian ones in composition and layout. The grounds of manor houses were divided into two parts—a yard, which covered most of the plot, and the garden. The house was located in the centre of the property. An outbuilding would be constructed in the yard. This would be either a separate house or an annex to the main house. It would be used to provide additional residential accommodation. A large yard would be surrounded by domestic buildings (storerooms, stables, sheds for drying and storing grain, kitchens, bathhouses and so on). They stood on the edge of the yard and garden. The yards were often planted with trees and bushes, and

Former estate of the Sabitov family, second half of the 19th century. Kazan, 8 Ş. Märcani St. Photo, 2010



were overlooked by interior balconies and walkways.

A garden was essential to a Tartar manor. Gardens would feature a summer house for drinking tea in the warm months. A source of water (a well) was also usually situated here. Rich merchants often had two gardens and two wells. The gardens were located behind the house. They would usually occupy approximately 1/3 of the plot, but could occupy up to half of a large plot [Nazmieva, 2007, p. 22]. In most cases, the garden and the courtyard's perimeter were planted with deciduous trees for shadow. Vegetable gardens were almost absent from manor house properties. These were usually located on land outside the sloboda [Nazmieva, 2007, p. 22].

If in the manors of the 18–19th centuries the houses functioned both as residences and as places for their owners to conduct business, by the end of the 19th century, there emerged a tendency to build commercial, industrial or rental properties. This was especially prevalent among wealthy Tatar merchants. For example, in the Sennaya Square area of the Starotatarskaya sloboda 'revenue' houses dominated. They contained shops on the ground floor and rented accommodation on the first floor. The Tatar elite conducted their social and intellectual lives in these houses, especially at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Tatar newspapers and magazines set up their offices in hotel rooms and 'revenue' houses, which greatly increased in number after 1905 [Nugmanova, 2002, p. 148].

Residential Houses: Layout and Interior.

The diverse urban dwellings in the Tatar slobodas may be divided for our purposes into two groups—normal houses and manor houses. Most of the urban buildings were made up of

houses belonging to townspeople, small merchants, clergy, intellectuals, workers, craftsmen—the majority of the urban population. Most of these houses were wooden single- or two-storey dwellings. They were constructed in the traditional village style. In general these houses featured three to five windows along their facades. Sometimes houses were improved—they were significantly enlarged, extensions added, window dimensions increased, the room layout became more complex. Typically, the introduction of an attic story and mezzanine floors provided additional accommodation.

Wooden houses in the Tatar slobodas were richly decorated with carvings. Multicoloured decorative wood cuts on the facade followed the traditional form. They were made using overlaid ornamentation [Valeeva-Suleymanova, 2008, p. 141].

Wooden houses with a stone-built ground or semi-basement floor became widespread in the cities. Houses made half from stone were typical of the merchant class. The ground floor was used for trading or domestic purposes: shops, kitchens, storerooms, workshops and servants' quarters. The first floor was residential, containing the owners' reception and living rooms [Nugmanova, 2001, p. 14].

The houses of the rich and influential townspeople formed another group. They were built by professional architects and engineers

in line with the prevailing pan-European architectural style. These houses were one and two-storey stone manors featuring many facade windows—from 5 to 8 or more. Their size, opulent facades and complexity of their structural layout made them stand out from the surrounding buildings. Manors such as these were divided by function: shops and servant rooms were on the ground floor, while the upper floor contained reception rooms. This was also reflected in the decoration of the facade [Nugmanova, 2001, p. 14]. The lower storage or domestic rooms were simply decorated. Unlike the other rooms, they had small windows. The main floor was decorated more extravagantly, especially with rich wall carvings.

The external appearance of manors belonging to the nobility adopted the following styles, popular between the 18th and 20th centuries: baroque, empire, modernist and eclectic. At the same time, elements of Islamic architecture were also present. The presence of semi-circular and pointed arches, as well as stalactite and ornamental architecture serve as examples [Valeeva-Suleymanova, 2008, p. 142].

The middle classes lived in houses featuring a traditional, rural layout (with four, five or six walls). To the right or left of the entrance there was a stove. This formed a line, along which the room was divided into two parts—the kitchen and residential/guest areas. Usually wooden or iron beds were used in place of *säke* in the guest part of urban houses. *Säke* were still used in the kitchen part. Opposite the entrance, a table and chairs would be placed by the front wall. Along the side or rear wall there would be a sideboard for crockery. Clocks and mirrors hung from partition walls. The entrance area could be separated off using a partition or a curtain, forming a small hallway. In six and five-walled houses, the principle of dividing the house into male (guest) and female (private) parts was retained. Each had their own room. The outer entrance hall in houses such as these was also divided into male and female parts. They often also had separate entrances, which were connected by a small passageway inside the house [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 408, inv. 36].

Due to their size, houses with four, five or six walls could have a multiple-room layout. By placing a large bread oven in the middle of the house, the area could be divided 'into three to four rooms (the hallway, guest and sleeping rooms), with the oven connected to each' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 2, inv. 13].

The interiors of multiple room urban houses combined urban features with rural elements [Suleymanova, 2007, p. 35]. The guest rooms (the hall, parlour and study where they hosted visitors) would be decorated in a European style. The parlour was usually in the street-facing part of the house. It would feature European furniture of urban origin and a tile stove in the corner, which was sometimes decorated. European business furniture was often on display—a desk or a secretaire. Clocks and mirrors hung from the walls. These Europeanized interiors were given local flavour by *shamails*, ornately bound Qurans, decorative textiles (*prayer mats*, carpets, homemade embroidered tablecloths and napkins), domestic utensils (pitchers, basins), and numerous potted plants on windowsills. At the same time, private rooms (bedrooms, personal rooms), and domestic rooms retained traditional features. In private rooms *säke* were used instead of beds, and chests instead of chairs and furniture. Rooms were decorated with textiles—towels, prayer mats, and curtains (*charshau*) and valances (*kashaga*) were widely used. Console mirrors and dressing tables were popular in the female rooms.

The typical layout of manors belonging to wealthy city-dwellers—merchants and manufacturers—was different. The division of the house into a guest (male) and private (female) parts was a distinctive feature. Both halves had their own entrance. The main entrance from the street led into the male (guest) part. The back entrance from the yard led to the female half where the private rooms and some of the domestic rooms were situated. At the same time, separate (male and female) staircases were built along the end walls of the house or from the rear facade, which had separate rooms.

Former house of S. Nazirov.
1886. Kazan,
18 Ş. Märçani St.
Photo, 2011



As a consequence, wooden balcony-walkways were often built connecting the staircases. These were also a typical feature of Tatar manors. Furthermore, these walkways were often glazed in with stained glass, and connected different buildings on the manor house property, for example the main house and its annex.

The reception rooms were usually located along the street facade. The windows of the owners' bedrooms faced the yard. This was typical of Russian and Tatar landowners' manors in general. The front normally featured a suite of rooms: typically, a hall, lounge and study. These rooms were mainly used for welcoming guests and they were usually empty. In the part of the house facing the yard there were small private rooms on the entresol floor. Family members and servants had their bedrooms here. In the centre, between these two parts of the house, there was a corridor with a staircase that led to the upper entresol and mezzanine floors [Tydman, 2000, p. 70].

This layout, typical of classical architecture, was especially attractive to Tatar townspeople because it suited their way of life and religious customs [Suleymanova, 2007, p. 35]. The well-established tradition of separating women's living spaces from men's as well as restricting access to the former, determined the division of the house into isolated parts with separate entrances and staircases [Nugmanova, 2001, p. 14]. Tatar mansions had numerous doors enabling the woman to move around it unnoticed if there was a stranger man in the house [Aydarova-Volkova, 1999, p. 29]. The whole family's life was centred on the women's half. Women, young girls, and children spend most of their time in galleries, on balconies and tea verandas in the summer.

The interior of wealthy Tatars' mansions was distinguished by its richness and ornate decorations due to their high financial status. In the opulent interiors of their reception rooms, the Tatar merchants applied the Oriental idea of luxury, represented by brightly patterned carpets, wall mirrors, numerous pot flowers, and caged song birds. However, there was still a clear difference between reception and private rooms. According to A. Rittich, 'In cities, especially in Kazan, the appearance of Tatar houses and buildings is exactly the same as that of others... The reception rooms, namely the parlour and drawing room, have a European interior, usually with upholstered furniture, mirrors, chandeliers, curtains, carpets, tissues, and pot flowers at the windows [Rittich, 1870, p. 17].

The drawing room as the most impressive part of the house lay nearly at its heart, next to the parlour. It contained a variety of furniture such as sofas, small side tables, and armchairs. Console mirrors along the walls and large cupboards showing off exquisite tableware for special occasions were also popular. Glazed tile stoves were installed symmetrically in the corners opposite to the windows. The parlour was usually decorated with several clocks, mirrors, shamails, and gold-embroidered towels in wooden frames.

Furniture in wealthy Tatars' homes was made of costly wood, predominantly mahoga-

ny or nut, rich in carving and otherwise ornate. Furthermore, the interior wall surfaces were commonly decorated. Narrative wall paintings with landscape and still life compositions typical of classical interiors were popular [Fuchs, 1991, p. 24]. Intricate plasterwork, decorative shaped cornices, and sometimes paintings were common ceiling and wall decorations. Parquet or painted wood floor was covered with carpets. Doors in the reception rooms were frequently decorated with ornamental carving, in particular carved arches, and pilaster inlay. This applied not only to urban houses but to rural ones, in particular in Trans-Kazan localities [Khali-tov, 1991, p. 96].

Women's private rooms in mansions looked very different. Hidden from visitors' view, this part of the house had simpler and more traditional interiors. Women's rooms included dwelling entresols for young women, children, and servants. K. Fuchs described the interior of a woman's room, mentioning broad *säke* beds, chests, as well as numerous cushions, carpets, curtains, and costly women's garments used as interior decorations [Fuchs, 1991, p. 25]. Contemporaries described this part of the house as follows: 'The private interiors are dominated by the Asian style with low sofas along the walls, on which Tatar women would sit with their legs pulled up' [Rittich, 1870, p. 17].

Mirrors in carved wooden frames as well as wall or free-standing clocks were popular interior decorations in urban Tatar houses. Wealthy Tatars adorned their private chambers with paintings, often portraits (in particular photographs) [Nasyri, 1997, p. 19]. In addition to candles, tabletop and pendant kerosene lamps,

rich houses in the middle of the 19th century also had lamp lighting in the form of cut-glass ceiling chandeliers and wall bracket lamps. Metal articles such as chandeliers, candlesticks, trays, etc. were also included in the interior ensemble.

Islamic objects determined the ethnic flavour of Tatar reception rooms. Intricate shamails, mostly produced in Kazan, and *namazlik* praying mats hung on the walls of reception rooms, in the drawing room or study. A kumgan pitcher and a copper ablation bowl stood next to the stove. Handwritten or printed Qurans, leather-bounds or secure in silver cases, lay in the closet or on the table. Flowers on windowsills, such as 'potted lemon trees, geraniums, and, most importantly, balsams and aromatic basil' [Fuchs, 1991, p. 25], fitted in perfectly and gave a special tinge to the interior. Numerous Persian and Middle Asian carpets lay on the floor.

To sum up, the interior of the urban Tatar house was a sophisticated ensemble representative of the owners' aesthetic outlook and ethnically determined preferences. Traditional as they were, the rural-looking private interiors, as well as the ancient custom and lifestyle of Tatar city dwellers, stood in stark contrast to the impressive reception part of the house with its European architecture and decorations. This ambiguity in urban interiors and general lifestyle was to some extent suggestive of the social status of Tatar city dwellers, especially the bourgeoisie, which had to comply with official Russian standards on the exterior while upholding its religious and ethnic traditions in private.

CHAPTER 2

Mosque Architecture

Niyaz Khalitov

Tatar mosque architecture was both complex and heterogeneous, determined by a broad range of socio-political influences. They directly affected both the scale of religious construction and its style.

Modern Tatar architecture evolved in a similar way to that of many other peoples of the Russian Empire, within the narrow confines of bureaucratic regulations, and was formed by Russian architects within the framework of the state's general town-planning policy. This is why Tatar buildings reveal, in addition to ethnic features, the Russian architect's mindset. The governmental policy and measures taken by the Orthodox Mission to restrict the development of Tatar architecture also affected its scope. They caused it to degrade, leaving us essentially unambitious samples of *mäxäl-lä mäçete* and *comga mäçete*. Other types of mosques disappeared completely.

The development of the mosque architecture was generally determined by the search for compromise solutions brought about by the interaction between Tatar clients and Russian architects within the Russian framework of monumental architecture or, more generally, that between Russian architectural and artistic concepts and the Tatar mindset and traditional values.

Despite the significant dependence of architecture on external circumstances, its evolution is indicative of a powerful core idea precluding any material deviations from tradition and, consequently, the constructors' spiritual tyranny over the client. The fact that the aesthetic conception is traceable, quite clearly, at all levels, suggests a viable and stable tradition in religious architecture of the Modern history, originating from the medieval building practice. The tradition of individual clients repre-

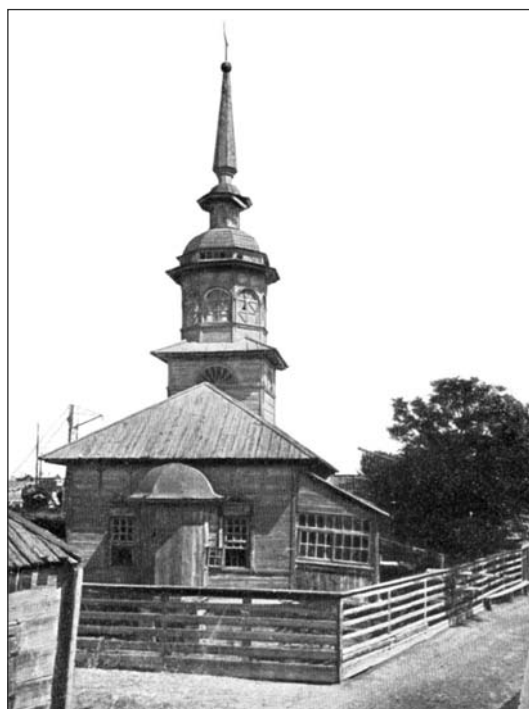
sented the people, formed the diverse mosque architecture of the Modern history which while uniform was resistant to external influences which can be subjected to a systemic analysis at various levels.

All the compositional types of mosques widely spread in Kazan architecture of the Modern history, can be classified in the following three groups:

1. *Mosques with a minaret on the roof*, genetically dating back to the period of the Kazan Khanate or even earlier. This composition was the most common in the 18th –20th centuries. Wood as the construction material determined the design as a trabeated solid wooden structure with a pitched roof.

Mosques with a minaret on the roof, both stone and wooden, were rectangular single-storey buildings with a gable roof oriented from North to South. The rectangular plant mihrab was adjacent to the southern end. An octagonal or sometimes cylindrical minaret with a high pyramidal or conical tent on top of it pierced the roof. The minaret was located, in most cases, above the geometric center of the building (sometimes at the northern end). It was essentially a two or three tier tower, consisting of a shaft (with or without a foundation), an internal, usually glazed, muezzin's area (sometimes surrounded by an external gallery), and a tent. Wooden minarets were always octagonal, whereas those made of stone could also be cylindrical or combine several shapes. In terms of design, stone minarets rested on a thick transverse wall, which usually divided the mosque into the ritual and lobby areas, while the wooden ones were attached to roof joists and rafters.

The functional layout of the mosque with a minaret on the roof showed quite consistent patterns. If the building had two storeys, the



Zasarevskaya Mosque in Astrakhan.
Photo from the early 20th century.

ground floor was occupied by a utility zone, hosting fireproof storage rooms, which looked like insulated vaults with separate exits and were used to store the goods of local merchants, as well as mosque utensils, a library, firewood stock, etc. It was also common for a school to be located on the ground floor. In the northern part of the building, there was the lobby area (hallway, lobby, cloakroom, administration), which occupied about 1/5 of the floor. The southern half hosted the ritual zone (praying halls, mihrab). These patterns can be found both in surviving monuments and in descriptions by contemporaries.

A special function was assigned to the minaret, from the top section of which the adhan (the call to prayer) was proclaimed.

2. *Mosques with a minaret above the entrance.* This is a type of a one-hall mosque, where the minaret is located above the main wall that separates the prayer hall from the relatively small lobby. The minaret is noticeably moved towards the entrance, and situated on the ridge of the roof. Such mosques were built both in the Kazan guberniya and outside of it.

3. *Mosques with two minarets.* The difference between the traditional mosque type specified in the reference design of 1782 and the previous type is that the former has two minarets flanking the lobby symmetrically to the long axis of the building. The prayer hall can stand out as a dome or cupola. Such mosques could be found in the Kargaly sloboda near Orenburg and other localities.

4. *Mosques with a minaret above a protruding portal.* This mosque type became common in the Mid-19th century under the 1844 reference project, which combined the key composition features of traditional medieval Tatar mosques and classical Russian churches. Such mosques were romantically shaped and generally ornate.

Architectural and Stylistic Features of Tatar Mosques. The scale of traditional mosques conforming to the folk tradition was determined by unambitious wall shaping and laconic front decorations. The primacy of colour over the decorative moulding is not the only reason. It is a common fact that the scale of a building in the architectural environment is determined not only by its absolute dimensions but by how fragmented it is. Less fragmented buildings have greater monumentality [Kirillova, 1986, p. 125–127]. This approach enabled architects to add monumentality and scale to their mosques against the backdrop of highly fragmented residential buildings without increasing their physical dimensions.

Minaret height became the symbol and criterion for the scale of the mosque in the urban environment. The minaret to building ratio of proportions and weights influenced the perceived scale of the mosque from a material point of view. Taller towers made the building appear smaller and vice versa.

The specific *silhouette* of the Tatar mosque was largely determined by the contrast between the vigorous, ornately shaped openwork minaret tower to the resting horizontal of the roof ridge and the whole massive building.

In mosques with a minaret above the entrance, the static volume of the building was crucial when viewed from the lateral faces. However, it was not common for the architect



Ācem Mosque in Kazan. Photo from the early 20th century.

to provide for such a point of view. Therefore, the tall minaret tower in the foreground stressed the vertical aspiration and vertical proportions¹.

An analysis of the *proportional relations* of frontal elements in modern Tatar mosques yields two distinct proportion systems: the traditional canonic one and the temporary system adjusted to the dominant style and the architect's preferences. The former type of proportions, which mostly applied to the minaret to building ratio of dimensions and proportions was nearly immutable, even symbolic. The latter changed with time and added detail to the former. The two systems interacted in multiple aspects to generate diverse images of buildings as invisible 'power lines' behind the front and general silhouette of the mosque.

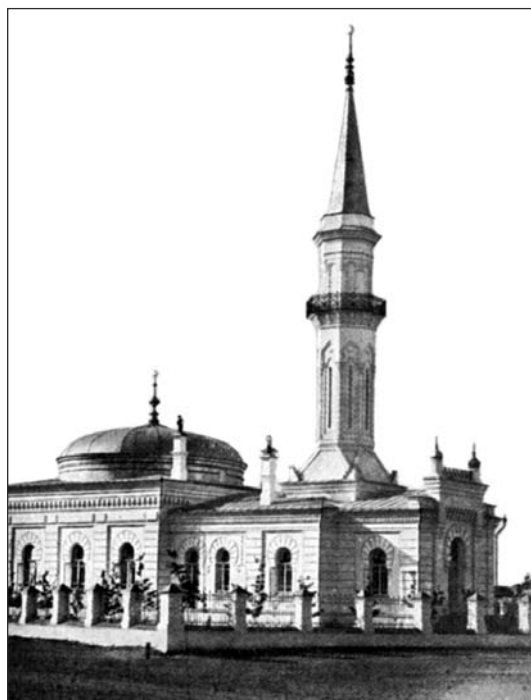
It is natural for Islamic architectural and artistic tradition to dominate the *image* of a mosque. However, it may take innocuous forms. As the regulating role of the government was enhanced, the Russian-European concept of style began to heavily influence further development of Russia's religious, in particular Islamic, architecture.

The general appearance of Tatar mosques was rooted in well-established traditions and stemmed from the common composition, silhouette, decorative elements, and specific colours. This resulted in set of diverse factors forming mosque appearance specific to the Tatar regional culture, easy to decipher for locals and unintelligible to other mindsets. Minarets as a symbolic canonization of medieval shapes were essential to it. Mosque architecture never gave up the traditional archetype in the Modern history.

Taking into account the specific conditions under which visual perception takes place, *the artistic language of architecture* rests on the multi-layer foundation of cultural traditions as a complex information and sign system. The information encoded using this language takes the form of works of architecture [Efimov, 1986, p. 101], acting 'in each case as a specific formal sign referring to its content' [Novikov, 1877, p. 44], in particular, national.

Many elements of traditional architecture were preserved in external, formal signs of the Tatar mosques as symbols of the 'holy roots' of the ancestral culture, which appeared more accessible in other spheres of artistic culture. Those included solar symbols, 'shouldered' arches—they resembled the classical and baroque Venetian window—various kinds of

¹ The Azimov Mosque, where the minaret was much longer than the building itself, for the purposes of providing an impressive side view, was an exception.



A mosque in Pavlodar.
Photo from the early 20th century.

'luster', unique colouring, and the general combination of sculptural, decorative, and colour elements.

The design of mosques with a minaret above a protruding frontal portal, which Russian architects owe to the Romanticism of the Mid-19th century, aesthetically stemmed chiefly from the Russian style concept of the Mid-19–early 20th century. In their designs for Tatar clients, architects often referred to the 'theoretical foundation' of the Russian Romanticism, according to which Islamic art (naturally interpreted by them to include that of Tatars) was essentially viewed as exotic opulence. It is especially true in Russian cities with a relatively low Muslim percentage. The local architectural traditions came to prevail again in the centres of Islam (Kazan, Orenburg, the Crimea). The minaret became a mark of regional architectural traditions, as in the case of mosques with roof minarets. At the same time, the front of the building could be rather neutral or 'generally Oriental' in terms of shape.

Stylistically, the appearance of Tatar mosques was usually determined by key cul-

tural trends, because mosques were designed by architects from the construction departments of governorate associates, who were true to the traditions of the school in the capital city. However, every style applied (Baroque, Classicism, not to speak of Romanticism) was subjected to major transformations to adjust to the client's ethnic outlook. This generated Tatar forms of the styles, which enriched Tatar monumental architecture and which were unprecedented in Russian architecture.

Any decorations used in Tatar religious buildings conformed with the general rule, according to which small mouldings prevailed over large mouldings and colour prevailed over moulding. Inconsistent ethnic colour traditions brought about different approaches to frontal decoration in the 19th century, namely Russian monochromatic moulding style and the Tatar polychromatic planar one. Quite naturally, the fundamental principle of Islamic architecture applied: narrative frontal and interior compositions, especially those involving animals and human beings, were to be avoided.

Architectural details, followed by wall texture, determined how the front looked in terms of moulding. Primary mouldings in the artistic impression of mosque fronts included rectangular, arch-shaped, lancet, and U-shaped openings and niches with simple anvil plates and relatively sophisticated stained glass fillings. Decorative details revealed the influence of both the dominant Russian style and specifically Oriental elements. Images of humans, lion masks and similar elements, which were extremely popular in Russian classical and eclectic architecture, were never used².

The polychromatic colouring of Tatar mosques, which became extremely diverse at the turn of the 19th century, is of special interest. Polychromy contributes to architectural form making by both emphasizing the intended purpose of the building and setting out its aes-

² The ideological controversy between Christianity and Islam caused the restrictions in Tatar architectures as well as cross motives (common in geometric patterns, for example, in Middle Asia) to become symbolic. Tatars avoided such signs when decorating their mosques.



Interior of a mosque
in Kostanay.
Photo from the early
20th century.

thetic values [Efimov, 1986, p. 101]. It became key to the appearance of the mosque from the first years after it emerged. It was the Tatars of the Middle Volga region who promoted the polychromatic tradition in the Modern history architecture.

The oldest surviving mosques in Kazan (al-Marjani and Apanayev) were painted ochre, white, and blue. In the 1st half of the 19th century, the 'official' residential colours (light blue, white, yellow, and others) faced the vibrant contrast polychromy of the Bazaar (gray, white, red, green, black), then Soltan (green, red, golden), Burnayev (yellow, green), Kazakov (green, white, pistachio) mosques. The colouring of wooden mosques (ochre, white and light blue, white and green, red) was traditional and applied to residential buildings as well. It was especially pronounced in rural areas, where it became a colour canon. The basic surface of the wall of a wooden mosque was usually painted with ochre, against which details were blue, light blue, white, green, and red. The minaret tent and the roof were painted green.

Unlike Russian buildings, where reduced pigments were used, Tatar fronts were boldly coloured without half-tones.

Research has revealed that building walls were painted regardless of cladding or stucco. Light brown or ochre, sometimes light blue or green were used for solid wall painting. Multi-

colour surfaces or front elements (pilaster-strips, pediments, minaret stem) preferably combined blue and white, white and green.

The colouring of Tatar buildings was so distinct against the Russian background that ethnographers termed it 'Tatar taste'. The Tatars' resistance to unwritten or even legislative regulations on frontal colouring appears quite natural in the context of Islamic colouristic rules, from which the Tatar decorative features clearly stemmed [Massignon, 1978, p. 46–59].

The unique Tatar architectural polychromy apparently dates back to the medieval traditions of local monumental architecture [see: Khalitov, 1981, pp. 74–79; 1982, pp. 20–22; 1985, pp. 127–128; 1989].

The key factors that determined the local architectural polychromy were nature and traditions. Besides, the religious and ideological factor dramatically affected its further development. N. Vorobyev wrote in the early 19th century, 'it is common for Tatar bourgeois to send their children to study in Khwarezm and Bukhara, where they soak in the Islamic scholastic principles prevalent at that time. After receiving their education in Middle Asia, the students on their return introduced the culture to the Tatars... The Oriental culture that they introduced, of course in its external manifestations, was soon adopted by the peasant masses, and their everyday life was gradually filled

with Middle Asian Islamic elements' [Vorobyev, 1930, p. 33–34]. Then, as clients, they opted for colours that could be at least associated with the Middle Asian polychromy by imitating the ochre-coloured surface of Bukharan yellow bricks, clad in white and light blue or green tiles typical of Bukharan architecture. Moreover, the trend accorded with the local monumental architecture. All this pre-determined the key colour schemes of Tatar mosques.

In contact areas, the mosque front colour clearly became a symbol of a visible bridge with Oriental cultures and the ancestral architecture while making the mosque stand out. Russian ethnic architecture relied on wood carving for decoration as it did not have such traditions and stimuli.

Tatar polychromatic traditions combined the local, Russian, and Oriental decorative features into a unique style in the ethnic architecture of the European Russia's centre. According to ethnographer Ye. Busygin, this system over time also influenced the architectures of other ethnic groups in the region [Busygin, 1966, p. 266], bringing about regional architectural polychromy in the Middle Volga region.

Sophisticated monuments pertaining to the last period in the development of Russian Tatar mosque architecture indicate that the evolution of modern Tatar religious construction had been completed by that time. The further development of this branch of monumental architecture was apparently guided by different principles and stylistic policies.

CHAPTER 3

The National Costume

Svetlana Suslova

The Costume within the System of Folk Decorative Arts. The Tatar Costume developed as a special system of folk arts, synthesizing the sedentary agricultural culture and the nomadic one. The most well-developed folk decorative arts related to costume production, such as leather mosaic, gold embroidery, tambour stitching, jewelry, and clasped weaving are representative of the traditions of the ancient and medieval Turkic-Tatar urban culture.

Folk arts had been influenced by the artistic traditions and aesthetic canons of the Islamic Turkic civilizations of the Orient since the time of Volga Bulgaria, which brought about special production techniques, functions of certain costume elements, and specifically Turkic-Tatar ornaments. Due to close commercial relations with Middle Asia and, with its mediation, Persia, China, and India, the Tatars began to use velvet, satin, coloured woolen and silk fabrics (*ädrs, bikasab, binares*, etc.) at an early stage. Oriental gemstones came along the fabrics: turquoise, amethyst, carnelian, etc. Thin cloth was imported from European countries. Russian goods, such as brocade, Russian leather, and others, were common.

The Tatar nobility, especially in towns, consumed most of the silk, brocade, other costly fabrics, fur, and jewelry. Clothes made of expensive and heavy silk (shorts, camisoles, cilän jackets, women's shawls) matched with massive women's jewelry of silver and gold. Such a monumental style of clothing symbolized the nobility's power and grandeur. Extensive evidence can be found in illustrative materials from the first half of the 19th century.³

Imported fabrics, especially cotton and half-silk, accessories and decorative costume elements were also in demand with the rural population from ancient times. They are part and parcel of the ceremonial costume of most of Tatar peasants. Everyday clothes were made of domestically produced fabrics.

Weaving was the most common domestic industry in clothes making. Craftswomen specializing in fabrics with sophisticated polychromatic patterns were few and far between in the rural areas. Tatar female weavers practiced nearly all domestic weaving techniques. Clasped and loom weaving were the key techniques for decorative textile patterns. Multi-heddle weaving was less common.

Clasped weaving is traditional for the Tatars in particular and the Turkic world in general. The shapes and motives of clasped patterns have much in common with Uzbek, Karakalpak, Kazakh, Kirghiz, and, especially Azerbaijani and Bashkir woven articles. Older clasped fabrics are especially monumental. Large geometric patterns on a background of matt red tended to form three border stripes on the ends of the cloth: a wide one in the middle and two to three narrow ones on both sides. Polychromatic clasped patterns decorated women's *tastars*, the head wear of Kasimov Tatars and Mishar women.

By the end of the 19th century, clasped weaving, being the most labour-consuming technique, was replaced by loom weaving. It was the most common weaving technique with most of peoples of East Europe. Patterns on loom-woven cloths used to make clothes usually contains extremely intricate geometric

³ The author deliberately uses the terms 'costume' and 'clothing' as synonyms while being aware of the

chronological and etymological differences between them in humanitarian studies.

shapes. Tatars began to practice loom weaving in the 15th century following their settlement in a Russian-populated area [Valeev, 1984, p. 13].

Clothes were mainly made of flat fabrics. White silky flax fiber was used to produce clothes for festive and ceremonial costumes. Coarse hemp yarn fabrics were used for everyday and work clothes. Solid-coloured (white, dyed *buyak*) and motley fabrics (*alacha*) were used for clothes. Domestically produced yarn was usually dyed with soft lusterless vegetable colours until bright aniline dyes were invented in the middle of the 19th century. All peoples in the Volga region had essentially the same dyeing techniques, but Tatars 'preferred to use tre bark' [Safina, 1996, p. 33]. Combining several yarn types (flax, cotton, wool) in one article generated highly artistic patterns, diverse textile and colours.

White undyed fabric was the most popular solid-coloured cloth used for clothes. As with other Turkic peoples, it was the elderly who preferred white clothes. Blue and red-brown were the most common dyes. Threads for motley fabrics were also dyed blue and red-brown. They were often combined with white ones. Yellow and black was sometimes introduced for greater contrast. The weaver would vary colours, scales, and frequency of certain elements of the pattern depending on her purpose. For instance, motley fabrics used for overdresses (*çoba*) and legwear (*iştan*) was often finely striped. Chequered fabrics were more common in men's and women's shirts. Apart from common features, fabric colours differed depending on regional traditions. For instance, Tatars in the Trans-Kazan and Cis-Volga regions, as well as in the north-west of Bashkortostan, preferred to use blue coarse linen for women's and men's shirts. Red-brown coarse linen, as well as striped motley fabrics, were used for legwear. White cloth women's shirts were mainly popular in Mishar-populated areas in the Oka and Sura basin in the middle of the 19th century. Apart from white shirts, women in the same area wore chequered ones.

Chequered fabrics usually had an orange or yellow background in the Perm and Bashkir

Cis-Ural region. The traditional textile colouring in the reference Tatar group included all hues except for black [Valeev, 1984, p. 13]. However, black is present in patterns woven by Cis-Ural Tatars. Scholars attribute it to the influence of Bashkir traditional weaving [Safina, 1983, p. 97]. In the Cis-Ural region, the composition of relatively large checks is complete with small multi-colour loom-woven (multi-weft) rosette patterns. Unlike the classical (two-weft) loom-woven patterns, which often formed solid stripes, polychromatic multi-weft loom-woven patterns were scattered all across the cloth. Cloth was made of flax and cotton threads (motley fabric warp), while loom-woven patterns are usually made of multi-colour factory-manufactured woolen yarn, which came in a wide variety of hues. Loom fabric ornamentation was used for overdress (*çoba*) fabrics as well as those for the groom's ceremonial legwear (*kiyai iştanı*) and women's aprons. Multi-coloured loom-woven patterns were applied to the towel-like headgear of Molkeevo Kryashens women. However, women's shirts with multi-coloured loom-woven patterns were more common in the Cis-Ural region in the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century.

Embroidery was one of the most popular traditional crafts of Tatar women. It required no sophisticated devices, so any woman could do it. Unlike artistic weaving, which was replaced by factory fabric production, embroidery survived for a long time, performing its traditional functions, largely similar to those of artistic weaving, like folk costume decoration—this is especially true with headgears, shirts, aprons, and chest jewelry.

Polychromatic embroidery, especially tambour type, was the most common type. Tambour stitch was used both to outline the pattern and fill it. The Tatars used to practice low (*älmä*) and high, or raised (*küpertkän älmä*) tambour stitching. Low tambour was done using a special form of crochet, in relatively large stitches, usually in a thin silk thread. Such embroidery was flat. It resembled an elegant drawing. Raised tambour was done with twisted silk threads or worsted yarn, in very small

stitches, which added a third dimension to the embroidery, making it look like a cord applique. Multi-colour interweaving was popular with Mishar Tatars and those of the Cis-Ural region. Thin woolen threads were applied to a slack cloth using a common needle on a tambour frame. A thinner thread was wrapped around the warp threads resulting from slackening and the weft. Multi-colour interweaving was used to decorate the edges of head wear (*tastar*). The fact that Mishar Tatars adopted this technique and typical zoo- and anthropomorphic motives must be attributable to 'the influence of the traditions of the Russian population, especially that of the upper reaches of the Oka' [Mukhamedova, 2008, p. 275]. Satin stitch was also common, especially with Mishar Tatars. Silk polychromatic threads were used to fill the interior of the pattern. The pattern was usually outlined in tambour stitches. Satin stitch was used for headgear, aprons, chest and braid adornments. Cross stitch was also quite popular with Mishar and Kryashen Tatars [Suslov, 2000, p. 98].

Gold embroidery is an ancient, well-established tradition in Tatar folk arts. Gold and silver-embroidered decorative elements of the costume are the most expressive and elegant part of it. It was the headgear which was usually embroidered in men's and, especially, women's costumes. It includes gold-embroidered hair adornments, aprons, and bands worn by Mishar Tatars and Kryashen women's headgears known as *süräkä*, the famous Kazan Tatar *kalfaks* with the typical flower bouquet, golden feather, or 'bird of happiness' gold embroidery. Gold embroidery was also applied to other costume elements—collars, footwear, and accessories. They are no less elegant and impressive than Tatar jewelry. Regional variants of the Tatar costume combined such decorative elements for perfect harmony.

Leather mosaic, the unique technique for ornamented footwear, is connected directly with the traditional costume. Solid-coloured or ornamented *ichigs* (embroidery, applique) have been common with most of eastern Turkic-Mongol ethnoses from ancient times [Satarova, 2004, p. 10–19]. However, the so-

called Kazan boots were special. They were made of high-quality saffian cut into intricate fragments to form a plant pattern. Silk, sometimes even gold, threads were used to hold pieces of leather together with side stitches [Gulova, 1983, p. 22–25]. Mosaic footwear is specific to the Tatars.

The Tatar, especially urban, costume was completed with a set of women's jewelry, which gave it an ethnic twist. Much Tatar jewelry was unique and unparalleled by any peoples in the region except for the related Bashkirs. These include almond-shaped filigree earrings (*sırğa*), pectoral jewelry (*yaka çilbiri*), and jewelry bauldrics (*xasitā*) [Suslova, 1980, p. 93]. Caulking, casting, and engraving were the most common jewelry techniques. Popular engraving motives were traditional Oriental inscriptions in the Arabic script. The text often merged with a plant pattern, forming an ornamental composition. Engraved articles also featured niello or, less commonly, inlays of other metals. The most skillful craftsmen also made filigree articles. Kazan is the only city in the Volga region where filigree was well-developed. Notably, it had some local features. In Russia, filigree ornaments were decorated with enamel. Tatar filigree was an exception because it is purely graphic and forms intricate fine patterns. Scholars believe that Tatar filigree is related to Middle Asian or Greek techniques rather than Russian [Goldberg, 1967, p. 49]. Embossed filigree, in which each filigree quirk is raised over the article surface, was the most accomplished Tatar jewelry technique. It was used to make jewelry for high-class women. The art of filigree flourished from the middle of the 18th to the beginning of the 19th century. Granulation work, namely seeding metal balls into filigree, was also common. Popular gemstones included topaz, aquamarine, amethyst, jasper, carnelian, and turquoise, which usually formed rosettes on the surface of the article.

The Tatar Costume as an Ethno-Cultural Complex. The folk costume performs the special function of synthesizing the material and the spiritual, representing moments of ethnic history, ethnic cultural values and inter-ethnic

contacts, as well as confessional affiliation. It symbolized the nation's ethnic identification. It has been changing for centuries to adopt to the people's natural and economic activities, moral and religious standards, aesthetic taste, and practical purposes.

The folk costume as a unique ethno-cultural complex included the production of fabrics, richly and intricately ornamented headgears, various footwear, sophisticated jewelry, and small accessories to complete the ensemble. All elements within the complex matched with each other in terms of colour, shape, and material, thus forming a harmonious stylistic ensemble.

All Tatar groups have shared the key elements of folk clothing from ancient times. All pre-national forms of Tatar clothing are monumental. Back in the 19th century, it was common for both men and women to wear long, wide tunic shirts and a long wide-framed wrap-over overdress. Women's massive chest, braid, and hand adornments and sophisticated headgears, usually combined with large shawls, accentuated the multi-layer monumental impression. The four-wedge hemispherical scullcap was worn by Muslim men under a hemispherical fur or stitched fur-trimmed winter outdoor hat, which women wore over shawls. Men's sashes and traditional leather footwear, namely soft or hard-soled ichigs and bashmak shoes. Straw shoes were the rural work footwear. They were combined with white cloth or knitted stockings.

Despite a number of ethnic features, folk customs varied. Even within the same group of an ethnos (territorial, age, etc.), no elements occurred twice. Cultural variation is a requisite for the maintenance of ethnic traditions [Chistov, 1986, p. 119]. Folk costume has developed over centuries as a set of reciprocal local traditions, which grow within the ethnic, cultural and confessional consolidation of the nation.

Tatars continued to wear predominantly traditional clothes in the Mid-19th century. Ethnographic expeditions, museum collections, and archive data have provided extensive evidence of it.

Clothing. The shirt (*külmäk*) and the trousers (*ıştan*) of relatively light fabrics formed the basis of the men's and women's traditional costume. Until as late as the Mid-19th century, the ancient style tunic shirt (of straight homespun cloth folded laterally, without shoulder seams, with underarm gores, wide side wedges, and a central chest slit) was the only and universal shirt type. Tatars, especially Kazan Tatars, preferred shirts with stand up collars. Turn-down collars were more common in men's ceremonial wedding shirts (*kiyaiü külmäge*). Baptised Tatars sometimes wore shirts with a side chest slit. Unlike the Russian kosovorotka, it had a slit on the right side of the chest. The Tatar shirt was different from the tunic shirts of the neighbouring peoples—Russians, Maris, Udmurts, etc.—due to its length and width. Men's shirts were baggy and long (knee-length). They had wide long sleeves. Shirts were never girdled (except for baptised Tatars). A related proverb has come down to us: 'One without a cross and a girdle looks like a Tatar'. White homespun shirts were embroidered or decorated with gimp or multi-coloured homespun inkle.

Women's shirts were nearly ankle-long. In the Mid-19th century, wealthy Tatar women wore shirts of expensive store-bought 'Chinese' fabrics (light silk, wool, cotton, and fine brocade). Such shirts were decorated with fly rollers, mutli-colour silk and satin ribbons and lace, gimp tassels, and inkle. Kazan and Kryashen Tatar women wore shirts with top fly rollers, while Mishar Tatars had them on the bottom. The bottom chest piece was part and parcel of the old style women's shirt. It is also known as *kükräkçä*, *tüşeldrek*. It was worn under a shirt with a traditionally deep (no placket) chest slit to prevent it from being too revealing in motion.

In the latter half of the 19th century, both men and women became to wear modern style shirts of factory-produced fabrics, with gored shoulders and round armholes, usually with a turn-down collar. Fine frills (*bala itäk*) became a common decoration. It was not infrequent for the entire hem of a women's shirt to be decorated with horizontal frills. In the early

20th century, this shirt style was prevalent across the Tatar-inhabited territory.

Trousers (*ıştan*) were the well-known Turkic leg wear with a wide crotch. Men's pants were usually made of striped (motley) fabrics, while women preferred solid-coloured ones. Ceremonial and wedding groom's trousers (*kiyai ıştanı*) were made of homespun fabrics with small bright loom-woven patterns.

Aprons (*alyapkiç, alçıprāk*) were characteristic of the late 19–early 20th century costume. Muslim women wore homespun patterned or embroidered in polychromatic, often carpet, tambour stitch aprons over the shirt. Young baptised Tatars also wore them with overdresses. Men mostly wore unornamented aprons as work clothes. In the Perm guberniya, richly tambour-stitched aprons were included in the dowry and used as a ceremonial element in the groom's costume.

All overdresses were wrap-over, with sleeves or armholes. It can be classified as home and outdoor (summer, in-between-season, winter) clothes. It was made of factory-produced (cotton, wool) fabrics, homespun cloth, canvas, and half-canvas, as well as fur. Regardless of sex and age, Tatars preferred double-breasted clothes with a right Turkic wrap and a whole-cut slim-waisted back piece (*çabulı kiyem*), and wedge pieces on the sides below the waist [Suslova, 2000, p. 56]. It usually had a buttoned up collar and cut shoulder pieces. This type of clothes included: *the camisole*—as home clothes, *the kazaki*,—common in-between-season clothes, *the bişmät*, winter clothes lined with cotton or sheep wool, *the çabulı çıkmän*, work clothes of homespun canvas, and *the çabulı tun*, a fur coat, often clad in textile. The light homespun *çoba*, made of solid white or thin-striped flax or hem linen for men and multi-colour for women, is one of the most ancient types of such clothing. As late as in the early 20th century, *the çoba* was part of the bride's dowry in Tatar communities in the Cis-Kama, Perm, and Ufa Ural regions. *The turi kiem*, an overdress with a straight back piece, was broad and long, resembling a tunic, usually without fasteners. It could be girdled or sashed with a *cilän*. The *çapan* is a men's



Peasants with children. The Kazan Guberniya
Photo by V. Karrik. 2nd half of the 19th century.

mosque robe. The *turi çıkmän* is—an interim season work and travel garment., *the tolıp, turi tun*—is winter clothing. Overdresses with waist-cut back pieces and plaits (*borchatka*) were popular among baptised Tatars as well as *Russians*. The belt (*bilbau, äzär*) was inherent to the traditional Tatar overdress. Mostly textile belts made of homespun or factory-produced fabrics or, less commonly, knit of wool. Museum collections contain wide gimp, carpet, and velvet belts as well as those of silver plates connected with pivot joints (*kämär*) with massive, ornate silver buckles. They well into disuse early with Kazan Tatars. However, buckle and onlay belts were common as part of both the men's and women's Tatar costume in Astrakhan [Suslova, 1992, p. 88], Siberia [Yushkov, 1961, p. 83], and the Crimea [Roslavtseva, 2000, p. 40].

The only way in which women's overdresses were different from men's was decorative fur, gimp, embroidery, and stitching. The camisole was the most characteristic type of light home and outdoor women's clothes. To

make the back segment more fitted to the waist, it was often tailored in two halves (with a vertical axial seam) wider towards the hips with side wedge pieces (*äç bille kamzol, biş bille kamzol*). Using shop-bought fabrics, trimming, and related accessories brought about commitment to innovation and high variability.

Headgear. Men's headgear can be classified into home (undercaps) and outdoor (overhats). The former include the scullcap (*tübätäy*), which is a small cap worn on the top of the hat under textile and fur hats (*bürek*), felt hats (*tula eşläpā*), and ceremonial headgear (*çalma*). The earliest and most common scullcap type was tailored of four wedges and shaped as a hemisphere. Bright embroidered skull caps were meant for youth, while the elderly preferred modest designs. The later *käläpuş* type, with a flat top and a hard band, was initially adopted by urban Kazan Tatars, probably under the Turkish influence (*fäs*).

The round Tatar-style conical hats, tailored of four wedges, with fur band (*kämkäli bürek*), were a type of over-hat also worn by Russians, in particular in the Kazan guberniya [Melkaya kustarnaya, 1911, p. 144]. Cylindrical hats with a flat top and a hard band of black karakul (*kara bürek*) or gray Bukharan astrakhan (*danadar bürek*) were popular with city dwellers.

With a few exceptions, no significant regional differences in men's headgear have been recorded. Apart from baptised Tatars, all groups shared nearly the same set of headgear types.

Age differentiation was clear in women's headgear, especially in the middle of the 19th century. Young girls wore hats, or kalfak-shaped headgear. Plaited hair lay on the back, uncovered or covered by a special adornment, *çäç täñkäse*. The earliest of them was the open-top cap (*tayka*) and closed-top cap (*takiya, tupiy*), worn in the north-east of the Volga-Ural regions. They were characteristic of certain groups of Mishar Tatar groups in the Oka and Sura region. Early girls' caps, in particular those called *takiya*, have much in common with the traditional girls' headgear of other Eurasian Turkic-speaking peoples [Lobacheva, 2001, p. 71].

The *kalfak* was the most common type of girls' headgear. It was worn with a decorative head band, *uka-çaçak*, its conical end topped with a tassel put back (or to the side). The so-called *ak kalfak*, knit from white cotton threads, is the most famous type. It was more common with village girls, especially baptised Tatars. Small kalfaks of multi-colour silk threads, with transversal stripes on them, became popular in cities in the mid-19th century. N. Vorobyev termed them 'city kalfaks' [Vorobyev, 1953, p. 277]. Some unique kalfaks are decorated with luxurious embroidery, chenille, or the so-called guide applique have come down to us. The 'city' kalfak was often worn with an *uka-çaçak*, which in combination was transformed into the headgear known as *kalfak-çaçak*.

Married women's traditional headgear is more diverse and sophisticated. Unlike girls', they covered not only the woman's head but her neck, shoulders, and back. Despite the numerous territorial variations in shape and decorative detail, the Tatar women's headgear always included three essential components [Suslova, 2000, p. 136]. Volosnik undercaps were used to hold and cover the hair. Therefore, their shapes were largely determined by the hairstyle. Muslim women arranged their hair in two braids, which lay on their back, so their volosniks usually consisted of a cap (or hair case) and a braid adornment. Baptised Tatar women also arranged their hair in two braids, which they lay around their head and covered with a bonnet like Russian women. The basic headgear, the shawl, was typical of elderly women. They had a wide range of age-specific details and were generally more sophisticated because the older generation tended to uphold their traditions. They differed in terms of shape (towel-shaped, triangular, square), territory and time of use. The terms used to denote them (*tastar, caulik, kiekça, örpäk*) apparently originate from certain ancient cultural traditions (for instance, the term *tastar* is of Iranian origin, while *yaulik, kiekça* are Turkic). Over-hats were worn (wrapped) on shawls to hold them tight on the head. These include short and long *tastımal* towels, the *caulik*, and the *ak caulik*, Baptised Tatar rect-

angular wedding shawls (*tugäräk yaulık*), and hats. The textile hat *stüpiy*, *kamçat bürek* were used as over clothes.

Of special interest are old (17–Mid–19th century) coin hats. They were described by I. Georgi [Georgi, 1799, p. 12], I. Lepekhin [Lepekhin, 1771, p. 160], K. Fuchs [Fuchs, 1991, p. 18], and other authors. They appear in drawings by many artists (I. Leprince, A. Martynov, Cornelis de Bruijn). They were made on hard frames (*takiya bürek*) caps shaped as a cone clad in silk fabric and decorated with gilded ruble coins, corals, and pearls, topped with a gilded pommel. It was worn by Kazan Tatars. The soft-frame coin cap (*kaşpau bile*) is characteristic of the Mishar Tatars of the Oka and Sura interfluvium and the Molkeevo Kryashens.

Foot wear. Men's and women's traditional footwear differed in details (decorative elements, bootleg size, heel height). Tatars wore woolen knit stockings on bare feet. Cloth stockings (*tula oek*) were the most authentic, ancient, yet wide-spread type of foot underwear. They were made of home-made, usually white cloth, and worn with everyday bast or leather footwear. Another type of Kazan Tatar foot underwear is chausses (*ayakçu, ayak çol-gau*). They were wrapped around the calf and worn with ichigs or cloth stockings. Special ceremonial *ayakçu* types existed, showing that the elements were very old. The bride would present to the groom a pair of *kiyaiü ayakçısı* with ornamented ends.

The most common foot over-wear consisted of leather, bast, and felt. Leather footwear was popular in cities as well as with wealthy villagers and clergymen. Knee-high boots of soft solid-coloured leather, with a soft sole, known as *çitek*, were mainly worn by men. Women had shorter topless boots. Ornamented *kayulı çitek*, made using the traditional leather mosaic technique, were ceremonial women's footwear. Outdoors, short hard-soled shoes were worn over ichigs. Short felt boots were used in winter. Ichigs looked rather like leather stockings. They had a wider scope of application. They were especially popular with the elderly. Hard-soled boots (*itek*) were also popular. Ta-

tars in the Trans-Ural region, as well as Bashkirs, wore boots (*sarık* of rawhide tailored in a specific way and galoshes with white cloth bootles. Women's *sarık* boots were decorated with applique and tambour stitch embroidery. A sophisticated arch composition on the back piece formed the base of the pattern.

Galoshes (*käveş, kata*) were the everyday variant of leather footwear. Shoes (*başmak*) were a more formal type of footwear. Women wore patterned *başmak* shoes, often with heels. Shoes with a slightly raised pointed toe were the most traditional. Women's *başmak* shoes were sometimes made of velvet, decorated with silver and gold metallic threads, glass beads, and fresh-water pearls.

Bast shoes, especially *lapti (çabata)* were Tatar work footwear as they were the lightest and the most comfortable for field work. Most of them had a directly woven 'face' and an obliquely woven sole (*tatar çabatası*).

Short and high felt boots were widely used in winter (*kiez itek, pima*). Coloured felt boots, known as Kukmor style, were especially popular with wealthy Tatars.

Jewelry. Male aristocrats wore jewelry rings, signet rings, and belt buckles. The range of women's jewelry was much broader due to the general Muslim tradition of assessing a man's wealth by his clothes and his women's jewelry.

Braid adornments were probably the most wide-spread type of jewelry among all ethno-territorial, age, and social Tatar groups. They came in a broad variety of shapes, materials, techniques, and styles. Apart from numerous variants of coin braid adornments, those shaped as ornate plates, primarily blade-like, were common. Earrings are one of the most archaic yet lingering elements in the Tatar women's costume. Almond-shaped filigree earrings with pendants (*tatar sırgası*) were an ethnically specific element of the Kazan Tatar costume, though they were worn by Tatars or nearly all geographical groups. Apart from traditional earrings, Tatar women borrowed from other peoples—the Russians and those from the Caucasus, Middle Asia, and Kazakhstan [Suslova, 1980, p. 26–27].

In addition to being decorative, Tatar women's neck and chest adornments had the practical function of holding together or covering the traditionally deep slit of the women's shirt. This applies primarily to textile chest pieces of various shapes, styles, and names. In the Middle Ages, Tatar noble women from Kazan, Siberian, and Astrakhan wore their jewelry equivalents. They were made of embossed lunula-shaped gilded plates (*ayçık*) and inlaid with precious and semi-precious stones. The baldric, usually textile, was another authentic type of chest adornment. All authors when briefly describing the Tatar costume mentioned this detail. 'Mishar Tatars... like to wear broad baldrics with silver and local plate sets on them across their shoulders' [Georgi, 1799, p. 13]. Muslims often wore baldrics with 'a specially pocket for the *Quran* in a small handwriting' [Fuchs, 1991, p. 17]. Baptised Tatars and those groups who were not particularly adherent to Islamic canons often used cowrie shells as protective amulets. *The yaka çılıbırı* collar fastener with pendants on it was an especially impressive and authentic neck and chest adornment worn by Kazan Tatar women. *Yaka çılıbırı* fasteners could be often represent exquisite jewelery, many items of which are the apogee of the Tatar jewelery art.

Hand jewelery—bracelets, rings—used to be part and parcel of the Tatar women's costume. It is deeply rooted in the ethnic folk arts [Suslova, 1980, p. 50–56]. Tatar women wore bracelets very often, usually in pairs, one on each hand, to maintain good relations between spouses. This is why bracelet types and styles were so diverse, ranging from finest gold filigree inlaid with precious stones, worn by noble women, and simple engraved bracelets of low-grade silver for the lower classes. This also applied to rings, for 'the Tatar woman wore two to three rings every day; she had them on nearly every finger for visits' [Fuchs, 1991, p. 71].

Regional Features of the Tatar Ethnic Costume (Mid–19th century). The specific ethnic history, uneven socio-economic development depending on the social groups, climatic conditions, ethnic environment, and

confessional affiliation affected the development of the ethnic conflict considerably. The high territorial dispersion and remoteness of peripheral groups within the ethnos from the reference group, brought about by the nation's complicated history, also favoured high variability in clothing⁴. For instance, the territorial remoteness of the Mishars of the Oka and Sura interfluvium, Kasimov, Astrakhan, Siberian, and other Tatar groups caused them to develop local costume features along with common ethnic traits. This primarily applies to the women's costume, which is attributable to their reserved lifestyle and adherence to traditional moral and ethical standards.

Baptised Tatars had quite traditional costumes because they were early subjected to cultural isolation from Muslim Tatars and underwent special ethno-cultural development determined by the ethnic environment and the influence of Christian, most importantly Russian, cultures. At the same time, their traditional clothing is identical to that of the Kazan Tatars in terms of key criteria, such as cut. It includes the tunic shirt, in particular the ethnically specific Kazan Tatar women's shirt with an upper fringe (*öske itäkle külmäk*), 'wide crotch pants', overdresses with whole-cut slim-waisted back pieces, girls' headgear known as *ak kalfak* worn with a textile coin braid adornment, a coin set of neck and chest jewelery, etc.

The traditional costume of Trans-Kazan and Western Trans-Kama baptised Tatars, who lived scattered in the Spassk, Chistopol, Laishev, and Mamadysh uyezds, Kazan guberniya, the Malmyzh uyezd, Vyatka guberniya, and the Menzelinsk uyezd, Ufa guberniya, was characterized by a special set of women's headgear, which consisted of a volosnik (*mälänçek*), a head shawl (*suräkä*), a towel-like headband (*ak yaulık*), and an authentic wedding shawl (*tugäräk yaulık*). Young women's headgear was finished with a special set of

⁴ The regional historical and ethnographic features of the Tatar folk costume of the middle of the 19th century were identified according to the Historical and Ethnographic Atlas of the Tatar People [see: Suslova, 2000].

jewelry, consisting of coin temple jewelry known as *cilkäläk* and large filigree or coin earrings interconnected with a special chain or ribbon (*sırğa bavi*). A set of chest and neck textile-based coin jewelry, known as *meunsa* (*tamaksa*), was worn over the shirt and the apron (sometimes also the camisole) along with a large coin pectoral and a baldric. Popular overdresses included the slim-waisted *ädäp* the *camisole* or *cilän*, as well as the *çikmân*, or *ärmäk* with a tailored gathered back. Popular footwear included traditional Tatar bast shoes worn with cloth stockings *tula oek*.

In terms of its key components—headgear, overdresses and other clothing, footwear, and jewelry, the costume of Orenburg Nağaybäk women is structurally similar to that of baptised Tatar women in the Volga-Ural region, especially in Trans-Kazan and western Trans-Kama areas [Suslova, 1995 p. 61]. However, it is marked by a number of distinctive features. In terms of decoration, the Nağaybäk women's costume of the Troitsk uyezd, Orenburg guberniya is based on the polychromatic artistic weaving technique known as *çultar*. Vibrantly-coloured loom-woven fabrics were used to make frills on the ceremonial tunic shirts. Troitsk Nağaybäk women also used patterned cloth made with various techniques—loom-weaving, *vybornaya*, and *perebor* (variants of loom-weaving)—which provided an eye-catching appearance for festive *ačupräk* aprons. The chest-piece, hem, and frills of such aprons were all ornamental. Artistic applique formed the decorative basis of the Nağaybäk women's costume of the Verkhneuralsk uyezd, Orenburg guberniya. In addition to the linear hem applique of multi-coloured ribbons, inkle, and textile strips, which was common with baptised Tatars, their festive shirts were decorated with applique on the chest, sometimes also below the waist. The circular composition of the chest applique consisted of contrast vibrantly coloured sets of triangular and diamond-shaped pieces of factory-produced fabrics. Such shirts were known as *koramalı külmäk*. The women's headgear *koramalı süräkä* bore appliques of exactly the same style as the shirts.



Astrakhan Tatar woman in a festive costume.
Photo from the late 19th–early 20th centuries.

The National Tatar Costume. Traditional clothing was not unchanged and remained static across the Tatar-inhabited territory. It formed over edcenturies as a set of interdependent local traditions, which develop and grew in parallel with the ethnic and cultural consolidation of the nation. Various groups within the ethnos and their ethno-territorial, confessional, and other groups at different stage of their development (emergence, peak activity, fading) differed greatly in terms of culture. Thus, differences between the general and the particular in the clothing of such groups are not absolute: it was not uncommon for the particular to extend to the general level at a certain stage and vice versa. For instance, women's headgear *kalfak* was rather a specifically Kazan Tatar notion in the Mid–19th century. However, it developed into a nationwide costume element, spreading to Siberian and Astrakhan Tatars, in the late 19–early 20th century. At the same time, the girls' *ak kalfak*, which was worn by nearly all Tatar groups, at least in the Volga-Ural region, until the Mid–19th century, was

preserved only by baptised Tatars until the early 20th century.

In the latter half of the 19th century, during the intensive development of capitalism and major Tatar bourgeois commercial, industrial, and ethnic cultural centres in cities, as economic and cultural connections between the Tatar communities of different regions of Russia expanded, the previously stable local variants ethnic clothing also disintegrated. The period of the formation of the nationwide culture is the most complicated development stage in the history of the Tatar costume. On the one hand, the influence of European and Russian cultures was powerful. On the other hand, the consolidation of the Tatar ethnos around the reference group (Kazan Tatars) also affected it. A trend towards a modified costume style emerged; from archaic monumental folk forms to more elegant and refined forms which fit in with European fashion.

The basis for the nationwide Tatar costume was the traditional clothing of the Tatars, especially those of Kazan and Transcaucasia [Suslova, 2000, p. 244]. They created highly artistic variants of the folk costume with exquisite shapes and aesthetically accomplished decorations. The techniques included embossed filigree, unique leather mosaics, and sophisticated gold and pearl embroidery. The nationwide costume based on the urban Tatar traditions was soon adopted by all ethno-territorial Tatar groups except for baptised Tatars. Folk culture, in particular costume as a special ethno-cultural element, belonged to the was influenced by general Islamic traditions. It is quite natural, therefore, that the traditional costume of baptised Tatars developed in a different direction from that of Muslim groups within the ethnos.

Stylistic changes affected the key elements of the costume, cuts of overdresses and other clothing, and headgears. The shirt ceased to resemble a tunic. It had round armholes, tailored shoulder pieces, and a cut waist. In urban communities, women's dresses often had a raised waist, a train, and a peculiar draping where the sleeve was stitched in and the hem attached to the frame. It was often worn with a short sleeveless camisole of the same fabric

with highly flared tails. Such dresses (*kısmalı külmäk*) of expensive silk, satin, and light brocade fabrics were decorated with gimp, swan down, and had fringed edges, sleeve bottom, and a hem. Like the early traditional camisole, this type had an open chest and a fastener on the end-to-end front (*kaptırma*). The headgear was a small *kalfak* to be fastened to the head (*mögez kalfak*), ornamented with pearls and glass beads, which acted as a decorative element in women's hair-dress. Traditionally, a silk knitted shawl with long tassels or a light muslin scarf of a colour to match the costume, also decorated with fringe, swan down, and gimp, was often worn over it.

The change in style was also visible in rural clothing. Chintz shirts acquired tailored shoulder pieces and round armholes. Their frame was often shortened to a yoke. They also had a wide veil fringe. It was common for village girls to wear such shirts with aprons (*alyapkiç*), which were viewed as an element of festive ethnic clothing. Aprons were richly decorated with tambour, often carpet embroidery. Cut details, hem width, and decorative elements such as frills, tabs, wings, etc. Beads of semi-precious stones or amber finished the attire. Girls and young women across the territory began to wear multi-colour silk, chintz, or thin cashmere shawls 'Tatar style', with the cloth loose on the back and two adjacent corners tied in a knot on the nape. Decorative brooches (*çulpi*) or, less commonly, antique textile braid adornments (*tezmä*) were worn on the hair, which was arranged in two braids. Coin earrings with dangles or traditional lunula styles (*alka*) were worn.

In the early 20th century, the influence of European traditions, representative of the aesthetic taste of the bourgeoisie, in particular Tatar, brought about even more pronounced changes to women's clothing, especially in cities and among advanced rural dwellers, eventually smoothing out both ethno-territorial and class and age-based differences. Small *kalfaks* and leather mosaic footwear as ethnically specific elements of the traditional Kazan Tatar costume remained part and parcel of the women's attire nationwide.



Family of a rich Kazan merchant in costumes of the 19–early 20th centuries. Photo 1910.

Men's costume remained largely uniform until as late as the Mid-19th century. In the late 19–early 20th century, the set of a shirt with tailored narrow sleeves, a short *kazaki*, European-cut trousers, a velvet 'Kazan style' headgear (*käläpuş*), and factory-produced boots was perceived as a national costume.

The sets of traditional clothing dating back to the Mid-19th century took different courses of development in the early 20th century. Mus-

lim groups within the ethnos (Volga-Ural, Astrakhan, and Siberian Tatar ethno-territorial groups) tended to adopt the urban Kazan Tatar costume under the influence of European cultural traditions. The clothing of baptised Tatars was affected by their orientation towards larger Christian ethnic groups. For instance, Molkeevo Kryashens Tatars adopted most of the Anatri Chuvash ethnic costume, while Nağaybäks preferred the Russian Cossack style.

CHAPTER 4

Ceremonies and Festivities

Raufa Urazmanova

The ceremonial and festive component of the everyday culture of the 19th century is commonly referred to as traditional, meaning relatively stable forms (rites, ceremonies, behaviour standards, etc.), regularity, and prevalence on a mass scale. It developed and existed under the formative influence of religion. Of great importance were ethnic roots, natural, climatic, social, and economic conditions, as well as the degree of territorial dispersion of the ethnoses.

The Tatars developed in an ethnically (Slavic-Finno-Ugric) and confessionally (Orthodox Christian, Pagan) alien environment, occupying a large territory that covered a number of natural and climatic areas. This brought about diverse calendar (public) rituals and holidays, usually marking the essential stages of agricultural (farming) work, which was largely determined by the change of seasons. The Islamic system of rites in holidays, which evolved into a specific form to fit in with the local conditions, proved unifying for all Tatars.

The traditional Tatar system of rites, ceremonies, and holidays suggests that scholars were right to define Islam as a lifestyle. It included daily behaviour standards, formalization of key moments in a person's life (birth, wedding, death), a system of holidays and a set of ideas about how they should be celebrated. The adhan delivered from mosque minarets established the time of day. The weekly Islamic holiday, Friday, was preceded by bathing, while the festive morning was marked by tea with *qoymaq* pancakes, baked over coal in an oven. Children learned table manners—praying before and after each meal, being aware of the schedule, being able to prepare for and perform the mandatory Is-

lamic prayer, *namaz*, five times a day, as well as proper prayers when receiving guests—at their mothers' knees. Maktab and madrasah education reinforced teenagers' knowledge of such standards.

According to G. Sablukov, Tatar Muslims believed Quranic words to be 'reliable protection against all harmful influences, evil eye, and any bewitchment.' It was thus common to place them on 'household items, tableware for eating and drinking, attire elements, especially women's, earrings, rings, bracelets, metal mirrors, or dedicated metal plates or pieces of paper which were carried as a talisman' [Sablukov, 1884, p. 66].

Young women often knew numerous religiously edifying baits and munajats by heart, in particular those from the books '*Bädävam*', '*Bakırgan qıtabı*', '*Yosıf qıtabı*', and others. They often also recited them at girls' gatherings. They loved to embroider or loom-weave dedicated praying rugs, *namazlık*, which were part and parcel of the dowry. The bride presented them to her husband's parents and elderly relatives.

The entwining of rituals of ethnic origin and Islamic ones rituals which were canonized under the Sharia and spread all across the Muslim world, was an invariable feature of the traditional family everyday and ceremonial culture. Quran reading (*Qorän uku*), praying (*doga kılı*), and almsgiving (*sädaka öläşü*) were core to such events as wedding ceremonies, name giving, and the set of burial and commemorative rituals. The entwining was so seamless that even the official, legal registration of the events took place not at institutions or in mosques but at home, during formal meals known as *nikax tue*, *isem kuşu*. It was at home where all rituals performed to

prepare the dead for burial and commemoration took place. They were largely unified and perceived as Islamic. They were commonly accepted, stable, passed on from generation to generation and instilled 'from an early age'. Religious knowledge became a matrix for behavioural standards, a habit, a kind of custom. Everyone could quote the poet addressing his native aul:

Here God breathed soul into me; here I saw light,

Was able to read my first prayer from the Quran,

Here I hear the words of the Prophet for the first time... [Tukay, 1969, p. 188].

Tatars referred to the most revered Islamic holidays with the Arabic word *gaet*⁵. As in the rest of the Muslim world, they were two, namely *Uraza Gaete*, or the Fasting Holiday, and *Qorban Gaete*, the Sacrifice Feast. This is reported by K. Fuchs who witnessed Tatar holidays in the first quarter of the 19th centuries: 'They call this day Hayd...' [Fuchs, 1991, p. 108]. The word *bäyram*, which linguists believe to etymologically mean 'spring beauty (charm)' and 'spring feast', was used to denote ethnic holidays [Ezlänülär, 1989, p. 207]. The *Gaet* was perceived as something revered, sacred, God-given.

All Muslim Tatars celebrated the holidays in the same way. The ceremony included the collective morning prayer, *Gaet namazı*, attended by the entire male population including boys. It was common for them to gather in groups on the way to the mosque and loudly chant the *täkbir*, a standard praise to Allah. When the weather was favourable, the festive divine service often took place in the open, not far from cemeteries. If the weather was bad, it was delivered in mosques. Men and boys then went to the cemetery, where everyone performed namaz near their relatives' graves.

⁵ The word *gaet* is derived from the Arabic for holiday [see: Russko-arabskij, 1959, p. 494]. Furthermore, the same terms were used for these holidays by Central Asian peoples: *Qurban-hait* (sacrifice feast) and *Ramazan-hait* (uraza end) [see: Lobacheva, 1995, no. 5, p. 24].

In the meanwhile, women cooked festive treats at home. They waited for the men to come home to have breakfast. On these holidays, each lasting for three days, it was common to visit one's relatives and neighbours and congratulate them. People wanted to congratulate everyone in person. Everyone was expected to visit one's parents. Presents, treats, and dinner parties were optional but encouraged where possible.

During the *Qorban Gaete*, the *qorban çalu* the offering was performed in adherence to the Islamic rules. The more people tasted the sacrificial meat, the better. Scholars reported: 'On holidays Tatars leave the table set for the whole day, usually for two to three days straight. Everyone who enters the house, no matter who he is, can help himself to everything. Such holidays are the most representative of the *kunak itü* tradition' [Gubaydullin, Gubaydullina, 1926, No. 6].

Furthermore, Tatars were well aware of and celebrated those remarkable dates in the history of Islam that were believed to be blessed: Prophet Muhammad's birthday, Mawlid⁶, the miraculous journey to Jerusalem and ascension into heaven—Laylat al-Isra wa al-Miraj—celebrated in the night of Rajab 26–27 according to the lunar calendar, Laylat al-Qadr (Tatar: *qader kiçäse*), or the night when the Quran was revealed,⁷ etc.

Shakirds at numerous madrasahs had their own ways of celebrating special occasions. For instance, on Mawlid, they decorated the minaret of the mosque with multi-colour paper strips and put lamps with burning candles in minaret windows. In addition to prayer

⁶ Mawlid a-nabi (Arabic: prophet's birth) is celebrated on the 12th day of Rabi' al-Awwal according to the Islamic calendar. It is both the date of Muhammad's birth and his death [Kratkij, 2000, pp. 148].

⁷ Laylat al-Qadr is the night of the 27th of Ramadan, mentioned in the Quran (Surah XCVII). It is sacred because the 'descent' of the Quran to Muhammad began that night. It is believed to be the night every year when Allah decides on the destiny of each person, based on the wishes expressed in prayer. Therefore, the night is traditionally spent in a mosque, reading the Quran and praying to the Allah and angels [Islam, 1983, pp. 75].

and almsgiving, reciting (chanting) poems praising Muhammad and his deeds—*mawlid al-nabi*—as well as poetic narratives of the Prophet's birth, *mirajname* (or *mirajiya*) about his miraculous ascension, etc. were essential to the celebration of the blessed dates. Many of the works were written in Tatar, 'a language that was simple and easy to understand for any Tatar, even those who had no madrasah education, and in a convenient style which enabled every Muslim in remote Tatar communities to adopt the ideas of monotheism and the specific ideal image of the Prophet' [Sibgatullina, 2006, p. 658–665; Shamsutdinova, 2001, p. 15–16]⁸.

The emotional and psychological effect of Islamic holidays and blessed dates was enhanced because everybody was a direct participant. K. Fuchs described the 'special prayer'—*gaet namazı*—to celebrate the end of the fast: '...the first day following Ramazan was celebrated in the summer. At 8 o'clock in the morning, on Friday, all Tatars, old and young, numbering over 6,000, gathered not far from the New Tatar Sloboda for a Divine Service in the open air. To see so many people arranged in great order to pray, during which they often bow and fall down, was astonishing. It must have a powerful effect on the witness' [Fuchs, 1991, p. 107].

Not only the most revered Islamic holidays, namely *Qorban Gaete* and *Uraza Gaete*, but the fasting period preceding the latter was celebrated according to strict ritual rules. The morning (predawn) breakfast, *säxär*, was usually more substantial and 'special'—it was a family feast (fasting began at the age of 6–7 years), preceded by a special prayer, or ritual intention, known as *niyat*. The evening (afterdark) meal, *avız açu*, colloquially termed

'mouth-opening', was also a ritual. During the entire month special after dark prayers, *Tarawih namazı*, were said in mosques. The prayer ritual included a collective (men only!) prayer to Allah and Prophet Muhammad, *tärawix täsbixi*, gladly attended by an audience of women and girls⁹.

A set of poetic works known as *Ramazaniya* was dedicated to praising the fasting month of Ramazan as the 'crown' of all months. 'In the first half of the month, verses with the redif "märxäbä" ("welcome") were recited to express the Muslims' joy at seeing the holy month come... The verse encouraged charitable deeds during Ramazan and mentioned examples of prophets and saints. In the second half of the month, a sad verse with the redif "äl-vidag" ("farewell, good bye") was recited to mark the end of the festive month. It expressed regret because Ramazan had been so short and the wish that it could have been longer' [Sibgatullina, 2006, p. 668].

Munajats, baits, and qasidas, which were the most frequently performed during Ramazan and Mawlid, were typical of the music and poetic art of Muslim Tatars within the so-called 'Islamic confessional art' [Islamoxristianskoe, 1994, p. 186–196]. 'Confessional professionals' were able to impress the audience both emotionally and psychologically. It was at madrasahs where the first cultural, educational, literary, music, and drama classes were offered, in particular, the Muhammadiya Madrasah in Kazan [Ämirkhan, 1997, p. 217–218], Galiya in Ufa, and others, which acted

⁸ 'Religious literature about Prophet Muhammad is central to home libraries in all social classes. The Tatars did not view Prophet Muhammad as divine but respected such qualities of his as patience, kindness, mercy, and poverty, thus making him resemble a common man. For people deprived of statehood and administrative institutions, for 450 years the Prophet symbolized the supreme, just authority and represented support not only in the real world but hereafter, acting as a mediator between Allah and people.'

⁹ This is mentioned in the novelette 'Köz' by G. Iskhaki: 'Berence könnärdä uraza toty çiten bulsa da, min bik tiz öyrändem. Kızlar berlä azan äytkäne, kiç berlä tärawix äytkäne tñlarga baru bik küñelle buldı' [Miras, 2004, No.12, p. 73]. In his article 'Memories of Youth', N. Khabibullin wrote, '...during Tarawih Namaz, when the 'Tarawih Tasbih' was recited in choir, he added 'Jalali wal Jamali wal Jabarut' following 'Qudrati wal Qibriya i wal Jabarut.' Salih Mullah thus raised his authority to an unprecedented level. This event became known as "Kazanča tarawix äytu", or reading of the Tarawih in the Kazan manner... Therefore, when men read Tarawih Namaz, women and children would gather around the mosque to listen to Salih Mullah reading the Tarawih in the Kazan style' [see: Khabibullin, 2008, pp. 61].

as precursors to any trends in professional art and literature, in particular concert performance and musical arts [Gaziev, 2009].

Islamic rules were the a key conceptual and binding part to all family ceremonies, both joyful (wedding, birthday) and sad, related to death.

Certain actions and set phrases were prescribed for all rituals. Specific paraphernalia was used, pre-determined by local conditions to become an ethnic tradition. It is difficult to single out a purely religious (Islamic) and purely ethnic (Tatar) component in this highly syncretic ritual system. The order and names of ritual activities, their form and concept were representative of both the ethnic and confessional character, as well as a specific type of culture, which held a special place in the all-Russian and Eastern European system.

The wedding ceremony began with recording the financial terms and conditions of the marriage, the so-called 'wedding gift' [Fäxret-din, 2006, p. 158], or *mähär*, which chiefly regulated the groom's responsibilities. The Tatar *mähär* specified what items the groom's family was to send to the bride, primarily clothing: dress fabrics, textile or fur coats, ichegs, shwals, etc. The set of items was more or less universal, albeit differing in quality depending on the families' financial standing. A list of foods which were to be sent to the bride's house to be cooked for the ceremonial meal (flour, meat, butter, tea, sugar, etc.) was also included. In the *mähär*, the property to be transferred to the bride was also specified. Most importantly, it stipulated that in case of divorce of the husband's initiative the latter was to pay a specified amount of money to the wife. The amount was usually not paid. However, it was a legal guarantee for the woman. This is why it was known as invisible money, *kurenmägän akça, kalmış mähär*.

The above was known as *mähär* in Mishar Tatar auls. Kazan Tatars called clothes for the bride *kalın* and money spent for the wedding *tartu*, or *tartu akçası*. Yet, the overall term of *mähär* was entered into the wedding register.

The Nikah ceremony took place in the bride's house. The wedding feast was known as *nikah tue* and opened the series of wedding celebrations. Only men ate at the table. Women enjoyed wedding treats later or in a different room. The newlyweds did not participate in it because the groom was at home, often in another village, while the bride sat behind the curtain in this or that half of the izba.

Following the ceremonial *mähär*, the mullah asked the newlyweds for consent to the marriage. The groom's father answered on his behalf. In addition to the bride's father, two witnesses from among the men present (*väkillär*), were sent to ask for the bride's consent. The mullah then recited an extract about marriage from the Quran. This was the end of the official part.

The religious name-giving ritual, *isem kuşu*, or *am kuşu*, was performed a few days after the birth and attended by the mullah and well-respected elderly relatives and neighbours. The baby, lying on a cushion, was brought to the mullah. He turned the cushion so that the newborn's feet faced Mecca (*qıybla*). Standing at the baby's head, the mullah recited an adhan from the Quran, after which he bent down to the baby to call its name. This was repeated three times, after which an entry was made in the birth register.

Tombstone inscriptions, census lists, and other historical sources suggest that names of Turkic-Tatar origin were prevalent until the 19th century. In the 19th century, the situation changed dramatically. Under the influence and with the active participation of the clergy, who had received religious education in Bukharian madrasahs, 'Islamic names' praising Allah and Prophet Muhammad were introduced. 'Sharia' name books and circular orders regulating the spelling of certain names were published and re-published in numerous copies [Sattarov, 1981, p. 14–15]. By the end of the 19th century, such names had become mainstream.

The name-giving ceremony ended with the feast known as *aş*. It was the only feast related to childbirth attended by men, albeit mostly elderly. The festive dinner for women, held

just after the men's one or a bit later, attracted more guests. Women always brought presents for the newborn.

Circumcision *sönnät*. was performed on every boy by professionals, known as *baba*, *babaçı*, who inherited the skill from their fathers and grandfathers. It became the key trade for the male population of some villages. For instance, two villages in the Kazan guberniya—Koshman, Sviyazhsk uyezd, and Masra, Kazan uyezd, were famous for that. Professionals would go from aul to aul, offering their service. They worked for a specified remuneration.

Only one part of the traditional burial and commemorative ceremonies, namely the burial (burial and ablation time, funeral clothing for the dead person, and grave structure) was regulated by Sharia. The remaining rituals, in particular commemorative ones, stem from the people's ethnic history. They came together to form a ceremonial complex. Taken holistically, it was perceived as Islamic and universally binding.

The funeral was expected to take place as soon as possible. If a person died at night or early in the morning, burial followed on the same day¹⁰. In rural cemeteries, graves were placed where the deceased person's relatives had been buried. Graves had a side niche (*läxet*).

In the meanwhile, washing paraphernalia and the burial clothing (*käfen*, *tunnık*) were prepared under the guidance of a woman who knew the rules.

The washing was done by people specially invited (men for men and women for women) after the grave was reported to have been prepared.

The vesture procedure was stringent and ended with tying the shroud over the deceased person's head, body, and legs with stripes of fabric prepared in advance. All actions were accompanied by proper prayers—specific Quranic ayahs. When in the cemetery, the deceased person was carried on special litter known as *tabut*. Only men attended the funeral procession and the pre-burial prayer, *cinaza namazi*.

Alms were traditionally given to many people. Those who came to the funeral received small items to remind them of the deceased person—spoons, threads, kerchiefs, etc.—known as *töse itep*. Body washers received a set of items according to the local tradition. Towels were given to those who helped carry the deceased person and lower the body into the grave. The so-called grave alms, *gür sädakası*, consisted of an animal, usually a sheep, given to the mullah before the deceased person was lowered into the grave. The so-called 'sin absolution', *fidiya*, was encouraged¹¹. In this case, the mullah received a horse, a cow, a building, etc. Only wealthy families paid *fidiya*. This canonized part of the ceremonial complex was essentially universal for Muslims.

As part of the ethnic history of the Tatars, the commemorative rituals varied across the wide territory populated by them, although its key components such as form and timing were unified. A commemoration meeting took place on the third (*öçese*), seventh (*cidesse*), and fortieth (*kırıgı*) day after the burial, as well as after a year (*eli*). The meetings were formal dinners attended by either men or women. The feast was preceded by Quran reading and almsgiving (*sädaka*). The deceased person's belonging were given away on the fortieth (occasionally seventh) day.

The everyday culture of Muslim Tatars in the 19th century was generally characterized by uniform ritual behaviour, which became even more uniform on family celebrations, re-

¹⁰ Quoting K. Fuchs, 'The Russian law, under which deceased people must be buried after two days, is not observed that strictly by Tatars' [Fuchs, 1991, p. 86]. The following fact is curious: Gabdesattar Sagitov, Chief Akhund of Kazan, ventured to criticize the emperor's decree and the respective fatwah by the Orenburg Mufti, under which the deceased were to be buried three days after death, claiming them to be inconsistent with Islam, for which a severe penalty was imposed on him.

¹¹ As noted by K. Nasyri, 'Each deceased person that was more or less rich needs *fidiya* for prayers not read and fasts not kept' [Nasyri, 1977, pp. 40–41].

ligious holidays, and blessed dates, universal knowledge of and ability to recite the Quran, and the practice of chanting numerous poems, both folk and written by individual authors. Taken together, this determined the special spiritual life of the people and the emotional state which was deeper than just a festive mood. Due to their emotional and psychological effect, religious (Islamic) knowledge and rules were adopted subconsciously. They were ultimately part of the lifestyle of a vast majority of Tatars, regardless of their social, economic, and educational status, the essence of their sense of being Tatar.

At the same time, Islam with its lunar (floating) calendar failed to incorporate, as Christianity did, the local holidays marking the transition between the key stages of agricultural work, important moments in the life of peasant communities, as well as specific social, age and gender population groups (conscripts, youth, girls, women, etc.) in terms of collective work, rest, and socialization. It was these holidays that differed across the vast Tatar-populated territory as intense social phenomena¹².

An analysis of the annual cycle of the traditional festive culture (local rituals and feasts) yields two distinct elements. The key criteria is whether these or those folk holidays share a set of stable uniform elements. The first of these elements can be characterized by two holidays—Sabantuy and Djien. While the latter does not contain them. The former element is termed Kazan Tatar due to its absolute prevalence, and is often unparalleled in the territory populated by Kazan Tatars [Iskhakov, 2001, p. 11–15], who were the most numerous,

compact, and geographically ethnos, central to the Volga-Ural region. It was also practiced by other Tatar ethnic groups in areas of contact with the Kazan Tatars.

The latter is termed Mishar Tatar, although it was prevalent with Kasimov Tatars (uyezds of the Tambov, Ryazan, Penza, Nizhny Novgorod, Simbirsk, and Saratov guberniyas).

Sabantuy is a multi-variant summer folk festival. It preceded the beginning of the most important stage of agricultural work, the sowing of spring crops, which was commonly perceived as the beginning of the new year. The folk nature of the holiday lies in its meaning. It is a 'self-organized' festival with full self-service in both organizational and financial terms. It is notable that active organizers, participants, and winners of competitions were encouraged rather morally, emotionally, and psychologically than financially. Shortly before the holiday, aul dwellers donated presents. Depending on the region, these were collected by mounted or unmounted young or elderly men.

There was a uniform list of presents, which consisted mainly of women's craft work and fabrics. An ornamented towel, *yaş kilen*, embroidered by a young wife married after the previous Sabantuy, was considered the most valuable present. Everybody was expected to donate a present. Otherwise, village dwellers would criticize the person for greediness. Some contributors promised to donate a present provided that their wish, *odarinıp*, came true, or as alms (*sādaka itep*). It was common to specify, 'My present is meant for a fighter', or the winner of the horserace, or the horseman who finished in the last place, etc.

Sabantuy did not have a specified day of the week, nor calendar date. It depended on the weather, the intensity of snow melting, and how ready the soil was for spring crop sowing. Various spring-welcoming rituals marked the beginning of the preparations for the festival. One of them was the collective eating of porridge cooked in the open air from foods collected from each household (it was children's responsibility in the 19th century). In Cis-Kama areas in the Kazan

¹² The author collected representative material on Tatar traditional rites and festive culture in the 19th century when forming the scientific base for the Historical and Ethnographic Atlas of the Tatars of the Volga and Ural Regions, in particular in many years of ethnographic expeditions (regular since 1917) to nearly all regions of compact Tatar residence. All the evidence has been described, systematized, and analyzed [see: Urazmanova, 2001]. Information on the urban Sabantuy in the 19th century can be found in the book by D. Sharafutdinov [Sharafutdinov, 2004a, p. 198, 204, 209–11].

and Vyatka guberniyas, it was known as *zärä (därä) botkası*, the meaning of which term is unclear, while in the southern uyezds of the Vyatka Guberniya and in the west of the Ufa guberniya the name was *karga botkası*, meaning 'rooks' porridge'.

Children collected dyed eggs in anticipation of Sabantuy. All householders were informed beforehand of the aksakals' decision so that housewives could make the necessary preparations. Moreover, all groups of Tatar practiced collection of dyed eggs. In Kryashen and Mishar Tatar villages, the ritual was performed on the first day of Easter. In most Mishar communities, it was known as *kızıl yomırka*, meaning 'red egg'. Kasimov Tatars collected eggs shortly before Easter to distinguish it from the Christians (Russians).

Sabantuy was essentially a community festival. Guests from other villages were not invited. However, villages within the same district wanted to hold the competition as the main event on different days, in order that everyone willing could attend the event. Sabantuy was generally unfit for visits because it was followed by sowing.

In some Tatar-populated areas, Sabantuy was characterized by a set of rituals, symbols, and entertainments specific to this holiday. The four variants of Sabantuy can be considered evidence of its being traditional, long-established and relatively stable. Academics have proven that variability is a mode of existence of tradition [Chistov, 1986, p. 116]. Each variant applied to a clearly limited territory.

It should be emphasized that it was Sabantuy, of all the national holidays, which efficiently indicated Tatar integration during the development of the Tatar nation. It was then adopted by Mishar Tatars, in particular, in certain uyezds of the Kazan, Simbirsk, Samara, and Ufa guberniyas, to which they had moved as serving people following the expansion of the Russian State or settled as free colonists [Mukhamedova, 2008, p. 39–47].

In the 19th century, Sabantuy extended to urban Tatars, in particular in Kazan, Ufa, Orenburg, etc. There it was regulated by other

laws and performed somewhat different functions. The cost of its organisation also changed. Quoting witnesses, 'It should be mentioned that, crowded as it is, the Saban is hardly ever attended by drunken or rough people. The people maintain perfect order themselves. In this case, the Tatars show a laudable ability to use their recreation sensibly' [Kazansky Telegraph, 1912, No.5727].

Djien took place in a period which was relatively free of agricultural work—from the end of sowing to the beginning of hay-making and harvest. The group of villages referred to as a 'Djien district' began on a specified date. Another Djien district celebrated the following week. The order was traditional. Unlike Sabantuy, Djien was a guest-welcoming festival. It attracted villagers where Djien was being celebrated in another week.

Guest reception and stay regulations were uniform. Personal invitations specified the time of arrival and the number of people invited from each family. The hosts prepared the beds and food.

A Djien trip also required some preparations. It was common to borrow festive clothing, horse harnessed, or carts where necessary. In addition, each hostess brought along a treat depending on her financial standing. The treat was useful for festive dinners and was a great help to the mistress of the host house.

A mass horse race in decorated carts with songs and music usually took place on Thursday. This was the beginning of the festival which lasted until the following Monday.

Bathing was always organized for spouses, who washed alternately, on Friday morning. Bathing took place every morning during the visit period. This was part of the reception custom. There is a Tatar proverb which translates as follows: 'A bath is the greatest honour for the guest'—'*Kunakññ xörmätä—munça.*'

At around noon, a formal dinner took place, known as *aş*. It was attended by the family's relatives and friends from the village. The manner in which the Djien feast was organised was the same in all regions: the traditional serving of traditional dishes was preceded by a presentation of treats brought by the

guests. After that pies, kalach loafs, etc. were cut into pieces and served. Those invited to the aş from the same village as a rule did not bring treats. However, they were expected to invite those who did bring treats to take part in the feast. Sometimes they were invited by four to five families on the same day. Certain deviations from Islamic rules were acceptable during Djien. According to E. Malov, few people attended the mosque even for Friday prayer because 'men were busy receiving guests' [Malov, 1892, p. 22].

The other aspect of the festival consisted in youth entertainment. It began on Friday and took place in the afternoon and in the evening on all festive days. It was both acceptable and common for young men to take walks with the girls whom they were courting during such events. Numerous games included songs and dance—they were known as *cırlı-biyule uennar*. Ensemble music was also performed. Cart rides were a popular form of amusement. Adults sometimes came to watch the youth.

It was during Djien when young wives moved to their husbands' houses. The participation of a large number of relatives, spectacular rituals, music, and such like, all contributed to the special atmosphere of the village festival.

In those villages where the competitions—horse races, distance running, belt wrestling (*körüş*)—were not held in spring, they took place during the festival. This is a specific feature of the second Djien variant. Just as it is with Sabantuy, each variant of Djien was confined to a certain territory.

It should be noted that despite Christian features, not particularly Orthodox but largely similar to local Russian, Udmurt, Mari, Chuvash, and Mordvin rituals, those of Kryashen Tatars had key elements which were ethnically specific to the Kazan Tatars¹³. For instance, Sabantuy preceded sowing. Yet, it was often held on Easter days. Moreover, it lost



Sabantuy. Photo from the early 20th century.

its very name 'Sabantuy' in many villages. For example, the Nağaybäks of the Troitsk uyezd, Orenburg guberniya, and the Tsivilsk and Tsarevokokshaysk uyezd, Kazan guberniya, held an Easter competition known as *Sörän*. In a number of localities it was named *Şıylık*.

Even though it was usually held on a Christian saint's day, the summer festival of the Christian Tatars resembled a variant of Djien celebrated in the neighbouring Tatar villages.

Some of the elements to the Mishar Tatar holiday system were universal. Nearly in all areas, it was traditional to celebrate New Year and the sacred period in general. Such holidays usually took the form of gatherings, girls' fortune-telling sessions, and were referred to with the borrowed name *Roştva* for Christmas.

Other universal spring rituals included children's collection of dyed eggs and street games with them, namely *kızıl yomırka* and *Yomırka köne*, held on Easter days.

In summer, the collective eating of the meat of a sacrificed animal with group Islamic namaz prayer, *namaz—Qorban*, or *Qor-bännek*, was practiced. Wishes for prosperity were common during the feast. In regions of compact co-habitation with Kazan Tatars, Sabantuy became part of the yearly ritual cycle,

¹³ The conclusions are consistent with the findings of studies on the Kryashen Tatar language and material culture [see: Bayazitova, 1986, pp. 197–198; Burganova, 1985, p. 11; Mukhametshin, 1977, pp. 154–156].

in particular in the Chistopol uyezd, Kazan guberniya. In the Bashkirian Urals (Belebey, Birsik, and other uyezds of the Ufa guberniya), Mishar Tatars adopted the full Kazan Tatar complex of holiday rituals.

It was the same case for the Kasimov Tatars with a few exceptions. Unlike the Mishar Tatars, it was common for them to have summer picnics in the open air, at which amusement-events for the young people were held. They were known as *söer itü*. The Kasimov Tatars used the term 'Djien' to refer to annual family commemorative meetings, at which relatives and neighbours were treated to food. They

were held in any season which was convenient. Thus, the term 'Djien' was common but had a different meaning to the Kazan Tatar use.

Nevertheless, in the 19th the common (uniform) cultural relationship remained stable and different from those of the neighbouring peoples with whom the Tatars were in contact. This diversity was based on Islamic rules, rituals, and holidays, which were adjusted to the local conditions and became inherent to the behaviour and communication standards, guest reception custom, and the traditional lifestyle of the Tatars as a united nation in general.

CHAPTER 5

Tatar National Oral Tradition

Fanzilya Zavgarova

Tatar folk poetry has undergone a long period of development, during which ancestral traditions evolved and new genres emerged. Encompassing the life of the nation and man in the specific historical social environment, the folk arts fulfilled the cultural needs of all social groups [Anikin, 1984, p. 64].

The wide diversity of folk genres was the result of the century-long development of the art of the word amongst the Turkic-speaking tribes and ethnic groups which contributed to the ethnogenesis of the Tatar nation. Some of them can be traced back to most ancient social institutions, relations, and ideas, which were artistically generalized in folklore. They include oral poetic genres, such as epics, tales about animals, magic, and everyday life, riddles, proverbs, sayings, songs—game, historical, and lyrical—ritual poetry and its musical components, incantations, and many others depending on the national tradition.

In the 19th century, genres representative of the patriarchal, tribal mindset of Turkic-Tatar peoples, which is especially true with family ritual genres. For instance, bridal lamentations (*kız elatu, tañ kuçat*) continued to perform the same functions as they did in the previous periods, because the ritual, moral, and psychological features of family custom and related matrimonial ceremonies were essentially unchanged. Ritual contents, performers, themes, and imagery remained traditional too.

The bride remained the central figure of wedding rituals. This is why she acts as the heroine in such wedding songs as 'Yar-yar' and 'Kız señläü'. While in the Siberian Tatar song 'Yar-yar', the welcoming of newlyweds is the main theme in *Kız señläü* (a ritual specific to Cis-Ural Tatars), which is performed before the bride departs for the groom's house, the

young bride (*kilen*) says goodbye to her parents' house, native village, and friends.

In some Tatar ethnic groups, the custom of levirate, or the inheritance of the bride or wife of one's deceased relative, survived, turning marriage 'from a joyful event into a tragic prelude to a life of misery' [Mukhamedova, 2004, p. 74]. Levirate is one of the subjects in the lyrico-epic Tatar folk genre known as *bait*.

The calendar rites within the agricultural cycle, which synthesized the nomadic and sedentary lifestyles, preserved their traditional structure until as late as the first quarter of the 20th century. Farming sedentism had dominated since ancient times. Therefore, the seasonal order of agricultural work had enabled the people to develop a calendar. Thus, in the second half of the 19th century N. Ostroumov recorded the calendar of the Christian Tatars of the Kazan guberniya (1. *Agam kırılac ae*; 2. *Enem kırılac ae*; 3. *Buş ay*; 4. *Näurüz ae*; 5. *Yaz ae*; 6. *Saban ae*; 7. *Cäy ae*; 8. *Çellä ae*; 9. *Urak ae*; 10. *Aşlık sugu ae*; 11. *Keläü ae*; 12. *Kış ae*) [Ostroumov, 1876, p. 37].

In the 19th century, Mishar Tatars and Christian Tatars in all regions celebrated Nardugan—the feast of winter solstice. Nardugan rituals included dressing up and walking from house to house as well as a fortune-telling custom stemming from ancient Pagan traditions. According to L. Vinogradov, 'mummers in the context of calendar ceremonies are people of ritual importance, capable of mediating communication with the world with the dead and perceived as representatives of the dead, while giving generous presents to them is a vestige of commemorative offerings' [Vinogradov, 1982, p. 146].

According to 19th century studies, Christian Tatars began to celebrate Christmastide when

boys called: 'Narduganga—şaytan tuena' ('To Nardugan—to the devil's wedding') [Moshkov, 1898, p. 45; Dauley, 1903, p. 18]. On the following day, the mummers—first children, then the young people of both sexes—gathered to dance to the accordion in everybody's house. The mummers entered the house, where the hosts treated them to special dishes. (Myth had it that misfortune or illness could befall those hosts who provided no treatment to guisers.) Adults joined them, and a folk theatrical show began. The main characters of the right were Nardugan baba and Bandugan äbi. Those were usually men in disguise. They were expected to amuse the audience with jokes and make them laugh. On the New Year's eve, the girls would perform a set of fortune-telling rites to find out who their betrothed ones were. This was accompanied by a number of fortune-telling songs. E.g.

Alıym, salıym, (Kız iseme äytelä)

Kıyaü saylıym.

Bal salmagan çiläkkä

Balavız kaydan yabışkan?

(Kız iseme äytelä)

Berläñ fälän eget

Kayan kipe tabışkan?

[Dauley, 1903, p. 22].

*I take, I put, I choose the groom for
(the girl's name).*

*Why did wax stick to a bucket with
no honey in it?*

*How did (the same girl's name)
and this lad find each other?*

Mishar Tatar girls' fortune-telling songs used the word 'Nardugan' as an incantation:

Narduganıñ nar bulsın,

Eçe tulı nur bulsın.

Nardugan köven kem küläsä,

Şul дәülәtle, bay bulsın.

[Moshkov, 1898, p. 254].

May my nardugan be beautiful,

May he be radiant.

May one who sings the Nardugan song

Be rich.

Guessing (podblyudnaya) songs mentioning representatives of various social groups,

like mullahs, merchants, etc. were also included in the Nardugan ritual complex of the Mishar Tatars [Nigmedzyanov, 2003, p. 33].

Traditional spring rituals included Boz ozatu and Boz karau (saying goodbye to or watching the ice drifting), during which, for example in the Middle Volga Region, fires were placed on ice blocks to float along a river. Tatars living in the Cis-Urals burned a straw effigy [Mukhamedzyanov, 1982, p. 102], while Siberian Tatars in the Tyumen Uyezd sent a special wooden doll down the river as they believed the ice to carry away all misfortune and illnesses. In addition to the rites, the participants in the ice drifting event played songs and danced on the river bank.

They continued to prepare for sowing in early spring, according to the century-old tradition, even in the 19th century. It was central to many rituals. One of the most important sowing rituals was Karga botkası, or Zärä botkası (Rooks' Porridge, Porridge of Zarya), performed by children. Karga botkası was performed all across the Middle Volga River as a precursor to the main holiday—Sabantuy. It should be noted that many incantations for Karga botkası were recorded by folklore collectors in the period in question. They are clearly related to ancient Tatar Pagan beliefs. E.g.

Et koyaşı, tegeläy kit,

Bezneñ koyaş volay kil.

Koyaş, çık, çık, çık!

Bolıt, kaç, kaç, kaç!

Bez uynarbız cilitkaç.

Täti kaşık bazarda,

Maylı botka kazanda,

Äti kitte bazarga,

Kızıl ügez bar anda.

Äti kaytkaç bazardan,

Bokta töşär kazannan.

Koyaş, çık, çık, çık!

[Tatar Folk Arts, 1983, p. 51].

Dog sun, go there,

Our sun, come here.

Sun, come, come, come!

Cloud, hide, hide, hide!

We will play when it gets warm.

A pretty spoon on the market,

Buttery porridge in the pot.

*Father went to the market;
There is a red bull there.
When Father comes back from the market,
Porridge will have been cooked in the pot.
Sun, come, come, come!*

The *ritual porridge*, and *red bull* in the rhyme, which symbolize the Sun, are mythological gems of the plot of the poem.

The folk calendar rituals of the 19th century also include a number of verbal prayer structures—forms of addressing (*keläülär*) the land, the sun, or the rain. They are essentially set phrases embodying mythological content. For example,

*Cir atası—cirän sakal,
Cir anası—asıl bikä.
Tübäsenä tuklğın bir:
Ramırına nıklğın bir:
Il östenä mullğın bir:
Il eçendä bezgä dä bir.
Başlıy teläkne.
Kütärik beläkne.
Koyaş, şahit bul.
[Tatar Folk Arts, 1988, p. 50].*

*Father of the earth is a red beard,
Mother of the earth is a beautiful woman.
Make the tops filling
And the roots strong.
Give richness to the whole country
, And to us in this country.
Let us start the prayer.
Let us put our hand up.
Sun, be our witness.*

The cycle of calendar rituals ended in autumn, when stack-yard work was done. Autumn work ended with a harvest festival, which had different names depending on the local traditions: *Söbmel*, or *Kır cıenı*, or *Aşlık başı bāyrāme* [Iskhakova-Vamba, 1997, p. 50]. Having lost their mythological content, they turned into a youth festival.

In the late 18–early 19th century, scholars noted enhanced influence of Islam and Sharia on the everyday life of Tatars. This is why descriptions of the festive and ritual culture rarely mention songs and dance. Quoting K. Fuchs, 'Village Tatar women celebrate their holidays with the same rites as those in the city... but with greater mirth: they sing occasionally or

dance at weddings...' Speaking of 'the rigorous Islamic custom,' he noted that common people 'show less adherence to them' [Fuchs, 1991, p. 37]. When describing the ancient folk Tatar festival *Djien*, which 'mullahs and pious people did not attend' [Makhmudov, 1857, p. 251] K. Fuchs mentioned Tatar women's singing and the lively *quray* music [Fuchs, 1991, p. 328]. Despite the ancient Islamic pressure on folk culture, M. Makhmudov's dictionary reports that Tatars to have used the following traditional instruments, in the first half of the 19th century: the violin, the *domra*, the *quray*, the *gusli*, the *tambourine* (*dyumbri*), and the *qubız* [Makhmudov, 1857, p. 253].

Starting in the middle of the 19th century, 'the culture of the Tatar people gradually entered a new "dimension", developing into a dynamic "West to East" oriented civilization' [Saydasheva, 2008, p. 50]. Russian culture became a mediator between the Tatar and West European traditions. The famous music scholar M. Nigmedzyanov referred to V. Belinsky's and M. Laptev's notes to claim that Russian, Ukrainian, and other lively and cheerful dance melodies were popular with Tatars at that time, reporting the Italian double-row accordion had been adopted by Tatars and was soon to become one of the most popular instruments. 'Unlike all previous instruments, the accordion was a melodious and harmonious instrument capable of producing a full and powerful sound without other instruments. Being highly mobile and easy to master, it was soon adopted by Tatars' [Nigmedzyanov, 2003, p. 59]. Although discouraged by ministers of Islam, music, songs, and dance remained popular with the young people. The young people would gather near a brook, on a hill or in a meadow on a warm evening to indulge in *kiçke uen* (youth amusements), play *äylän-bäylän* (round dance), singing humorous *taqmaqs* based on the *äyteş* musical and poetic dispute, and they would play song and dance games. Games of various form and content were played at both winter and summer gatherings, *aulak öy* (home gatherings without adults), where folk *äyteş* between young men and women on subjects determined by the type of the event was encouraged.

During this period, the domestic interest in folklore developed into professional interest in cities. By the middle of the 19th century, artists had begun to perform folk songs and instrumental music. Tatars had started to dance at inns, tea shops, clubs, and parties. 'Artistic interpenetration with non-Tatar, primarily Russian culture has increased in Tatar folk music. The prohibition of half tones seems to have been removed and diatonic elements introduced' [Saydasheva, 2008, p. 31].

In this period, the motives of social protest became more pronounced in Tatar songs of the cycle 'Kaçaklar cırı' ('Song of Runaways'). Folklore scholars classify these folk works of art as historical songs, the genre of which 'dates back to the ancient Bulgar period' [Bakirov, 2008, p. 264]. 'Kaçaklar cırı' as a type of historical song emerged in the 17th to–18th century. It mainly narrated the life of runaway soldiers, participants in Pugachyov's rebellions, and peasants in exile. In the 19th century, 'those at odds with the authorities' became the new runaway heroes. The songs were usually known by the names of their protagonists, such as 'Şärük the Runaway', 'Tali', 'Taşqay', etc. [Iskhakova-Vamba, 1997, p. 120]. They are portrayed as high-hearted outlaws who share the hardships of the common man and are well aware of them:

Kara urman utäli karadım,

Yarlğa timäde zararım.

'Şärük the Runaway' [Tatar Folk Arts, 1980, p. 47].

He looked through the dark woods

But never hurt the poor.

They also presented the feelings of the hero, who had to keep away from his family and home:

Ni avırdır kaçkınnıñ könnäre,

Rızıklı, äy, meñnänäñ berläre.

'Kaçakın cırı' [Tatar Folk Arts, 1980, p. 68].

How hard are days of a runaway,

For he is not hungry, one out of a thousand.

The folklore in that period still contained historical songs telling about the canton system,

within which serving Tatars were subjected to ethnic oppression and abuse by military commanders. This type of historical songs dates back to the 18th century. It continued to exist in the 19th century [Bakirov, 2008, p. 187]. 'Azamatov Kanton' is a popular song classified as historical. It tells the life of Canton Officer Azamanot, who left this world at a very young age. We believe the song 'Abdulla Axun' to be of special interest [Yusupov, 2004, p. 336]. It is an ironic story about Abdulla the Akhund who became a canton officer. It criticizes his servility to senior ranks, neglect of popular aspirations, and, according to the author, betrayal of the interest of Islam. Themes and emotions are very different in songs about the Patriotic War of 1812. They mostly convey a patriotic mood and pride in Tatar warriors who participated in the battles.

The lyrico-epic Tatar folk genre of bait, which some scholars trace back to the Bulgar period, also deals with social protest as well as military and historical subjects [Bakirov, 2008, p. 263]. Part of the 19th century baits were composed by Tatar soldiers in the Patriotic War of 1812. These include 'Rus-frantsuz sugış bāete' ('On the Russian-French War') [Tatar Folk Arts, 1983, p. 40]. Its lyricism is determined by the common joy of winning the Patriotic War. Like many other peoples, Tatars and the Bashkirs risked their lives to protect the Motherland. They felt like national heroes. Such emotions are absent in baits on other wars. For instance, the bait referring to the Caucasian War expresses sympathy with Shamil [Tatar Folk Arts, 1983, p. 46–49].

A large set of baits pertaining to the period refer to peasant sedition. For instance, the folk work 'Urta Tigänäle bāete' [Tatar Folk Arts, p. 125] tells about the arrival of a punitive brigade at the village of Sredniye Tigany, Kazan guberniya, the dwellers of which defied the government, in 1879. Such baits were composed frequently and circulated within a certain territory. Baits also referred to the deprivations Tatar women in the patriarchal family, aggravated by financial hardships. In famine years, some parents sold their parents to Central Asians on the pretext of marital contracts

('Satılğan kız bāete' ('Bait on a Girl Who Was Sold'), 'Galimā', etc.) [Tatar Folk Arts, 1983, p. 135]. The most popular baits retold about the tragic early death of the protagonist ('Suga batıp ülgän Gaişā bāete') [Tatar Folk Arts, 1983, p. 138] and accidents during work ('Tegermänçe Şeyxelislam bāete') [Tatar Folk Arts, 1983, p. 134], etc.

The 19th century Tatar folklore largely deals with the conflict between the old and new. Traditions were still traceable in folk genres connected with patriarchal upbringing, in the form of aphorisms, family rituals, and tales. Islamic concepts and images penetrated increasingly into moralistic and ritual poetry, in particular due to the popular Tatar religious and moralistic literary genre relating to the prophets and Islamic saints, known as *qıyssa*. The printing of Tatar books led to an activation of large-scale translation. Compilations of Oriental folk works, in particular Arab-Persian tales, were also published: 'Meñ dä ber säxär' ('One Thousand and One Nights'), 'Tutıy namā' ('Book of a Parrot'), 'Kırık wāzir' ('Forty Wazirs'), 'Kälilä wä Dimnä' ('Kalila and Dimna'), and others [Karimullin, 1993, p. 8]. Imported Oriental subject matter led to the appearance of novella-like Tatar folk tales. Numerous Tatar adventure tales stemmed from 'One Thousand and One Nights'. They told about a hero who could speak the language of animals, beautiful khans' wives, a

daughter of a wazir who told tales, etc. The plots of 'Kalila and Dimna' and 'The Book of a Parrot' also influenced Tatar narrative. The bird Samruq (Simurg), the magic assistant of many heroes, as well as folklore images from the Orient—shaitans, peris, jabrails, and others—became increasingly frequent in tales. Close cultural contacts enabled the distribution of books of anecdotes about Nasreddin Hodja, which 'merged with Tatar folklore to accelerate the development of the mǎzāk (anecdote)' [Karimullin, 1993, p. 8].

Thus, folklore closely related to family rituals demonstrated the persistence of traditional custom based on patriarchal principles. The folklore tradition that underlies the 19th century calendar rites is based on mythological concepts of Pagan origin. Traditional lyrico-epic genres still existed, although their themes and imagery were modified. Music folklore underwent major changes. The synthesis with foreign cultural traditions became popular. Folklore-based professional art began to appear. Adherence to the pentatonic scale became less strict; diatonic elements began to enter the Tatar melos. Under the influence of Islamic written culture, the *Qıyssa*—a genre which narrated the life of Islamic prophets and saints—became more dynamic. As a result of translation and Oriental tales, novella-like tales of adventure began to appear. New influences also enriched the imagery of folk tales.

CHAPTER 6

Tatar Musical Culture

Gennady Makarov

The music culture of the Volga and Cis-Ural Tatars in the 19th century developed within the context of the transition from dominant patriarchal traditions of the late medieval ethnic and Sufi religious music to supra-ethnic, national modern music, at a time when the culture of the Tatar society began to model itself upon the national communities of the new European type.

Migration in the form of the mass outflow of population from the Kazan Region to the Urals following the conquest of Kazan (1552) led to different variants of Tatar community culture, custom, and rites to mix, bringing about major changes to the old traditional song, poetic, and musical traditions in the new environment. As ethnic groups of the Kazan Tatar, Mishar Tatar, and Finno-Ugric population of the right bank of the Volga, Kazan guberniya, migrated to the Cis-Urals and Siberia, a non-ritual song culture of the Tatar-speaking Teptyar population began to develop. This process was greatly influenced by Cis-Ural Bashkir songs with its *ozın köy* ornamental chant.

The key song genres of the Tatar population remained the *ozın köy* (long chant) and *kıska köy* (short chant). The structure of the text of the songs was the criterion for ascribing a given musical work to the *ozın köy* genre. Texts chanted as *ozın köy* were termed *cır/cıru* and were essentially quatrains with nine to ten syllables per line. Where the chant consisted of seven to eight syllables, it was called *kıska köy* and the text *taqmaq*. In the 19th century, ornamental chanting developed into the form of lyrical *ozın köy* songs. Such songs as *Täftiläu*, *Sakmar*, *Aşkazar*, and *Uel* were highly popular in the late 19th century. They often show a connection to Cis-Ural river names. The origin and development of Tatar ornamental chanting have not been sufficiently researched. Such ornamental signing is known to be character-

istic of Kazan and Siberian Tatar lyrical songs. However, *Kryashen*, *Mishar*, and *Perm Tatar ozın köy* is not represented in either ritual or lyrical songs.

In all Tatar groups, including *Kryashen* Tatars, the most ancient and uniform type of *cır* songs in the *ozın köy* style are old guest songs with a much less degree of melisma. This group of songs is currently known as *avıl köyläre* (village chants) and retains its connection to the old ethnic music of the Volga-Ural Tatars.

The Islamic factor was a major contribution to the decay of Tatar ritual ethnic art. Persecution, oppression, and coercive conversion of Tatars into Christianity triggered the so-called 'struggle for faith'. It caused the Tatar population to take aggressive measures, in order to maintain Islamic values. Tatar ritual ethnic music thus slid into irrelevance, and was replaced by non-ceremonial lyrical songs.

Tatar spiritual culture, in particular its ethnic and Islamic part, remained essentially conservative and opposed to external influences. The establishment of the OMSA on 1788 affected the status of Islam in Russia, as well as the opportunities for Tatar groups to contact the rest of the world, as well as the further development of the culture of Russian Tatars, in a radical way.

The development of Russian Islamic institutions and centralized governmental control with regard to Russia's interest led to a delay in the uncontrolled development of Islamic culture, in particular musical trends based on the dominance of Sufism, and the weakening of connections between the muslim ummah of Russia and other Muslim regions, primarily Middle Asia.

OMSA reforms to Tatar Muslim culture, assisted by the Russian authorities, were aimed

at bringing Tatar Islamic institutions to compliance with classical Islam.

The reduction of religious and, consequently, the cultural connections between Tatars and Middle Asian Sufi spiritual centres led the Tatars to adapt their religious life to fit in with Russia's domestic and foreign policies and adopt the Russian tradition of urban everyday music using European instruments. By the middle of the 19th century, a new musical instrument, the accordion, had entered the life of peoples in the Volga Region. The Livny Italian double-row accordion with a diatonic right keyboard became especially popular with Tatars. The left-hand part was adjusted to folk music. Unlike all previous instruments, the accordion was a melodious and harmonious instrument capable of producing a full and powerful sound without other instruments [Nigmedzyanov, 2003, p. 58]. In addition to the accordion, the *gusli* and the violin remained common in Tatar music during this period. Unlike Muslim Tatars, whose music was affected by Islamic rituals, Kryashen Tatars preserved ancient wedding, guest, and humorous songs, funeral lamentations, and such ritual songs as *Nardugan* (the New Year celebrated on the day of winter solstice), *May köe* (May *çabu*, or *Maslenitsa*, celebrated as the transition from winter to spring), *Urak öste köe* (harvest end celebrations), and *Ömä köe* (help at the end of field work in summer) [Iskhakova-Vamba, 1997, pp. 16–18].

In addition to nationwide Tatar culture, the culture of the Kryashen Tatars was determined by specific historical causes. Muslim and Christian Tatars shared the *djien* tradition. The only difference was that the Christians celebrated *Djien* on the days of the patron saints of Kryashen villages, when such festivals could be held openly. Furthermore, the Kryashen Tatars preserved the ancient traditions of guest songs, while the surviving vestiges of Muslim Tatar ritual address drinking songs were transformed into drinking lyrics. Therefore, Kryashen Tatar materials are of primary importance for the reconstruction of Tatar community singing traditions. Representatives of related clans visited each other's houses, where the host offered them a treat. All people at the table used the

same glass, known as *tustigan*, for alcoholic beverages. The host addressed each relative with a well-wishing song that he prepared in advance and received a specially prepared response. The standard ritual chant went under different names depending on the Kryashen Tatar subgroup: *eçe köe* (table chant), *cien köe* (*Djien* chant), *mäcles köe* (guest chant), *rät köe* (circle chant), etc. Until the middle of the 19th century, the traditional *Djien* community structure of Kryashen Tatar life was closely related to the hereditary archaic cultural forms. Living in exclusively rural communities, their customs preserved their archaic arts to a significant extent. The new layer of ritual culture was inconspicuous and did not prevail over the older culture. Characteristically, it emerged in the form of non-ritualistic lyrics, free of local stylistic features. The modern culture owed some of its novelty to interactions with Russian everyday culture, in particular new musical instruments, such as the violin, the *gudok*, the *balalaika*, and small *physharmonicas* (*ärgän*). The above features also apply to most of Muslim Tatar groups. However, the content of certain components, such as performance style, varied.

The intonations of Kryashen Tatar music differed from Tatar style due to a lack of communication with the Tatar masses. In terms of economy, a network of intra-national comprehensive educational establishments, culture and arts, and shared religious interests. The Kryashen Tatars were historically excluded from the renovation of Tatar culture and its transition to the new stage of development.

Despite the Islamic regulation of their everyday life, Muslim Tatars continued to celebrate *Djien*, which preserved their music traditions. During *Djien* the young people would sing their favourite songs, indulged in circle dance, walks, and traditional song and dance games to *quray*, violin, and accordion music. In addition to *Djien*, a number of other calendar rituals were performed, such as *Karga botkası* and *Sabantuy*, accompanied by ritual narrow-scale recitations like *Karga botkası taqmaqları* and *Sörän köe*. The ritual complex still included a system of prayers addressing

the earth, the sun, and the rain, also with special ritual recitations.

Muslim Tatar wedding ceremonies were performed in accordance with Sharia and attended by mullahs. This did not prevent the young people, especially in poorer groups of the population, from amusing themselves when the mullah was not there. They danced, sang, played musical instruments, sang ritual songs, such as *Işek bavi cırları*, *Kodalar cırları*, *Mäcles taqmaqları*, etc. [Akhmarov, 1907; Kolobov, 1908a, p. 26; Iskhakova-Vamba, 1997, pp. 16–18]. Traditional summer youth amusements (*tügäräk uen*) and winter gatherings (*aulak öy*) maintained the traditions of music, songs, and games.

Relaxed religious discipline within Muslim communities brought led to the active development of non-ceremonial genres of song and dance lyrics. This was also the beginning of the unification of a nationwide modern Tatar culture. This was determined by nascent bourgeois relations in the Tatar society, the involvement of Tatars in urbanization and internal migration to industrial centres.

The key features of the style of modern nationwide Tatar music developed at a time when the Tatar ethnos evolved into a nation. New Tatar music was essentially different from the local traditions, since the old ethnic layer had been replaced by customary musical, intonational, vocal, and stylistic vocabulary. This also led to the appearance of a national democratic culture, and laid the foundation for further cultural and artistic development and reciprocal enrichment of spiritual values between peoples. New features became noticeable in Tatar music practices, especially in merchant communities. Polka, marches, *kazachok*, and specific songs of Russian or Ukrainian origin became extremely popular at fairs (Nizhny Novgorod, Menzelinsk, and others). The inflow affected Tatar everyday music, bringing new intonations, rhythms, and melodies. Such music became distinctly major or minor with clear functional relations, tight rhythms, square in structure and diatonic [Nigmedzyanov, 2003, p. 65]. Taken together, these influences led to the appearance of urban

folk songs which did not become popular in rural communities.

Tatar musical culture connected to 19th century Islamic arts was represented by such Tatar thinkers and poets as G. Utyz Imyani, T. Yalçıgül, Dzhagfar as-Safari, G. Kandaly, Sh. Marjani, and K. Nasyri. Their legacy reveals a connection to the traditions of the history, theory, and practice of ethnic and classical Islamic music culture in terms of local Volga Turkic music aesthetics.

As the market economy expanded in the 19th century, Tatars became increasingly involved in economically advantageous relations and the appealing cultural diversity of Russia. The number of those wanting to study in Bukhara, Samarkand, Kabul, and Kandahar gradually decreased. The influx of Central Asian religious and theological literature and imported secular and religious arts dwindled until it was unable to support the old Tatar culture of written traditions, music, poetical and instrumental arts dating back to the Middle Ages.

During this period, the music of Muslim Tatars was also influenced by the Sufi movement, which was quite wide-spread in the Volga and Ural Regions. Dzhagfar as-Safari was a 19th century Tatar Sufi and a musical instrument player. He is known as an outstanding representative of Sufism. An excellent performer of the *tanbur* and other Oriental instruments, Jagfar Ishan taught his art to the *murids*, or followers. Legend has it that he organized spectacular sufi rejoicing sessions with musical instruments, songs, and dance. Jagfar Ishan and his *murids* were often invited to celebrations of religious holidays and other occasions, at which they presented elegant musical and poetical Sufi works. Their clients were mostly wealthy people and village Muslim communities from across the Volga and Cis-Ural Regions. It was apparently in Bukhara and Kabul, where he participated in various Sufi musical practice to master the principles of classical Islamic theory and aesthetics, both in poetry and in music, that Jagfar perfected his knowledge in the theory of music as well as practical skills.

The life and legacy of Jagfar indicates that Tatar religious artists' maintained contacts with

the Sufi musical and poetical culture of Middle Asia enabled them to preserve traditions of classical Islamic instrumental performance in the Volga and Cis-Ural Regions.

Works by G. Utyz Imyani provide valuable information on a number of musical instruments. The poem 'Gawarifez-zaman' mentioned that the Muslim communities in the basins of the rivers Zay, Sheshma, and Cheremshan had musical ensembles:

*Kubız, tanbur vānāy, gayre uenlar
Killer urtaga kız wā cāvanlar.
Bu rāsvalık belān ta sōbxe sadıq,
Idārlār eş-şāyatinga muafiq.*

(They play the kobyz, the tanbur, they'a, and other instruments;

Young men and women enter the circle.

The performances lasted until dawn,

And they attracted the attention of the shaitan.

In addition to the common Tatar kobyz (jaw harp), the poem mentions such classical instruments of the Muslim Orient as the tanbur and the nai. The fact that they survived into late medieval Tatar art indicates succession to earlier periods of culture of Volga peoples. Other sources also confirm that the use of these classical instruments by Kazan Tatars was natural.

G. Kandaly's astonishingly musical poems spread beyond the homeland of the poet. At majlises (feasts), Tatars played the tanbur and the daf. The presence of these classical musical instruments, which were also mentioned by G. Utyz Imyani, shows that they were characteristic of Tatar musical practices. In addition to the instruments, Kandaly reported it to be common for Tatars to use such oral professional classical genres of music and poetry as the naqsh (nāqış) and the sawt (sāwet), which were popular in Muslim countries.

Works by the above authors suggest that the young Tatars (Muslim) at that time continued to play the kubyz, the tanbur, the nai, and the daf, which the Tatar people were able to preserve even in their most difficult times from the Mid-16th to the Mid-19th century, where the essentially elite Muslim instruments were un-

likely to survive in village communities. The Tatar clergy demonstrated a high level of orthodoxy and intolerance to worldly arts in the late Middle Ages, when even the above Muslim instruments, which had been miraculously preserved, were declared to be sinful.

Works by K. Nasyri also provide information on Tatar musical culture in the 19th century. The fullest overview of Tatar musical instruments can be found in his 'Lāhcāi tatarı' ('Definition Dictionary of the Tatar Language') and several editions of Tatar dictionaries, which provide two variants of pronouncing the word 'dombra': دومبرا (dumbıra) and دومرا (dumra). Besides 'dumbıra', the term دوطار (dutar), which was also used in the Tatar language and culture, apparently as a synonym to 'dombra' (dumbıra), was suggested as a translation of the Russian 'balalaika'. K. Nasyri reported that the Tatars use not only the terms 'dumbyra' and 'dutar' but 'saz'. However, 'saz' meant any musical instrument, such as the kubyz, the accordion, the violin, or the sybyzgy.

In his 'Practical Guide to Learning the Tatar Language' (Section 'Tatar Musical Instruments'), M. Makhmudov mentioned the gusli (köslä), meaning the classical Muslim qanun, and other instruments of Oriental origin (dumbıra, dumbıryy, kubız, sıbızgı, kuray, translated as balalaika, tambourine, kubza, and musical pipes, respectively). In this historical period, Tatar musical practices actively employed other classical Muslim instruments, such as the arilya (arilya bit tyurki), a term which originates from the word for the wheel (or lyre), popular with blind traveling lyre players in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus in the 19th century. The term 'arilya' in the Tatar language has a broader meaning. It is not a traditional instrument name in Islamic arts. The tanbur (xöräsän tanburı, törki tanbur) is a kind of chordophone with a pear-shaped carved-out body, a long neck with sinew frets tied over it or wooden ones carved into it (pārdä), and three metal strings. The daf is a percussion musical instrument used to play classical metres and rhythms in Islamic musical and poetic arts. Harp playing traditions developed in the medieval vocal and instrumental culture of the

Tatars when the Volga Region became part of the Islamic civilization.

Tatar culture shifted from Oriental civilizations to European models at the Tatar society's transition from the Late Middle Ages to the Modern Time. It was a time when Tatar culture began to use all-Russian communication structures to gradually integrate itself into the cultural and information territory of European civilization for both 'low' and 'high' (professional) arts, which were now dominated by new European musical genres. Tatar culture began to develop new features of national music, and by doing so it lost some ethnic traditional features while unifying others. A new Tatar musical culture emerged, possessing a new range of artistic tools.

No dedicated studies have been performed on the phenomena which represented the internal structure of Tatar culture in the late feudal period. Nevertheless, the period is of great interest. Why did young Tatars removed the ethnic kavushes, ichigs, and chekmements and adopt European style boots and coats? Why did they give up the 'half-dead' ancient stringed and percussion instruments, such as the tanbur, the dombra and the daf, for the violin, the accordion, the mandolin? What made them master the piano and go to concerts and theatres? The answer is simple. The top stratum of national Tatar culture was Europeanized. Its Oriental origin (for instance, musical instruments) survived only as vestiges at the lower level of the ethnic layer of arts (kubyz and kuray plating), while the part of Oriental high arts, influential relics of which survived until as late as the Mid-19th century, faded away. It was apparently impossible to combine high medieval

Tatar culture with the newly created European style modern high culture.

Information on Tatar instrumental traditions in the 19th century provides an insight into the complicated historical situation at the end of the late medieval period in Tatar music. This suggests the important conclusion that the history of Tatar arts in the 19th century cannot be reduced to the narrow scope of folklore, ritual, and everyday ethnic art. Tatar music during this period shows a relationship with the general phenomena in Oriental classical music, rooted deeply in the elite medieval Tatar culture.

By the end of the 19th century, Tatar popular everyday musical culture had only preserved weak relics of ritual music and consisted almost exclusively of lyrical songs with novel intonations, which emerged when the everyday culture of the Russian Empire reached the peak of its development in that period. The development of Tatar musical culture over the century can be characterized by the fact that the worldly gradually came to dominate the mindset and artistic cognition of the Tatar society. The latter half of the 19th century was marked by the adoption of certain forms of European everyday music and the emergence of supra-ethnic forms of national music. Tatar musicians gave up the medieval traditions of classical Oriental music. The period ended with the beginning of concert-determined development of Tatar national composer music and wide spreading of the European notation. The emergence of new forms of Tatar music in the late 19–early 20th century was determined by intensified national enlightenment in Tatar culture and integration with modern European culture.

Section X

Tatar Culture and Nation-Forming Processes



CHAPTER 1

Traditionalism and Muslim Reformation

Rafik Mukhametshin

Social awareness always depends, to a large extent, on inherited ideas, cultural values and traditions. Considering the development of the Tatar social idea in the 19th –the beginning of the 20th centuries, we must take into account the unique situation presented by Islam, which was not only a system of religious dogmas, but also mainly a system of norms for the private and social life of Tatars that had a significant influence on their mindsets. In fact, during this period the battle between the 'new' and the 'old' constantly intruded into the sphere of traditional views and moral norms based on religious principles. During this battle, attitudes towards Islam became quite clear. That is why the ideological and political tendencies related to interpreting the role of Islam in societal life defined a lot of trends typical of Tatar society.

In this period, Islamic traditions in Tatar social thinking found form in such tendencies as traditionalism, reformation and jadidism. Some researchers consider these types of Muslim theology and Islamic political and ideological concepts as various types of religious awareness [Zhdanov, 1989, p. 16]. In the opinion of German researcher Peter Antes, over time belonging to these tendencies 'may become a more important indicator than the traditional division of Muslims into Sunnites and Shiites, or the discovery of their belonging to different madhabs, or schools of law and doctrines' [Islam v Evrazii, 2001, p. 68].

Traditionalism is characterised by the fact that its followers do not support any reforms in Islam, instead claiming to preserve it in large part identical to how it was formed in the context of specific ethno-confessional values. The bearers of a traditional awareness were usually representatives of the official clergy.

The famous Islamic researcher A. Malashenko notes that the formation of traditionalist Islam is related to local ethno-cultural features [Malashenko, 2001, p. 64; Musul'manskaya Srednyaya Aziya, 2004]. Here, it is necessary to emphasise that the socio-cultural differences of the Muslim states and regions are implemented through 'regular law' (*adat*). This law is allowed, to the degree in which it does not contradict Islam, mainly in its doctrine of absolute monotheism.

In A. Malashenko's opinion, 'it is precisely traditionalist, and not theological Islam, that is associated with the indivisibility of ethnic and confessional origins... It is precisely through traditionalist, and not dogmatic Islam, where there happens, firstly, a formation of stereotypes of the behaviour of every single Muslim, who, at a daily life level, is a member of their ethno-confessional communities, and only at a micro-level is one is a bearer of the values and attributes of the world *umma*' [Malashenko, 2001, p. 64–65; 2007]. In the opinion of the French Islamic researcher O. Roy, traditionalism is that which 'is related to all that is conservative', and his 'grief about the past is more moralistic rather than defined by a thriving for social justice' [Roy, 1985, p. 25].

Traditionalists insist on following strictly developed, mainly in the Middle Ages, theological approaches to the sacred texts, underline the inviolability of traditions from the past and the indisputability of the opinions of religious authorities. These are the essence and principles of the *taqlid*. Their positions are characterised with a sharply critical attitude to a rationalistic analysis of religious dogmas. Traditionalists did not recognise the studies of medieval Muslim philosophers stuck in ancient modes of philosophising, as they believed it

was a phenomenon radically foreign to Islam, or they subjected it to a religious and theological interpretation.

As for Tatar traditionalism, it is first and foremost related to *cadimism* [Mukhametzyanova, 2008; Mukhametshin, 2005; 2006, p. 129–136; Salikhov, 2006, p. 23–29]. It can be regarded as the worldviews of a definite type of ideology, the Tatar variant of traditionalism, aimed at the sanctification and preservation of immutable religious and moral values, social state and social institutions being formed in Tatar society throughout its historical development. Cadimism appeared as a result of the changes or the possibility of future changes defined in the social, economic, spiritual and ideological life of Tatar society in the first part of 110th century, when there was a trace of a major turning point in modern development.

The formation and spread of cadimism in Tatar society influenced the social and political position of Tatars in the Russian Empire. After the Tatars in the latter half of the 1616 century lost their sovereignty and, respectively, traditional political and religious institutions, Islam provided a certain stability in society. While not protecting society from changes, it still helped regenerate and preserve elements of the social structure and prolong cultural traditions. Religion in Tatar society found the ability to survive by taking over, to a large extent, the functions of social integration, the role of the devotee and guardian of 'law and order'. The religious institutions that were retained unified and reconciled socially and politically disparate elements, making society's self-organisation possible. In the early 19th century, in Tatar society there were intellectual forces that considered a society with only religious organisation was deprived of the possibility of comprehensive development, and that the universal function of Islam, which initially helped stabilise social life, became in time a component of the stagnation mechanism. The absolutisation of the religious element in the many-sided process of integration led to a sharp limitation of the possibilities of development in the society's cultural, ideological and other identities. At the same time, the majority of society was not sure

that new changes would not lead to the dissolution of the fundamentals of traditional society that had been preserving the unification of their ethno-confessional identity. Cadimism appeared precisely during this period with a main goal of protecting society from ruinous changes.

The theoretical base of cadimism was the idea that the foundation of society was a naturally formed continuity with limited boundaries. The given community, mainly confessional, possessed a self-existent character and transcendental essence. Another main element of cadimism is also its tenant on the necessity of preserving traditions, which is represented by the wisdom of ancestors, and the negation of which can lead to the extinction of Tatars as an ethno-confessional community. Its representatives appealed not to the individual, but to the collective mind accumulated by the experience of generations. In the defense of tradition, cadimists proposed preserving its legacy as an indivisible unit, but not in separate fields (mahallah, family, religious customs, etc.), which is why changes to any side of the spiritual life of society is quite dangerous for the existence of the whole. Garif Badamshin, one of the ideologists of cadimism, stated that '... religious beliefs of the Muslims around the world are becoming weaker, and their atheism is becoming stronger'. The author singles out two parties among Muslims. 'The party of our old people is afraid and claims that the Islamic world is growing weaker, which is why they want each issue and action to be agreed to the requirements of religion and morality' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 199, inv. 1, file 773, s. 209]. G. Badamshin continues his thought: 'Our young people studying in Russian schools or madrasahs with new methods obtained a very weak religious education' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 199, inv. 1, file 773, s. 209]. In an attempt to maintain the traditions of Tatar society, the representatives of cadimism objected to all, sometimes even seemingly insignificant, innovations, including 'the European way of dress: with a forage cap on the head instead of a turban or a fez; use of a waist belt, or an

overcoat instead of a chapan' [Dinmöxämätov, 2000, p. 6–7]. In the opinions of Ishmukhammad Dinmukhametov (Ishmi-ishan), 'likening oneself to the infidels in clothes, speech, behaviour and customs means making concessions to the enemies of God... and one, who does this turns away from God, and their master is Satan. Looking similar to the infidels in daily behaviour is forbidden; it is not allowed in teaching, either; meaning education using the methods of the infidels...' [Dinmöxämätov, 1906, p. 8].

This tendency is characterised by the perception of the world as a single unit. Social order is a part of the divine and natural permanent order of the world, the violation of which must end with the return to its initial position. The world-views adhered to in cadimism do not recognise any alternatives: they do not have the problem of choosing the principles of behaviour, as they were accepted only once and forever as the only natural and possible options. Other ways of perceiving the world, even if the possibility of their existence is recognised, are not a starting point for comparison, but instead help to form a stable enmity against them. That is why traditionalists severely criticised all the new phenomena in the field of cultural and ideological relations and education, including Muslim reformation, jadidism, etc. I. Dinmukhametov stated that 'among the Muslims of Russia, the jadidism movement was started by Kursavi, Marjani, Barudi, Riza qadi (Riza Fakhretdinov—*R. M.*), Rashid efendi (G.-R. Ibragimov—*R. M.*), and others. All of them were inclined to politics and oratory; they condemned everything related to the Sharia, and on the contrary, approved of everything that contradicted the canons of religion' [Dinmöxämätov, 1906, p. 8].

The well-known social and political figure Yusuf Akchur estimated the position of cadimists in the following way:

1. Muslims must never be Europeanised. They must preserve the way of life that was lived by their fathers. At their schools they must study old disciplines in accordance with the old system. Geography, mathematics, history, and knowledge of the environment are not

necessary. They must not even study in their own language, as Arabic is enough for them.

2. Women must not be educated in maktab and madrasahs. Women must be taught subjects related to religion and how to pray from early childhood. They learn all the rest that they need from their husbands after getting married.

3. Learning Russian is by no means advisable, and studying in Russian schools is a terrible sin [Mukhametshin, 2005, p. 60].

The ideas of cadimism among Tatars were widespread as late as 1917 as a way to preserve traditional society in the absence of other social and political institutions, and the conditions for their establishment did not lose their importance for them. One of the most important centres for reproducing the ideas of cadimism were (cadimist) madrasahs with old methods, among which the most popular were educational establishments in the villages of Kyshkar, Machkara, Menger, Satysh, saba (Kazan Region), Tyunter (Vyatka Guberniya), Sterlibshevo, and Sterlitamak (Ufa Region) [Mädräsälärdä, 1989].

In the opinion of some researchers, what initially seems to be an irreconcilable confrontation between the followers of cadimism and jadidism is in fact not so essential. Thus, French researcher S. Dudoignon supposes that the core of the conflict is in the differences of defining the goals of 'cultural and social establishments in the Muslim community' [Dudoignon, 1997, p. 63]. In particular, he believes that jadids were in support of encouragement for individual enrichment with further investments in education and culture. In the opinion of the author, cadimists preferred 'social governing and the distribution of these means' [Dudoignon, 1997, p. 63]. Disagreements also concerned the issues of financing confession-al education establishments. Jadids, according to Dudoignon, suggested financing a national system of education using resources from communities and also from the Russian state treasury. Cadimists believed that the crucial role regarding financing had to be played by the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly. S. Dudoignon concludes that discordances between the jadids and cadimists 'were mainly

blurry and deprived of any clear ideological definitions' [Dudoignon, 1997, p. 63].

The German researcher M. Kemper also considers that these tendencies 'competed with each other in the fields of ethics, sufism, law, theology and historiography. As a consequence, they did not develop independently from each other. On the contrary, the establishments, language, symbolism and means of expression were tightly interconnected in the unitary Muslim discourse' [Kemper, 2008].

M. Kemper believes that 'that is why the defining concept of this Muslim discourse is *the islah* (reform or rebirth) of religion [Kemper, 2008]. He states that the 'reform' in a wider meaning is not an issue of thinkers such as Kursavi or Marjani, 'who were critically tuned to traditions... On the contrary, both the traditionalist researchers and the 'oppositional' sermoners, such as Gabderahim al-Bulgari and Bagautdin Vaisov, also engaged with the idea of reformation. Therefore, *the islah* should not be treated as a definite, unitary programme. Indeed, this massively diverse concept in the Volga-Ural Islamic context includes a wide range of competing and contradicting lines of spiritual history. The point of unity for all thinkers of the *the islah* is their striving to expand their own studies about faith, promote their respective interpretation of Islamic laws and ethics in order to prevent their communities from following false and criminal ways... And at the same time, the concrete means, ways and goals could look absolutely different and even contradict one another' [Kemper, 2008].

The next tendency in Islam is *reformation*, or *modernism*, which is defined by the efforts of its followers to adapt Islamic dogmas to the needs of modern development. They insisted on synthesising Islam with modern western liberal values and institutions. The circle of modernists (or reformers) include followers of the 'renewal' who adhered to the reconceptualisation of the Quran and Sunnah, and regulations for the Sharia and fiqh. Reformers of the dogmas, social doctrine, cult, Sharia and other trends in Islam strove to 'purify' it from various archaic elements, extreme limitations and excessive prohibitions.

The modernisation movement was born at the end of the 18th century among the Muslims of Russian and other Muslim countries.

Among the most significant representatives who laid the foundation for modernistic tendencies is the Indian thinker and sheikh Ahmad Faruqi Sinhindi (1564–1624), also known as the imam Imam Rabbani (Divine imam) [Shimmel, 2000, p. 284]. He sharply criticised the innovations of the government and called for the restoration of traditional Islamic values. Therefore, L. Gordon-Polonskaya noted the fact that his studies were directed firstly against various Islamic and Hindu heresies.

Another not a less prominent figure was Ahmad Gabdrahim Shah Waliullah (1703–1762). Shah Waliullah emphasised that 'he was interested not in abstract theological disputes, but in the concrete application of the ideas of an Islamic rebirth in Indian reality' [Gordon-Polonskaya, 1963, p. 37]. One of the most famous works of this scientist is the treatise 'Khajjat Allah al-baliga' ('The perfect argument of Allah'), where he analyses issues of the divine essence of Allah and human nature, the problem of sin and the Good, and also the fundamentals of Sharia and Islamic law. The second part of the book is devoted to Islamic ethics, and also covers issues related to power and the state.

The next outstanding figure is Makhmad Birgevi, who lived in the Anatolian city of Balikesir [Islamskie finansy', 2004, p. 38].

Starting in the middle of the 19th century, the historical development of the Islamic world took place among the colonial expansion of European states. Colonialism radically influenced the features and character of theological and ideological views of Muslim religious figures. It became necessary to adapt to new realities, and synthesis with various elements of western culture was simply unavoidable. The result of this was the appearance of the first modernist doctrine in Islam. From the very beginning of this type of 'renewed' Islam were the prominent Islamic thinkers of the New Time: Jamal ad-din al-Afghani (1838–1897) and Muhammad Abduh (1849–1905).

The most outstanding, and probably the most famous, Islamic modernist of the 20th

century was the poet and philosopher Muhammad Iqbal Lahori (1873–1938), who obtained wide popularity owing to his peculiar 'philosophical' poetry, as well as to the theoretical work of the 'Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam', and finally to his social and political activities.

Thus, the reformation of Islam took various different forms of expression. A portion of reformers who spoke out at first from positions of enlightenment adopted a more nihilistic position in relation to their proper cultural, religious and philosophic traditions. They openly cast the ruling religion as responsible for the social, economic and political backwardness of the Islamic world, and saw in it a reason for the absence of spiritual motivation towards progress. The most radical wing of reforming educators were inclined towards the indisputable perception of the spiritual, world-view paradigm of the West.

Modernist tendencies in the form of purposeful trends in Tatar society can be spoken about only from the end of the 18th century. In this period it had already become clear that the community, which had only a religious organisation, was deprived of the possibility of complete development. The Islam that initially promoted the stability of social life step-by-step became a mere component of the society's stagnation. The Tatar people was starting to come to terms with an understanding of the core of these processes. This can be clearly seen in the mass riots headed by the authorities of Batyrsha and mullah of Murad in the 1750s–1760s [Valiullin, 2005]. By the early 19th century, in Tatar society there were conditions for the intensive development of factors that determined the direction of its further economic, social and intellectual evolution. In terms of the social and economic perspective, this means the birth and consolidation of elements of the capitalistic system, the social stratification of society, and the formation of the national, first and foremost, trading bourgeoisie.

It should also be taken into account that the government, especially during the reign of Catherine II, was already aware that Tatar society, functioning mainly by its universal

links of Islam, remained quite a serious potential source of separatism inside Russia. That is why it was necessary to develop more effective rather than more violent forms of Christianisation, or rather mechanisms of involving the Tatar population in the Russian state system. The first step in this direction were the measures taken by the government aimed at controlling the Tatar clergy, especially by limiting their activities in Islamic law, for example, in all Sharia trials, which were widespread and by that time had a growing influence [Azamatov, 1999, p. 12–20; Nogmanov, 2005].

In general, it can be said that by the end of the 18th–the beginning of the 19th centuries, the transformation of Tatar society on the path to modern development had already been determined. At the same time, social awareness was developing in tight relation to traditional Islamic thoughts and ideas. On the other hand, the structural changes in society, related to the appearance of bourgeois relations in Russia defined the general direction of the social and economic development as capitalistic, which in its turn served as the catalyst for essential changes in mass awareness. The social and philosophical idea at the end of the 18th–the beginning of the 19th centuries reflected this exact duality of social awareness. This appeared as a result of the interaction of two directions: understanding the necessity of ideological changes, and the preservation of the powerful conservative layer in the powers of tradition and Islam. In these conditions new views, conceptions and norms could only be considered through the prism of Islam in images and ideas customary for the people [Mukhametshin, 2003, p. 42]. That is why it was not a coincidence that the religious and political reaction of Islam here in the beginning of the 19th century was expressed in two forms: traditionalism and reformation.

G. Kursavi and Sh. Marjani were the founders of this new movement among Tatars. The famous scientist A. Bennigsen wrote that Tatar religious reformers 'were ones of the first Islamic thinkers, much earlier than Arabs, Turks, Iranians and Hindus, who declared the right of each believer to find in the Quran and the Hadith replies to all the questions of politics,

society and religion. Their influence upon the development of the reformation movement not only in Russia but also the entire Muslim world was absolutely exclusive in terms of its importance. Owing precisely to their activities scarcely known in the West and ignored by the proper Islamic historians, Islam ceased to be an obstacle towards progress, and the paths to reforms in other fields (language, enlightenment and political organisation) was finally cleared' [Bennigsen, 1983, p. 17].

The main achievement of Tatar religious reformers in the first half of the 19th century was the modernisation of the religious, world-view, ethical and value-related problems related to its new closeness to the 'worldly' demands of the present. By the expression of A. Bennigsen, they 'tried to solve the problem of the intellectual backwardness of Islam by returning to intellectual liberalism' [Bennigsen, 1983, p. 17]. The religious reformation of the 19th century served as a unique transition from the old stereotypes of mass awareness to more modern forms of political thinking. Moving the centre of gravity from purely theological problems to social and political issues meant new approaches to how they were stated, and a higher level of critical thought.

The Tatar Muslim reformation had innate features of an all-Muslim reformation movement that was expressed in criticising traditionalism, and appealing to the values of early Islam and the concept of 'opening the gates of the *ijtihad*'. While developing in new social and political conditions, this modernism corresponded to the spiritual demands of Tatar society, as early as on the initial stage of its evolution, proposed admissible and sensible ways to combine the spiritual with the worldly.

G. Kursavi, a trustworthy expert on the Quran, the sunnah of the Prophet and other sources of Islamic law, also made his own attempt to interpret the problems of the *ijtihad* in a new way. K. Nasyri wrote about him: 'He strove to take directly from the Quran any judgment of his, and created a court of justice in accordance with its teachings' [Nasyri, 1977, p. 17]. The legacy of Kursavi is relatively small. He gained the most notoriety from his

work '*al-Irshad li-l-ibad*' ('Exhortations to servants [of God]'), first published only in 1903 [Idiyatullina, 2006].

Its problems are related to such phenomena as *ijtihad*, or the right to make an independent judgment on issues of *fiqh* (Muslim law). The owners of this right, *mujtahids*, were traditionally considered as fellows of the Prophet, their close followers, the transmitters of authentic *hadiths* and founders of the four *madhabs* (schools of law). Over time, the belief emerged that only the lawyers of the past had the right for *ijtihad*, as all legal issues had already been solved, the statement '*ijtihad munkaryd*' (the *ijtihad* stopped) became commonplace, and the time of the *taqlid* had finally arrived—the unwavering adherence to the authorities of the past.

The contributions of G. Kursavi to the development of theological thought is difficult to overestimate. Under the influence of his works Sh. Marjani's viewpoints were formed, and in his intellectual career he worked towards their further development. In the beginning of the 20th century, the ideas of G. Kursavi found their reflection in the works of G. Bubi, M. Bigiev and Z. Kamali. The criticism of scholastics and defense of the right for independent thought typical of the works of G. Kursavi were the ideological basis for all further development of Tatar theological thought.

The most prominent representatives of the second generation of thinkers in the reformation movement were Sh. Marjani, Kh. Faizkhanov, K. Nasyri (1825–1902), Sh. Kultasi (1858–1930), and others. After becoming successors to the affair started by their predecessors, they increased their emphasis on the combination of confessional and national elements. They were the ones to realise the necessity of utilising the national component to build up ideological and political constructions.

Sh. Marjani is the greatest Tatar theologian in the second half of the 19th century, a man who acquired the recognition of not only Russian, but also foreign, including western, scientists [Yusupov, 2005]. Sh. Marjani is the author of numerous theological treatise. He was the first to suggest adopting everything

useful from the European achievements in the sciences, educational sphere, and crafts and industry, legitimising this concept with the Muslim statement that wisdom is the believer's goal [Märcani mäcmugacı, 1915, p. 528–530]. During that time he criticised the practice of Taqlid in Tatar society, as he considered it the soil for fanaticism and the basis for obduracy and backwardness. In the footsteps of G. Kursavi, Sh. Marjani rejected the statement accepted in Islamic theology '*ijtihad munkarid*', declaring that the time for creative proding into the basis of the Quran and Sunnah had already passed. He wrote, 'At any time during the existence of the human race every one of us must be on the path of creative searching. And human beings must accomplish this by following the Quran and the Sunnah [Märcani mäcmugacı, 1915, p. 528–530].

The religious reformation views of Sh. Marjani carry clearer social characters when compared to his ideological predecessors, as he had to deal with the categories of religious dogmas and philosophy as he strove to apply certain statements of Muslim law in accordance with the social reality of the second half of the 19th century.

The Muslim reformation at the turn of the 20th century was not a homogeneous ideological phenomenon that gave birth to any uniformity or structure in philosophical or theological studies. However, all the representatives of this trend of social ideas were characterised by 'their striving to combine Muslim values with the achievements of European science and philosophy' [Tukhvatullina, 2003, p. 184].

R. Fakhretdinov published an article in the magazine 'Şura' that included the programme statement of the famous Muslim reformer Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani about this issue: 'There is no need to clarify that I am referring to the reform of Islam when I discuss the religious movement. The reform of religion does not mean to add to it something that was not stated first by the Prophet, and not to destroy or alter Muslim fundamentals by any means, but to eliminate what people added further, to return the religion to its initial content, in which it was born in the first century of Islam' [Şura, 1913, No.1, p. 4]. This approach to reforming Islam, which at first glance seems so definite, has three separate aspects: the appeal to return back to the Quran and Sunnah, or rather to follow them strictly; the approval of the right for *ijtihad* in opposition to the *taqlid*; the confirmation of the truth and uniqueness of the experience of the Quran. Perhaps that is why this approach left space for different, sometimes absolutely opposite interpretations [Mukhametshin, 1998, p. 114].

Thus, in the 19th century, Muslim reformers in Tatar society mainly did not step outside the boundaries of theological problems. The representatives of this tendency paid much attention to thinking through the various aspects of Muslim ideas. For them, issues related to the analysis of such important theological aspects as the role and place of *ijtihad* in the life of society were of the utmost importance. They also focused a great deal on the issue of the *taqlid*'s role in modern theology, attempted to define their attitude to the madhabs and also to determine common grounds for religion and science.

CHAPTER 2

Jadidism

§ 1. Sources of a new paradigm

Edward J. Lazzerini

Starting from the 1870s and as late as the 1920s, the new times as a type of a new ideology called Jadidism entered the social discourse of the Tatars and other Turkic Muslim peoples of the Russian Empire. For them, as for a lot of non-European peoples, the propaganda of the New Times with its new ideology was a way to oppose social decline, the growing influence of the West and its authority in all aspects of private and social life. Acquiring a new discourse was also the denial of traditional beliefs in the improbability that something essentially new could appear.

At the basis of this intellectual search there was the inevitable collision of two antagonistic world-view attributes, a kind of way of life related to using the respective epistemological conceptions. The first epistemological system is usually connected with traditions of commenting on texts and emphasising their interpretation with a knowing harmony between the mind and world of expressing the supreme spirit. These are predominately religious systems, as we understand them as a whole, because for people it is more accepted to believe in supernatural powers and inhabit this space with supreme creatures, that is Gods.

The second epistemological system, referred to by us as the New system, perhaps exists in a wholly unique embodiment, although it has different variants in terms of its cultural interpretation. It denies the possibility of the above-mentioned harmony and is instead an appeal to human intellectual efforts from the celestial world to the terrestrial world, with an aim at deciding immanent social problems. The New Time is seen as a self-developing process of changing reality with the parallel development of respective discourses featuring a long

initial period and a chain of countless changes in the material and technical character of European (Western) civilization, starting from the district century. Among the features of this new discourse, which differentiate it from those that represented and formed all the pre-New Time communities, there was the faith that the future was unpredictable, especially in the sense of its final goal. However, this goal can be figured out by using the human mind. Thus, the future becomes not only new, but better than the past. The human race can continuously overcome its eternally existing limits with knowledge. The later is now not only a simple sum of static information reflecting reality, but a tool that provides reality with radically new trends for development.

The manuscript tradition based on abstract theology and philosophy, determined a pathway for the development of human civilisation in Eurasia for the entire period of its formation, starting in the middle of the I millenium BC and as late as the New Time. Within this tradition, there was a permanent search for order and harmony ('cosmos' in Greek), predicted to be found from similar studies in the permanent truth, after which they were found and clearly defined. In time, a lot of generations of commentators with a small set of interpreting techniques applicable to clearly hierarchised canonic texts and ritualised faith-beliefs and religious practice. This only increased the tendency towards Orthodoxy, conformism and collectivism in religious ideas, and also provided the impulse to its confrontation of a variety of opinions, innovations, freedom of thought and individualism.

Manuscript traditions, the destiny of which is surprisingly similar to various cultural areas,

was retranslated not passively, but was persistently transformed in the process of their transmission and introduction of remarks by commentators, which took place for centuries. The given processes partially helped in dissolving traditions and entropy in the form of textual losses, linguistic deviations and the errors of copyists. This led to the loss of unique information, but on the other hand the introduction of remarks by copyists or the scholastic studies of scientists enriched the texts with stereotypical information. A lot of generations of commentators followed the goal of creating coordinated and ordered textual canons by freeing the supposedly reputable texts from their inner contradictions. In time, the given work was to lead to the tradition of creating complex interdependent (correlative) textual systems, in which each part, while describing reality, coincides and, supposedly, will coincide with all other parts. One of these manuscript traditions, with its origin dating back to the Quran and Sunnah, is represented by the religion of Islam (obedience), which would be more precise to refer to with the polysemantic word 'din', which means faith and religion, and includes certain norms of behaviour.

For Tatars, the history of whom is deeply related to Islam, jadidism became a way to adapt to the New Time and all that came along with this historical period of human development. The appearance of jadidism as a form of perceiving the world in the New Time was helped by a thorough reconceptualisation of the Will of Allah sent to Prophet Muhammad. This reconceptualisation did not necessarily include a denial of accepting this Will, although in the process of acquiring a new paradigm some jadids actively declined the idea of the New Time about the secularisation of the religious sphere towards a more obvious expression of religious indifference or even atheism. However, in most cases jadids granted a certain significance to religion and God in the life of contemporary society. Meanwhile, the orders of Allah, based on unconditional obedience and on following 'the direct way' (Sirat al-mustakim) must be, in their opinion, limited to the field of private life and the needs of the soul,

and not spread over social life or determine social processes.

According to their point of view, moral people form a virtuous society. However, this does not imply that it will be a productive and successful society in this new world demanding a creative approach, high productivity, competitiveness and a thorough attention to the issues of power. In the opinion of the jadids, following the will of God by itself cannot guarantee the discovery of inner human potential. Only active concentration on secular affairs, an orientation towards individual personality and not on God, will allow people to successfully develop. Thus, this proves that their faith is an authentic divine order to people. Jadidism as the New Time ideology presupposed the acquisition of an essentially different epistemology that looked to the past not as a tragic loss, but as a tool for creating a new future; they perceived Allah as a personal God close to human kind. He determines human ethics and morals, but does not dictate at all how to complete earthly tasks that demand daily attention. This change of paradigm allowed Tatars to independently determine their own future, which they now based on freedom, varied and practically oriented education, a large amount of experience, attentive study of the world, and a creative approach to any task.

In this research I use the terms 'archeology' and 'genealogy' in the meanings used by Michel Foucault (1926–1984). His works are devoted to the re-evaluation of the theory of causality, or 'critical philosophy' based on the works of John Locke (1632–1704), David Hume (1711–1776) and Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), all thinkers who changed philosophy in the direction of a fundamental criticism of perception.

M. Foucault's statement on chance is the main starting point for my understanding of jadidism. The figures of that period were ancestors and pioneers in acquiring that transformative epistemology discussed above; they could justly be called jadids. Reading their works from the perspective of different contexts leads to the understanding that their works reflect equal significance for what is present and what is absent for whatever reason [see: Ismail Bey,

1988, p. 149–169]. If a simple description of jadids, their ideas and social activities defined by attitudes of a new world-view is quite important to scientific perception, and at its core gives very little when determining the sources of the given phenomenon.

Therefore, it is quite surprising that in all the above-mentioned communities where Islam was dominant in the culture, gradually, over approximately a full century (1750s–1850s), there is an epistemological transformation that resulted in the end of the period in the substitution of the former concept of the 'old method' (*usul al-kadim*) with the idea of the 'new method' (*usul al-jadid*). At the same time, the motivating power for positive change was the movement away from an orientation towards the past—*tajdid* (renewal in the meaning of returning to initial purity) to an orientation towards the future—*jadid* (new). What was the reason for this long-lasting, century-long, invisible ripening of the alternative outlook that finally separated itself from tradition. Its adherents, relieved from the burden of supernaturalism and charmed by earthly mysteries, expected revelations from experiments, exploration of the world and the persistent use of the human intellect. They were certain that time served humanity and did not follow some mysterious plan that had been earlier developed at a metaphysical level.

Dipping into the archeology of the term '*jadid*', one can find a number of rules that defined the system of notional and conceptional possibilities, and determined the borders of philosophism and discussions within the framework of culture oriented towards the *tajdid*. We also gain an impression on the inner and external forces that gradually contributed to the loss of accuracy of previous ideological structures, which were replaced with open spaces; and through these gaps entered crucially new tendencies that later came to stay permanently in the consciousness of the people of that time. Such an approach helps change the historiographic tradition to some extent that is still concentrating on the examination of individual consciousness instead of studying this phenomenon on two levels: the one that ex-

ists in the conscious mind, and the one on the unconscious level. The study of Volga region Tatars (that were at that time in the vanguard of Turkic, Islamic people and Russian subjects), who first started on the path of progress allows us to define the entire set of reasons that made it possible. Meanwhile, it is important to note again that we will never be able to exactly define all the possible elements of this process, and should be careful with the unnecessary accentuation of one of them as the most important, or limit the investigation with what is obvious to us.

Five of the most important factors should be defined that allow Tatar society to enter the new world: the new universal Russian development strategy founded during the reign of Peter I; the Tatar Diaspora and capitalisation of its economy; resuming the contradictions within the Islamic discourse; different ways of involving Tatars into Russian society, and the appearance of a new class of mediators, who became a link between the Russian and Tatar worlds.

Each of these elements was, beyond all doubt, necessary yet insufficient by itself to push the Tatars to develop new possibilities, leave behind their established patterns, open up new perspectives, the risk of the unknown and hope for a more productive future, or jump from the world of restrictions into the world of possibilities. By the time the first rudiments of the New outlook arose in 1870, its adherents were actively using the benefits of the periodical press to spread their ideas, thus preparing the ground for their further advancement. Meanwhile, the combination of these five factors set the stage for Jadidism and helped it survive and not be overcome by outmoded ideas, ideals and institutions, or just remain plain fantasy in people's minds. I will dwell on only one, the third factor, which was interpreted incorrectly in the works of researchers for a long time, or rather the resumption of contradictions inside of the Islamic discourse.

By the time when Ekaterina the of Russia became empress, most Muslim researchers of the Volga Kama region belonged to the Hanafi madhhab, but nevertheless they relied on a methodology opposite to the dialectical

approach (*'ilm al-kalâm*), or the method of searching for theological foundations through the disputes and arguments Abu Hanifa (699–767) prohibited his students to use¹. They also defended the practice of *taqlid*, or the unconditional acceptance of the opinion of the religious authorities, who were often represented in certain schools of jurisprudence; here, the Hanafi school.

Taqlid is usually opposed to *ijtihad*, or the independent interpretation of *Sharia*, which is realised through the intellectual efforts (*jihad*) of the individual themselves. It is important to note that one who does not have comprehensive knowledge of Muslim law (*Fiqh*) and detailed knowledge of the mandatory instructions (*wajib*), forbidden actions (*haram*), recommended (*mandub*), damnable (*makruh*) and neutral (*mubahah*) actions within the scope of this Law, are not authorised to interpret Muslim law on their own.

It is quite illustrative that Abu Hanifa himself disapproved of his students' use of the *Taqlid*, and encouraged them to think independently and not rely only on their teacher's interpretation. Apart from issues of methodology, local researchers apparently also acted within the parameters typical for the Hanafi religious tradition, which defined positions on a number of questions and issues related to them, including classic questions like the nature of the Quran and number of Allah's eternal attributes, freedom of will and predestination, commitment of faith and sin, prayer in twilight and group prayers on Fridays, and such specific issues of the region as loyalty before the Russian authorities.

By the end of the 18th century a number of new circumstances appear that created condi-

tions for the development of the Volga-Kama Region in another area, which possibly had its influence upon the change of content of the Islamic discourse unlike the way it had been being perceived throughout the centuries.

First of all, we must note the factor of the reign of Ekaterina of Russia, which managed to change the system of relationships between the Russian authorities and Muslim population under the influence of the European Enlightenment. Secondly, the development and improvement of trading routes from the Volga region into Central Asia after the gradual advancement of Russian borders to the South and peacemaking among the Kazakh tribes, all contributed to the expansion of connections among these territories, which in turn had a positive impact on the stabilisation of the position of Tatar businesses and the expansion of spiritual contacts with the Muslims of those regions who were of political interest for the Russian government.

Thirdly, the development of Tatar assets stimulated the expansion of the Tatar villages network, particularly in the Kazakh steppes, and partly in Central Asia, the South of Siberia and along caravan tracks through the valley or to East Turkestan. The international business success of the Tatar merchants stimulated not only the creation of Tatar diasporas and the presence of Tatars on distant lands, but the creation of centres of influence in the surrounding non-Tatar population. Gradually, these centres started exerting not only economic, but cultural and intellectual influence as well through the new neighbors of the Tatars.

In giving up habitual social models, merchants used their assets as a way to create their own social space between these two classes represented by traditional nobles and commons. They managed to provide more independent positions for themselves compared to the other two classes, also partly thanks to the completion of complicated, long-term projects that in the course of time established their position in the society as a third force. As its representatives, they were more confident in themselves, exposed to less fear and risks, and truly believed that their future would be far better than their present.

¹ Kala has a long and at times very difficult history, dating primarily from the post-classical period (after 1050s) up to the present time. In the historiography of the spiritual culture of Islam, starting with Muslim scholars themselves, Kala was considered a theology that opposed philosophy (*falsafa*). The main difference from the latter was the fact that Kala was engaged in a search for truth by appealing to tradition (*nakl*), rather than to reason (*akl*). However, the division of Muslim thought into the oppositions *kala*–*falsafa* is not a good tool for evaluating all its wealth.

As a whole, these processes made up the new array of features for members of Tatar society. Moreover, some of the changes were almost invisible at first, while others were revealed in their entirety and were immediately observable. This last part is especially true for the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly institution, with the help of which the Tatars were forced into a certain form of organised authority, the muftiate, which was previously unknown to the Muslims and created as a result of the actions of a non-Muslim government, a fact that cannot go unnoted. The creation of the muftiate was meant to structure Russian Islam and consequently make it easier for the Russian bureaucratic apparatus to rule the Muslim population. Receiving an annual salary, mufti and his assistants in fact became Russian officials with duties determined by imperial authorities that in the course of time were gradually expanded. As can be seen from the recent works of several researchers, imperial decrees determined the Spiritual Assembly with all its employees as a body where all the social and religious issues of the Muslims were to be addressed. If the issue was not solved on the level of the muftiate, the Muslims were to transfer it over to the Russian authorities [see: Crews, 2006]. Thus, the private interests of the Muslim population were becoming imperial interests that led to the rapprochement of both Muslims and Russians.

After the collapse of the USSR, researchers started paying attention to the well-preserved and now available source base from that period, as a result of which we now know a lot more of what Muslims were writing about [Almazova, 2010; Idiyatullina, 2005; Yuzeev, Gimadeev, 2009; Kemper, 1998; Khayrutdinov, 2005–2006; Spannaus, 2011; Tukhvatullina, 2003]. Nevertheless, the attempts of modern researchers to sort the works of the Muslim authors into some sort of historical succession and sequence, to my mind, have their own drawbacks, as the leading tradition in historiography is always in support of the previous interpretations that first appeared in the beginning of the 20th century and continued on without significant changes throughout the entire Soviet period and es-

tablished itself just after Russian researchers were relieved of their limitations in the scientific sphere after the collapse of the USSR. To my mind, the following features are typical of historiography of this sort: 1) the teleological approach, which applies the idea of progress in a somewhat mechanistic way, in this case insisted on the linear evolution of philosophical thought that went from all-embracing devotion to the traditions of Islam, the appearance of Jadidism and acceptance of the ideology of the New Times; 2) confusion with the term 'reform' that does not allow to see the differences in approaches between Muslim authors to the changes, and their inner aims and intentions, which is also related to my first critical comment; 3) the inability to understand the New Times in terms of epistemological shifts that can be considered revolutionary.

Starting in the second half of the 18th century, according to sources, several generations of Tatars had a feeling that something was wrong with the Islamic ummah. They were united by the perception of the necessity of reforms that could improve their position, and as a mechanism of reform they insistently offered *ijtkhad* (literally 'eagerness, trying') as a means to resolve the issues faced by society. The list of authors, as accepted in historiography, was headed by G. Utyz Imyani al-Bulgari, after which was G. Kursavi, Sh. Marjani, R. Fakhretdin, G. Barudi, M. Bigi, Z. Kamali and other representatives of the clergy, although the list also included secular figures Kh. Faizkhanov, I. Gasprinsky and Yu. Akchura.

The first issue that becomes obvious when reading this list is the fundamental difference between the initial names and the three that follow them, which evidences the groundlessness and superficiality of the connections between these two groups. Besides, an attempt to connect them all would more so confuse than clarify this extremely important period in the modern history of the Tatar people. What is considered in a lot of the research as a single course is in fact two courses: the first strives to return Islamic society back to its due form and practice, to a society where religion is in the central and defining position, whereas the other

represents the view of society where none of the religions is superior, and in fact religion does not have a great political or other influence upon society.

The second issue is related to the universal human inclination towards opposition, and sometimes even desperate resistance to change. When religious faith is the object of discussion, changes can be immediately rejected as dangerous and even malevolent; in Islam they are called *bid'a*, a term that is usually used to assign a negative meaning to the belief, practice or traditions that supposedly do not have any precedent in the Islamic tradition.

Despite the fact that the term cannot be found in the Quran, many researchers for many centuries have accepted categorically different Hadiths, condemning 'innovators' and 'innovations', and usually blaming objectors for adherence to the *bid'a*, and were thus persecuted.

This tendency made it difficult to implement reforms, especially if they appeared at the grassroots level and their adherents revised the issues of religious practice on religious grounds which they always challenged in some way or another. At the turn of the 18th–19th centuries we can observe examples of how accusations of *bid'a* were addressed to Muslim researchers from the Volga-Kama Region, in their homeland, and in Middle Asia where they studied. We can also see accusations of *bid'a* addressed a century later to the *jadids*, when their periodicals and other 'new' kinds of activities became objects of hate for conservative researchers. In addition, confusion with the term 'reform' is reflective of the contradiction present in Islam itself between the issues of detection and eradication of *bid'a* and the converse creedal display of the fact that God himself—exclusively in relation to religious aims—set up the necessity for the periodical renovation (*tajdid*) of the religion with the help of correctly used *ijtihād*.

Thus, the Islamic transformation model was legitimated and could have been used to prevent the development of *bid'a*, as well as to implement reforms in order to return, correct or restore the intended nature of Islamic society. Resorting to *tajdid* may seem 'progressive' for modern researchers in the framework of tra-

ditional theology, but it can barely be defined using the term '*jadid*', as *tajdid* was lacking in the epistemology that was the basis for the former and provided '*usuljadid*'. Such researchers as Marjani, Fakhretdin, Barudi, Bubi, Bigiev and Kamali should all be considered progressive theologians,² as they strove to preserve the concept of God in the centre of social life, although they recognised the necessity of correcting false interpretations of religion and the reformation of religious life where distortions might have crept in³. Due to the fact that public figures like Marjani strove to immortalise the smoothly running system specific to the commentarial tradition that dates back to the sources of Islam, they cannot be brought into one line with such personalities as Faizkhanov, Gasprinsky, Akchurin and Kerimov, who cut ties completely with religious and theological epistemology. The progressive propensity of theologians to reforms, no matter how radical they seemed, was of a solely corrective and restorative nature, and it was not meant to open the gates on the path to a new society. This is not surprising, as among the authorities outside of the Islamic world for these Tatar intellectuals was Orthodox dissenter district—district centuries. Martin Luther (1483–1546).

The third problem is the most important and most complex. As has already been mentioned, disputes about the New Time were sometimes rather heated; however, they often fail to reflect its essence, because historians and other researchers are averse to offering a single explanation to what happened in the past. We tend to search for a multitude of causes, influences and forces, especially when we attempt to explain a fundamental phenomenon such as the New Time. Intellectual relativism makes its appearance during this search when all causes become equal, and we can easily miss some data for the sake of making one or another 'substantiated' choice. In my opinion, this approach is unacceptable with respect to the New Time. The

² The term 'religious reformers' (Ed.) became widespread in Russian historiography.

³ There are visible similarities with European neo-Aristotelians.

reason is that it offers a multitude of reasons, each worthy of detailed discussion, although none of them is crucial for explaining the New Time phenomenon in the history of humankind.

Islamic discourse in the Volga-Kama Region in the 19th century should be primarily treated as a recurrence of the periodically arising conflict between those who strove for reform for the sake of restoring the Islamic community (progressive theologians) and those who opposed them on the grounds that such reform would be too dangerous for integrity of the Islamic ummah (conservative theologians). In historiography, the first group is constantly praised as 'reformers', 'progressive thinkers', 'enlighteners' and 'Jadids', while the latter are denounced as 'conservatives', 'reactionary thinkers', 'obscurants', 'Islamists' and 'Qadimists' (as such, the antagonists of 'usul ul-jadid', or the 'new method', and proponents of 'usul ul-qadim', or the 'old method'). This approach added more confusion rather than clarifying the situation, especially since two different conflicts were mixed within it: the one between progressive and conservative parties within Islamic theology itself, and between Islamic theology in general and Jadidism, which was characterized by a completely different understanding and was based on other epistemological arguments.

No alliances and agreements between the progressive theologians and the Jadids on the achievement of short-term goals should deceive us with respect to this conclusion, because, in the end, these two movements are divided by an insurmountable schism. For more than a century, progressive theologians were treated as modernists (Jadids) only because of their conflict with the conservatives, because they were more flexible, liberal and understood the changes that were occurring. However, on assessing the subject from a different angle, we discover another set of differences that lead us to state that progressive theologians belonged to tradition and not to the New Time.

First, although progressive theologians relied on Sunnah and not the Quran, they believed that society requires a renewal (tajdid) from time to time in order to purify the faith

through correct application of *ijtihad*, while for the Jadids this renewal was insufficient, because it would result only in the restoration of what used to be, while in their opinion, what was and what is had to be replaced with what was supposed to be. Second, for progressive theologians, the long-gone Golden Age was the spiritual ideal, and its imitation was the best that humanity was capable of achieving, while the Jadid believed that human communities could compete only between each other in the never-ending process of achieving goals and their future development and replacement with new ones. Third, progressive theologians had always felt nostalgic about the 'lost Paradise' and were convinced that nothing radically new could appear in this world until the end of time, while the Jadids dreamed of a Paradise that could be achieved through a struggle, unrestricted by the strict rules of tradition. Finally, progressive theologians were absolutely devoted to Islamist discourse, which the Jadids believed to be the antithesis to their project.

The great thinker, al-Ghazali (1058–1111) in his work *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa*^h (*The Incoherence of Philosophers*) declared: "The inconceivable decisions of God cannot be weighed on the scales of reason; only faith in God as the highest Truth can keep those weak in spirit on the 'straight road', the only thing of importance for them".

The above statement can be considered the most attractive of what was present in the theological systems relying on the religious canon. Their promise of a spiritual world achievable during mortal life requires the selection of the difficult straight road that, in turn, implies unconditional devotion stipulated by the fundamental importance of this major goal of a person. Since everything truly important can be traced to God, there is nothing left but to follow his decrees, although they are often very difficult. This promise of the spiritual world and peace is epistemologically opposite to the promise of boundless opportunities typical for the ideology of the New Time. Ever since God had been replaced and ceased to be the center of everything, both at the level of society and at the level of an individual, the vacuum started

filling with the idea of choice. However, this choice was not between good and evil, but between the growing number of choices associated in one way or another with good. And these different kinds of good, which had never been exactly defined by anyone before, were currently competing in attracting people's attention and winning their allegiance. In the New World, the destiny of people's souls may also be independent of the result of this struggle; however, when it comes to human lives, they most definitely depend on the choice that is made. Throughout the 19th century, the Muslim Tatars faced the continuously growing realization that eternal truths they had relied upon for centuries, that for a long time had granted them the feeling of peace, spiritual contentedness and confidence in the future, started losing their importance, where peace of mind became just another concept requiring critical rethinking. Defendants of the traditional way of life were very inventive in their resistance to the New Time and found various ways to protect their Muslim identity. For the Sufis—brotherhoods of Yasaviya and Naqshbandiya—adherence to the canons of Islam could mean resistance to the Russian law prohibiting evangelical activities among non-Russian or recently baptised peoples; moreover, for them, the call to Jihad against the Russians also served as a means of reviving the faith. For Muslim theologians, the defense of the faith could have a more intellectual nature and in most cases caused interminable debates on extremely esoteric matters of the faith or philosophy that might seem insignificant to an outsider. However, these very religious debates ensured the succession of spiritual culture during the many centuries of existence of Islam. For the absolute majority of Muslim Tatars, the idea that God could die was completely inconceivable in the 19th century; however, while God was dying, it was expected that a human would take his place.

If at the dawn of the reign of Catherine II the Great, the intellectual life of the Tatars was defined by prophetic discourse, where moral revival and re-Islamization were articulated through concepts reflecting the prophetic perception of historical time, and this call for

a moral and religious revival took place by means of the traditional written genres, then how could Jadidism have gained importance and dominated Tatar life in little more than a century?

The degree of difficulty faced by Jadidism can be traced through the history of the movement starting from the 70s of the 19th century until the late 20s of the 20th century. This was a period of unprecedented upheavals, including wars and revolutions. At the same time, despite the chaos, this difficult period was able to give rise to a number of sometimes not overly popular sometimes frightening and Utopian movements, fighting a lone fight and gathering adherents. It seemed as if they were carried by the unknown and more powerful forces of the New Time that overtook Russia and the rest of Europe. The transformation of relations established between people, especially in case of their deeply social nature and association with strong moral principles, was extremely difficult, and history is full of examples of unsuccessful attempts of this kind. We need only think of the Populism movement in 1860s–1870s in Russia; despite its dramatic quality, its importance was a pale imitation of Jadidism, and its lack of success implied that Jadidism was much more likely to end its days on the garbage heap of history and much more quickly. This is what would have happened if not for the cumulative effect of innumerable known and unknown choices made by both powerful and unimportant people, as well as for numerous events that had been directed by conscious act of individual people. Isolated, disconnected and unrelated elements comprising the substance of the New Time/Jadidism made up a continuous sequence that could no longer be stopped. It was epistemology that ensured not only the survival of the Jadidism phenomenon, but also its amazing success.

This epistemology also hides the reasons for forceful resistance to the New Time. One of the most impressive descriptions of this resistance was given by the prominent Syrian scientist and Muslim legal scholar, Muhammad Rashid Rida (1865–1935), in his article published in the progressive theological maga-

zine 'al-Manar'⁴: 'During this troubled period of ideological, intellectual, political, Communist and Bolshevik transformations, when chaos reigned in the sphere of religion, education and social relations, the society was threatened by the feminist revolution and promiscuity; when families fell apart and kinship relations were broken, when heretical doctrines prevailed in society, enemies openly attacked the nation's religion, its language, values, traditions, customary clothing and origins—we have no foundations left, on which we could raise and teach our youth.

During that period, ideas of renewal became widespread among us. Truly, we were in dire need of renewal and renewers. Everything that would have helped us to preserve our national character and religious heritage, would have assisted us in reaching the path of civilized progress, was cancelled and destroyed. Our entire historical past, true religion, our flourishing civilization and great empire—all this has been effaced, condemned, left behind and forgotten by us. In our desire to assimilate the new and to borrow the foreign we were able to only grasp the exterior and could never reproduce it completely. And what we have now from the past

and the modernity is just a shell, an imitation, like the husk of an almond or walnut that is spread in a thick layer underfoot; in itself, it is useless and unable to preserve the essence' [Rida, 1931, p. 770].

I have highlighted individual words and expressions in this text that I believe speak of the conviction and uncompromising nature of the answer of Rashid Rida to the New Time. This is a person who believes that he faces some external threat related to such a profound change of the world, where nothing would remain the same, and whatever comes, it would not esteem what was most precious for humankind. His words illustrate the attitudes of millions of those who felt that current events were beyond their control, because the society and community no longer ensured the existence of an individual and personality, and the historical connection between these two spheres threatened to be broken forever. For these masses and those who spoke for them, the New Time was a revolution of desperation that could not be fought, because it had no definite ideology of its own, or a specific plan, or an advance guard. The New Time had only the future.

§ 2. Ideology of Renewal

Rafik Mukhametshin

As early as at the dawn of its formation, Jadidism found itself at the center of the ideological struggle of different political epochs in Tatar society. The progressive part of the population saw it as an intellectual and ideological force capable of leading Tatar society out of its centuries-long stagnation. Tatar traditionalists considered it a serious threat to the Muslim community because, in their opinion, Jadidism brought free-thinking and libertinism bordering on atheism to society.

⁴ Rida was the most prominent among the disciples of Dzhamaletdin Afghani (1838–1897) and Muhammad Abduh (1849–1905), two leading progressive Muslim theologians.

The situation has not really changed in modern conditions. Some, mainly the scientific and artistic intelligentsia, consider Jadidism as the most effective form of the return of Islam to the public and political life of modern Tatarstan, since in the late 19th to early 20th centuries, it assimilated the characteristics and achievements of the 'Tatar version' of Islam and therefore is the sole acceptable form of religious and moral renewal of society and a secure shield against penetration into the Republic of phenomena alien to Tatar Islam [Mukhametshin, 2005a, p. 59–81]. Part of the intelligentsia and the clergy in particular are wary about the ability of Jadidism to revive religious traditions in modern conditions. Furthermore, they have

good reason to believe that this phenomenon has too many ideological and political roots, and they fear the occurrence of serious reasons for revising the foundations of Islam to please other forces that do not take into account the interests of the Muslim community itself. According to them, Jadidism, as a singular form of social reform, is completely capable of destroying the fundamentals of the traditional Islamic ummah, which does not need any innovation [Nuzhna li reforma, 2004].

The main stumbling block for opponents is the problem of the origins of Jadidism. Different approaches to the topic exist in both domestic and foreign historiography. Many researchers connect the establishment of Jadidism with the activities of I. Gasprinsky—the founder of the new education system. For example, V. Gankevich insists that 'Jadidism appeared in the late 19th century primarily as an attempt to reform the primary schools... Jadidism appeared in Crimea as a social pedagogic movement. The most famous promoter of the audio method, and the generally recognized leader of Jadidism was... Ismail Gasprinsky' [Gankevich, 1998, p. 239–240]. Some academics admit the possibility that the ideas of Jadidism formed under the influence of the ideas of Murad mullah, who spoke of the need to create a 'renewed' religion uniting many peoples [Iskhakov, 1997a, p. 13]. A number of researchers are convinced that its origins go back to Muslim reform activities and are related to the activities of A. Kursavi, who had proposed to open 'the gates of ijtihad' [Idiyatullina, 2006].

In fact, the choice of a particular theory is not just about determining the starting point but the selection of radically different approaches to assessing the essence of Jadidism. If one relates the attitude towards Jadidism to the activities of I. Gasprinsky, then the enlightening and educational component will dominate in it. If, on the other hand, one connects the formation of Jadidism with the activities of Murad mullah, then the essence of this phenomenon takes a political and ideological tint, because Murad mullah, like Batyrsha, was closer in spirit to politicians than to religious activists. If one assumes that G. Kursavi was the originator of

Jadidism, then its contents nearly merge with religious reforms.

One of the decisive aspects of determining the essence of Jadidism is establishing its relationship with Muslim reform activities, that is, 'if Muslim reform activities are a component of Jadidism, or if Jadidism is just one of its theoretical sources'.

This is a matter of principle, because the characteristics of Jadidism in general depend on its answer. If it is treated as the evolution of ideas of the Muslim reforms in Tatar society, then Jadidism acquires the same religious content. On the other hand, separation of Jadidism from the Muslim reform implies its recognition as a radically new phenomenon, with mainly secular content, although with a significant religious component.

After generalizing all opinions, we can state that Jadidism, starting with Murad mullah and Bartysha, became a movement that put to the forefront not only the religious, but also ethno-political interests of the Tatar community, as well as the problem of its political establishment.

However, as has been already stated above, in domestic historiography, the formation of Jadidism is nearly always connected to the reform of the education system. Muslim education served as the foundation for the ideological and intellectual transformation in Tatar society in the socio-political situation which Russian Muslims found themselves in. The education system became the center of transformations, primarily because it proved to be the only possible form of spiritual renewal and reproduction of the intellectual potential of society in the 19th century. In the opinion of D. Iskhakov, 'political reformism' became possible only after the Revolution of 1905 [Iskhakov, 1997a, p. 9], since previously, apart from the education system, there had been no other structures or institutions that could function, if not fully, then at least in some other form. This is why the system undoubtedly became the foundation and center of intellectual renewal.

Does this mean that reform of the education system became the main goal set by the first Jadids? Was it the objective of the pro-

posed transformations or only a means for implementing them? The prevailing opinion in Western European historiography is that true Jadids did not support only religious reforms and renewals. This approach is more productive, because it allows one to determine the contents of Jadidism more clearly. In reality, when the meaning of this phenomenon is tightly bound to reform of the public education system, its content is blurred, it becomes even more patchy, and in fact does not allow any kind of rigorous definition. More likely, we must proceed from the premise that Jadidism as a phenomenon was initially aimed at modernizing Muslim society.

Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that there were other forces in Tatar society interested in modernizing its socio-political life. Even now, the role of other factors in promoting the establishment of Jadidism is somewhat underrated. In the past few years, researchers have started focusing on the economic basis of operation of the new education method. The institution of trustees in the Tatar mahallahs, activities of charitable organizations and foundations, and the contribution of the national bourgeoisie in financial support of the system indicate that Jadidism initially formed as a multi-faceted phenomenon [see: Salikhov, 1998]. There is actually a certain logic in this, because when reform of the education system took place, it was carried out using the internal resources of the Tatar community, and this would have been impossible without understanding the prospects and end results of these reforms. The resurgent Tatar bourgeoisie and merchant class were naturally interested in the end results of the reform: the new social classes needed a skilled work force able to adequately understand the processes taking place in Russia, find their place in the new socio-economic conditions, and determine the real prospects of the Tatar community, that is, in creating an education system not for the sake of improving teaching methods but for producing real results. Therefore, as a social and ideological movement, Jadidism of the late 19th century was functioning and developing within the system of religious education. However, even

then it also appeared in other forms that took it beyond the system; that is, it may be said that even before the 20th century, there was an understanding of the need for radical changes in society.

In the early 20th century, new opportunities arose in Tatar society for implementing the ideas that had previously been set out in Tatar Jadidism. This was the ambition to create a political base for the renewal of Tatar society. Active participation of nearly all intellectual forces in the political processes and organizations indicates that Tatar society was ripe for a wider and more radical solution to socio-political problems. In these circumstances, the secular and national component was so popular that Jadidism turned into a leading movement in the Tatar community.

As an ideology still undergoing formation, Jadidism needed a new perspective on the national factor. Whereas before the early 19th century this problem had not been discussed, or, more frequently, had been ignored, starting in the latter half of the century, more and more attention was paid to national problems. This was quite natural, because the formation of the ideology of national liberation movement started with an appeal to the national culture and revival of interest to the national language, from the resurrection of the memory of the former greatness of the people, its 'Golden Age', and teaching a feeling of patriotism and formation of the national consciousness. All of these were the principal factors in formation of a nation. However, it should be kept in mind, that Islam remained the principal element of the outlook on life and determined not only the moral and ethical, but also the socio-political views of a significant portion of the population. The development of social thought took place under conditions of, if not unconditional piety, then at least the complete, sometimes unconscious submission of the people, especially in the country, where the majority of population lived, to the system of customs, system of living formed under the influence of Islam.

Fundamental problems related to rethinking of the role and place of Islam in the life of society arose during the fairly intensive formation

of national identity in Tatar society that had been developing for many centuries as a part of Muslim civilization. In fact, the Tatars had no other force capable of inspiring and directing the national liberation movement until nearly the Mid-19th century. However, despite this, the process of formation and spread of the national ideology that was secular in nature was fairly rapid, because it had originated from the internal needs of society.

This feature of Islam in Tatar society was used by the Jadids to build an effectively functioning ideological system. The Jadids assumed that Islam was a component of the national culture, the moral and ethical foundation of society, the creative force of its people, and its spiritual energy. In this context, the problem was assessed in detail in the publications of Yusuf Akchura [Mukhametdinov, 2004]. For example, he believed that 'Islam was one of the religions that attached great significance to political and public affairs'. However, 'to allow the formation of nations within it', 'it had to undergo modifications... After abandoning the social functions, religions act as leaders showing the correct way to the hearts, they become merely a kind intermediary between the Creator and His creations. As a result, religions can preserve their political and social meaning only by uniting with ethnicities, assisting and even serving them' [Akchura, 1994, p. 132].

After recognizing the close connection of Islam with national problems, the Jadids needed to establish the precise place of religion in the system of new ideological relations. Of course, this was not an easy task, because, as we have already stated above, aspects serving national interests can always be discovered in religious universals. Moreover, Islamic values were sometimes treated as national universals. For example, in the political sphere, the idea of solidarity of co-religionists and unification of the ummah, originating in Islam, was treated as the symbol of solidarity and unification of the nation. In the early 20th century, Islam, as the foundation of traditional Muslim society, was considered to be a symbol of national identity.

Undoubtedly, the discovery of interaction of these to beginnings does not comprise an at-

tempt to blur the lines between them. Attempts were made once again select the aspects of Islam serving the interests of the Tatar nation and society. In the early 20th century, Tatar society needed Islam primarily as a code of moral and ethical norms, a symbol of ideological complexes based on religious and cultural values. The Tatar intelligentsia attempted to propose a new model of renewal of statehood for the country, based on pluralistic principles well known in the West. This model, first proposed in Russian conditions by I. Gasprinsky, placed Russians and Muslims in positions of formal equality and prompted a search for more civilized approaches to solving the national question.

One of the features of Jadidism in the early 20th century was a shift of the center of gravity from purely theological problems to social and political ones. Its representatives understood that the Tatar community needed a modern outlook and strove to bring the traditional belief systems in line with requirements of the epoch. In the new circumstances, the interest in problems of religion and outlook was becoming more dependent on the formation of state legal and socio-economic doctrines. This trend could not help but disclose the narrowness of traditional principles of understanding the fundamentals of socio-political life. The search for answers to the increasingly complex questions of life forced the Jadids make radical changes in their ideas about the pace and role of Islam in the life of society and to borrow from Soviet doctrines. Therefore, it is no coincidence that in the early 20th century, Islam played an important role in Tatar society in the formation of a national ideology and in national integration of the population.

For Jadidism, religion was necessary as the principal tool for social renewal, as the basis of internal faith, and a complex of ethical instructions. For them, Islam was the embodiment of the social unity of the Tatars, the creative powers of the people, their spiritual energy, culture and one of the foundations of national existence. It is no coincidence that everything was aimed at the renewal of Tatar society, including religious and belief searches, was treated as a

whole: 'The battle with false notions in Islam, the desire to prove that Islam is a godly and socio-scientific religion, the origin of the women's question and new methods of teaching and upbringing, the national culture, and resolution of political, social and scientific questions—all of these carried out in a very short time, are our national affairs' [Tormysh, 1914, 12 Feb.]. This may be why the Tatar Jadids, unlike their predecessors, attempted to form a system of opinions on the social structure of modern Tatar society and Russia, the nature of its internal connections and its operating mechanism. In doing so, they turned to both traditional ideas, and new scientific statements, and the experiences of Western European civilization.

G. Bayazitov [Tatarskie intellektualy', 2005] believes that there is no 'disincentive for the cultural development, or challenge preventing a Muslim from joining the ranks of cultured Europeans. We can confidently state that the Quran and Sharia can go hand in hand with all reasonable reforms' [Bayazitov, 1898, p. 6]. At the same time, he stressed that, 'despite the favorable reception of the Islamic doctrine concerning its compatibility with all reasonable civil reforms recognized as a present-day need, unfortunately, we cannot confirm such as successful resolution of the issue' [Bayazitov, 1898, p. 6]. G. Bayazitov attempted to dispel the myth that enemies of Islam who try to shake its foundations from the outside are to blame for all the misfortunes and problems of Muslim society. This theologian insisted that such forces must be looked for within society as well. G. Bayazitov believed that his contemporary Islam had turned into a dogmatic doctrine that had no place for logic and rational judgment when assessing social realities.

This problem was also discussed by other religious activists. The Tatar intelligentsia paid a lot of attention to discussing the issue of reform of the public education system and the place of Jadidism within this system.

Thus, Jadidism turned into a socio-political, modernist movement of the Muslims of the Volga Region, Crimea, Transcaucasia and Central Asia in the latter half of the 19th and—first third of the 20th centuries. It was formed and became widespread in Tatar society and created prerequisites for revising the fundamentals of the obsolete outlook, disruption of the ruling dogmas and scholasticism, replacement of the traditional norms of relations between people as universal and absolute regulators with new ones, and served as a kind of transition from former stereotypes of the mass consciousness to modern forms of political thinking. The shift of the center of gravity from purely theological problems to social and political issues implied new approaches to presenting them, and a higher level of thinking.

Jadidism determined the principal direction of the evolution of Islam:—the intellectualization of spiritual life, the use of historical mobility of religion, and its ability to adapt to new circumstances and assimilate the new social quality. The Jadids understood the extreme difficulty of even setting such an objective. Would Muslims be able to adhere to the principal tenets of Islam during the radical changes taking place in the society; would they be capable of following not only the religious, but also the political and social principles of religious doctrine; would they look for a way out during the transformation by restricting the role and function of religion to the spiritual life, leaving the day-to-day, secular living outside its purview? These questions troubled Tatar thinkers, and they searched for the best ways of incorporating religion into public and political life.

The principal centers of Jadidism were the madrasas Muhammadiya in Kazan, Galiya in Ufa, Khusainiya in Orenburg, Rasuliya in Troitsk, Nizamiya in Astrakhan, and Bubi in the village of Izh-Bobya. Leading representatives of Jadidism are Yu. Akchura, G. Barudi, J. Validi, G. Bubi, F. Karimi, S. Maksudov, R. Ibragimov and F. Tuktarov.

CHAPTER 3

Oriental Studies at Kazan University and Study of the Historical and Cultural Heritage of the Asian Peoples

Ramil Valeev

In the 19th and the early 20th centuries, Kazan University had become the leading European and Russian center for the study of the multifaceted historical and cultural heritage of the Turkic, Mongolian-speaking and Finno-Ugric peoples of Russia and countries of the Near and Middle East, Central and East Asia.

Sources of the official teaching of Oriental languages in Kazan are associated with the First Kazan Gymnasium (1758), where, starting in 1769, a Tatar language class was set up due to the geographic location and availability of Turkic and Tatar manuscripts. The renowned Turkologist A. Kononov, in stressing the start of teaching the Tatar language in Kazan in the late 1760s, stated: 'These are the years that should be considered the beginning of the scientific stage in the history of domestic Turkology, preceded by a centuries-long period of practical familiarization of the Russians with Turkic languages' [Kononov, 1982, pp. 201].

For many years, the Tatar language was taught by the well-known educators Sagit Khalfin (1732–1785), the author of 'The Alphabet of the Tatar Language...' (1778) and 'Russian-Tatar Dictionary', Iskhak Khalfin (died in 1800) and Ibragim Khalfin (1778–1829) [Khanbikov, 1968; Mazitova, 1972; Mikhaylova, 1972, and others]. The First Kazan Gymnasium became a large secular educational establishment in Russia where Oriental languages were taught. It served as the training and teaching base for the establishment and development of Kazan University Oriental Studies in the first half of the 19th century.

The First Kazan Gymnasium and the category of Oriental language arts of Kazan University prior to its closing in 1854/1855 prepared Oriental language teachers for gen-

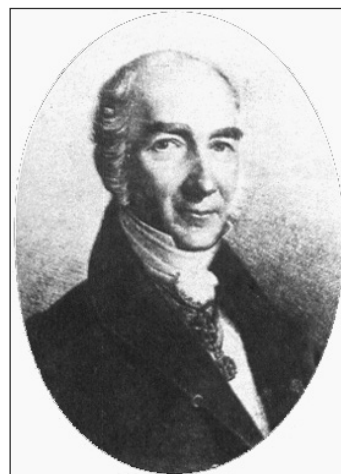
eral education institutions and for translators employed by the authorities responsible for eastern regions of the Russian Empire. In the 1820s to the first half of the 1830s, this was where the system of teaching Asian languages was first developed—in 1822, the study of the Arabic and Persian languages was first officially introduced (taught by F. Erdman; in 1826, Mirza Kazembek was appointed to the position of teacher of Muslim languages; in 1827 and 1833, I. Vernikovskiy taught Arabic; in 1828, A. Onisiforov became a teacher of the Tatar language; in 1833, K. Voigt and A. Popov were approved as teachers of the Persian and Mongolian languages; in 1835, Mirza Kazembek started teaching the Turkic-Tatar language; in June 1835, Nicholas I of Russia issued an edict on including teaching of the Arabic, Persian, Tatar and Mongolian languages in the curriculum of Kazan Gymnasium for the purpose of training translators for the Empire's departments, etc. [Kulikova, 1994, p. 347–348]. These official activities expanded the sphere of Oriental languages and determined the status of the main secondary educational establishment for Oriental studies in Russia in the first half of the 19th century. In his report, a trustee of Kazan Teaching District, M. Magnitsky (26 May 1825), wrote to the Ministry of National Education: '... Not only state-funded students are taught the Tatar language in the gymnasium, but also children who are sent there from remote places, for example from Siberia, Astrakhan, etc., to prepare these young people for the position of translator and for other positions requiring knowledge of Oriental languages, so now, instead of 5 or 7 people as before, he manages 35 people of the Mohammedan and Greek-Russian faith...



Kh. Fren.



A. Kazembek.



F. Erdman.

[Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 40, file 182, s. 1–1reverse].

The Ministry of National Education also recognized 'as useful... the teaching of the following languages in Kazan Gymnasium: Arabic, Persian, Tatar and Mongolian'. Three categories were created in 1836: 1) Arabic and Persian, 2) Turkic-Tatar and Persian, 3) Mongolian and Turkic-Tatar; teachers were appointed for study of the four Asian languages; and for the practical study of languages, supervisors were appointed 'from among non-Christians who were fluent in these languages'; the gymnasium accepted the following 'non-Christians as state-funded students of the gymnasium in Oriental languages: Tatars, Buryats and others'. With the approval of the supervisor of the teaching district, the best students were given an opportunity 'to enter a university, with a state stipend, for further improvement of their knowledge of Oriental languages'; out of 80 state-funded students of the gymnasium, only 14 were able to study Oriental languages [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 11, sect. 1, No.8742; National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 3833, s. 75]. This procedure remained in place until the 40s of the 19th century. Soon, in addition to Oriental languages, they started teaching Chinese (from 1838), Armenian (from 1842) and Manchu (from 1845). Between 1800 and 1841, nearly 300 people studied Oriental languages

at the gymnasium [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 5357, s. 18–22 reverse].

As a whole, the period from the middle to the second half of the 19th century in Russian Oriental Studies is associated with the restriction and cessation of study of Oriental languages in secondary general education establishments of Russia [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 46, file 4; s. 48, f. 212; National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, files 6721, 7267, 8759, 15877]. The project for centralizing education in Oriental studies and sciences in Saint Petersburg and its implementation in the Department of Oriental Languages at the university in 1854/1855 affected the system of teaching Asian languages in Russian gymnasiums and schools.

By the Mid-19th century, the category of Oriental language arts of Kazan University had become a major center of university-based Oriental studies in Russia and Europe. The initial stage of Kazan University Oriental studies covers 1804–1827. The University Charter dated 5 November 1804 provided for a professor of Oriental languages and a lecturer in the Tatar language in the Department of Language Arts [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 28, No.21500; Periodicheskoe, 1805, No.11, pp. 329–405; Kulikova, 1994, p. 216]. In 1807, Kh. Fren (1782–1851), Doctor of Philosophy and professor of Rostok

University, was appointed as a full professor of Oriental language arts at Kazan University (1807–1817) [Kulikova, p. 218]. These official activities laid the foundation for the development of Kazan University Oriental Studies in the 19th century.

The first experience of teaching Oriental languages in Kazan University was the Tatar language, which was taught to students under the direction of I. Khalfin (1778–1829). In August 1805, the first supervisor of the Kazan Teaching District (1803–1812), S. Rumovsky (1734–1812), instructed the director of the First Kazan Gymnasium an University, Yakovkin, to select 5 talented young men for further study of the Tatar language. I. Khalfin was also recommended to start developing a new grammar of the Tatar language [Zagoskin, 1902, p. 221]. In 1809, the university printing house published the 'Alphabet and Grammar of the Tatar Language, with the Rules of Arabic Reading' by I. Khalfin. Two years later, he was elected as a lecturer of the Tatar language at Kazan University. In August 1823, the University Council elected him as an adjunct professor of Oriental language arts.

The period from the early 1820s was the most difficult one in the development of teaching Oriental languages in universities: there was a lack of students in the Department of Oriental Languages, and what is more important, there were no teachers or a goal-oriented teaching process, the question of terminating the teaching of Oriental language arts was even raised, and the methods and management of teaching Asian languages had not been developed. The well-known university revision of 1819 by M. Magnitsky significantly restricted the teaching of Oriental languages.

The second, more fruitful, stage the development of Kazan University Oriental Studies occurred in 1827–1846. According to the provisions of the 'General Charter of Imperial Russian Universities', in 1835–1837, the principal courses in Oriental languages—Arabic, Turkic-Tatar, Persian and Mongolian—were united in the category of Oriental language arts of the Department of Philosophy [Shofman, Shamov, 1956, p. 423]. The category of Oriental lan-

guage arts of Kazan University in 1828–1854 was based on the Arabic-Persian (1828), Turkic-Tatar (1828), Mongolian (1833), Chinese (1837), Sanskrit (1842), Armenian (1842) and Kalmyk (1846) Chairs.

University-based Oriental studies in Kazan in the 1820s to 1840s included the organization of research trips to the countries of the Muslim East and Central Asia. Along with practical classes for students, conducted by native speakers of living Asian languages, the direct study of the history, languages, culture, day-to-day life and customs during research trips and travel became the characteristic feature of the Kazan school of Oriental scholars in the 19th to early 20th centuries. There were research trips for students of Oriental language arts at the University: O. Kovalevsky and A. Popov to Central Asia (1828–1833), V. Vasilyev to China (1840–1850), and I. Berezin and V. Dittel to the Near East (1842–1845) [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, files 2237, 4814; f. 977, inv. Sovet, file 1266, vol. 1; file 1267, vol. 2; file 2283; 2450; inv. Rektor, file 654; 837; Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 42, files 90, 306; Mazitova, 1972, pp. 71–96; Shamov, 1983, pp. 19–68]. The tradition of research trips to Eastern countries was preserved and developed in Kazan Oriental Studies in the latter half of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

In 1855, Kazan University stopped teaching Oriental languages; professors and teachers V. Vasilyev, I. Berezin, N. Sonin, M. Navrotsky and students of the Oriental Department of the university were transferred to the Department of Oriental Languages of Saint Petersburg University, and the principal Oriental collections of the teaching library and the coin cabinet of Kazan University were also transferred there.

In the first half to the Mid-19th century, the Kazan University Department of Eastern Philology became a teaching and research center for the study of the history and culture of Islamic nations of the East. This period was associated with the origin and development of Turkic, Iranian, Arabic and Islamic Studies. Countries of the foreign Muslim world—the Ottoman Empire, Persia, Arab East and regions where



I. Berezin.



K. Fuchs.



I. Gotwald.

Islam had traditionally spread in the Russian empire (the Volga and Ural regions, Caucasus, Central Asia and Crimea)—became the research focus in the works and articles of Kazan University Orientalists Kh. Fren, I. Khalfin, F. Erdman, A. Kazembek, S. Nazaryants, I. Berezin, V. Dittel, I. Gotwald and others. Their works established a defined academic tradition, which developed in Russian centers of Oriental Studies in the second half of the 19th century.

Research into the history and culture of peoples of the Muslim world was concentrated in areas such as preparing and publishing educational programmes, books, anthologies and dictionaries; the compilation of a reserve of Oriental manuscripts and books; the collection, study and publication of written and physical Eastern historical sites and sources; translations of Eastern authors; research trips to the Muslim East; original philological, historical, cultural, natural geographic, archaeological and ethnographic publications, and so on [Is-toriya, 1990, p. 137]. These academic pursuits found focus in the educational and research activities of the departments of Eastern philology, Arabic-Persian, Turkic-Tatar and Armenian languages. The academic research and instructional activities of Kazan University Oriental Studies scholars are notable for their variety and close connection with a range of related disciplines and Orientalists from other centres of academic Oriental studies. Until the Mid-

19th century, most of the teachers and Orientalist scholars at the university were alumni of the Department of Eastern Philology. Russian academic Oriental studies found a solid base in the works of the first generation of Russian Oriental Studies scholars.

In the 1820s–1850s, professors of the Department of Muslim languages prepared and published a series of instructional programmes and textbooks, anthologies and dictionaries [Berezin, 1846; 1853; 1857; 1862; 1876; 1890; Kazembek, 1839; 1846; Makhmudov, 1857; Khalfin Ibragim, 1809 and others]. One of the first educational programmes for teaching Arabic at Kazan University was compiled in October 1807 by Kh. Fren, a professor from the School of Oriental Languages [Mazitova, 1972, p. 23].

Textbooks and anthologies by I. Khalfin, A. Kazembek and I. Berezin also played a formative role in the history of Russian Turkic, Iranian and Arabic studies programmes. The most talented students accepted to the School of Arab-Persian and Turkic-Tatar Literature contributed to the compilation of educational publications.

In 1838 M. Pervukhin, a senior teacher of the First Kazan Gymnasium, compiled the 'Grammar and Syntax of the Arabic Language'. M. Kazembek published the 'Grammar of the Turkic-Tatar Language'—one of the planned educational publications and a well-known

study into the history of Turkology. The first draft of the grammar by M. Kazembek with his notes and additions was written on the basis of the well-known 'Grammar of the Turkiv-Tatar Language' by Zhober, translated by I. Berezin [Mazitova, 1972, s. 42–42 reverse].

The academic tradition of research, collection and later textual studies of Oriental manuscripts and texts was developed extensively in the classic, university-based Oriental studies in Kazan. Professors and teachers of the University's Department of Eastern Languages actively stocked and expanded the University Library with Islamic manuscripts and Russian and West European literature on Oriental Studies [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 1901, 2301, 2319; 2711, 4527, 4719, 5472, 5871, 6157, 6747, 7997 and others]. From 1807–1818, the University Library purchased more than 70 books and manuscripts in Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew, Persian, Turkish and Tatar [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 197, 250, 765; Mazitov, 1972, p. 54].

The latter half of the 1820s to the first half of the 1850s was marked by significant acquisitions, cataloging and study of the written sources of Muslim peoples of the East and Russia.

The two most notable research fields in the Muslim world and the East in general in Kazan University Oriental Studies of the 19th century were: first—direct familiarisation with and study of the history and culture of Asian peoples; and second—instruction in Oriental languages and the history of Asia in university centres, and research on the written and material heritage of the peoples of Asia.

The research trips of members of the Department of Eastern Philology I. Berezin (1818–1896) and V. Dittel (1816–1848) in 1842–1845 to the countries and regions of the Muslim East—the Caucasus, Iraq, Iran, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Turkey—was extremely important in the history and culture of the peoples of Russia [Shofman, Shamov, 1956, pp. 429–430; Mazitova, 1972, pp. 86–96; Dantsig, 1973, pp. 200–203 and others]. The living, distinctive and unique East, already well-known through personal observations and

impressions, was introduced in the university-based Oriental studies of the first half of the 19th century.

Various Orientalist materials from Russian university centres marked the appearance of new information and knowledge about Asian peoples, fundamental changes in the status of the East from a historical perspective, and the formation of a paradigm of Russian classical Oriental studies. Mongolian, Kalmyk, Chinese, Manchu and Sanskrit studies were also established and developed at Kazan University. Thanks to the works of Orientalists such as O. Kovalevsky (1800–1878), A. Popov (1808–1865), Archimandrite Daniil (1798–1871), I. Voytsekhovskiy (1793–1850), V. Vasilyev (1818–1900), P. Petrov (1814–1875), F. Bollenzen (born around 1813) and others, the teaching and study of the languages, history, ethnography and cultural heritage of the peoples of Mongolia, Kalmykia, Buryatia, China and India became a regular and intensive component of Oriental studies in Kazan.

The sources of university-based Mongolian studies in Kazan were closely connected with the names of O. Kovalevsky and A. Popov from the Department of Eastern Philology [Shamov, 1983, p. 3], who were appointed junior research assistants of the Mongolian language in July 1833 [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 3829, s. 7–8]. They played an extremely significant role in the teaching of the Mongolian language in the First Kazan Gymnasium and the university, providing the library with manuscripts and works, preparing and publishing educational materials, devising curricula, and going on research trips to Siberia, Buryatia, Mongolia and China. In Kazan, they published works on the languages, ways of life, customs, history, ethnography and religion of the Mongolian-speaking peoples of Asia and Russia [Kovalevsky, 1834, p. 263–292; 1834a; 1835; 1835a; 1837; 1836; 1837a; Popov, 1836, part I–II; 1839, part 22, dept. 2; 1847; 1850, part 67 and others].

In 1835 the university acquired O. Kovalevsky's collection. This collection, consisting of 1,272 titles, included Chinese, Manchurian and Mongolian works and ethnographic col-



Imperial Kazan University. Lithography of V. Turin. 1834.

lections (lamas' costumes, Buddhist deities, coins, paintings, etc.) [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 4251, s. 6–17].

The Department of Mongolian Language of Kazan University marked the official start of Mongolian studies in the university centres of Russia and Europe on the foundation of practical and academic Mongolian studies first established in the 17–18th centuries.

The development of university-based Chinese, Manchurian and Tibetan studies in Kazan until 1855 was closely associated with members of the famous Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing Archimandrite Daniil (1798–1871, Beijing, 1821–1830) and I. Voytsekhovskiy (1793–1850, Beijing, 1819–1831), a student of the Department of Oriental Studies and a member of the mission in 1839–1850. V. Vasilyev (1818–1890). The linguistic, literary, historical and ethnographic works of these scholars during the Kazan phase of their work, both published and unpublished manuscripts, significantly contributed to the study of the history and culture of the peoples of Central Asia [Daniil (Sivillov), 1837; 1837a; 1838; Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books of the Scientific Library of Kazan State University, No.4478; No.4485; Vasilyev, 1851, No.50; 1852, Vol. 113; 1852a, part 73; 1855, part 15; 1857, part 1; 1857a, Vol. 9, Book 2; Russian bulletin, 1857, Vol. 11, p. 309]. For example, in October 1839, Archimandrite Daniil submitted the 'Chinese Anthology' with a dictionary for publication [National Archives

of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 5007, s. 1–2 reverse]. I. Voytsekhovskiy completed the compilation of a 'Chinese-Manchurian-Russian Dictionary' in Kazan [Istoriya, 1990, p. 124, 274]. The university's School of Chinese Language and Literature (1837), which was reorganised in 1844 into the School of Chinese Manchurian Literature, and the research of Kazan

Orientalists formed both the source and further development of the university tradition of the study of Far Eastern civilizations and states in Russia.

The teaching of Sanskrit, compilation of literature and manuscript collections, and study of Sanskrit texts in 1842–1856 were carried out mainly by P. Petrov (1841–1851) and F. Bollenzen (1852–1856). Certain educational and linguistic areas were associated with their names, mainly the teaching and studying of Sanskrit, preparation and publishing of programmes, catalogs and Sanskrit texts, etc. [Petrov, 1842, Book 2, p. 77–95; 1842, part 33; 1844; 1845, part 48, No.11; 1846; 1849, No.18; 1846]. The opening of the first domestic Department of Sanskrit Literature at Kazan University in 1842 marked a new period in the development of Sanskrit and Indian studies in Russia.

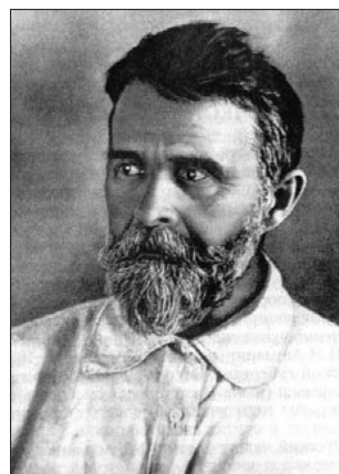
The academic tradition of Sanskrit studies at Kazan University was preserved in the latter half of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Later on, the teaching of Sanskrit was also crucial to the pedagogical and academic careers of scholars from the Kazan linguistic school—I. Baudouin de Courtenay, N. Krushevskiy, V. Bogoroditskiy and others. They taught courses in comparative grammar and Sanskrit in the Departments of Classical, Slavic and Russian Philology in the School of History and Philology. During that period, the study of Sanskrit lost its prominent position and became a secondary discipline of general language studies and comparative philology [National Archives of



O. Kovalevsky.



N. Katanov.



N. Ashmarin.

the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 977, inv. HFF, file 1370, s. 4; National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 977, inv. HFF, file 1642, s. 1–5].

Unfortunately, after the 'frivolous destruction' (V. Bartold) of the Department of Oriental Studies at Kazan University, Oriental studies as a discipline in university education and research in Kazan no longer enjoyed full status compared to other Oriental centres in Russia.

In the 60s–80s of the 19th century the Ministry of National Education attempted to restore Kazan's academic Oriental studies with the help of certain organisational maneuvers in the university. These innovations primarily concerned the introduction of the Arabic, Persian, Turkic-Tatar and Finno-Ugric languages in the School of History and Philology [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 48, file 91; National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 7754; f. 977, inv. HFF, file 1249]. The practice of teaching Oriental languages only to 'interested students' from the 1880s to the early 20th century did not facilitate a complete restoration of the uniquely complex historical, philological and historiographic heritage of study in Kazan University Oriental Studies.

In the 1860s and early 1870s, former graduate of the Oriental Department of Kazan University I. Kholmogorov (1818–1891) remained and taught Arabic and Persian. During those same years, N. Ilminsky (1822–1891) also taught (up to 1872) a course in the Turkic-Tatar language at the university.

I. Kholmogorov's working trip to Persia in 1867–1868 was a continuation of the tradition of research trips to the East by professors from Kazan University's Department of Oriental Languages [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 977, inv. HFF, file 864, s. 1]. He purchased various handwritten and printed publications, as well as ethnographic and numismatic sources, for the university's collection [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 977, inv. HFF, file 864, s. 3–12].

At the end of the 1860s and early 1870s, due to the resignation of I. Kholmogorov (1868) and the appointment of N. Ilminsky as the Head of the Kazan Seminary for Non-Russian Teachers (1872), teaching Muslim languages at the university was temporarily suspended [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 977, inv. IFF, file 897; f. 92, inv. 1, file 10685].

In January 1871, N. Ilminsky presented a report to the School of History and Philology, where he emphasised the importance of inviting Turkologist V. Radlov 'to fill a current vacancy at Kazan University for one of two teachers of Oriental languages from assigned staff' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 977, inv. HFF, file 897, s. 22]. Upon arrival in Kazan, the researcher accepted the position of Inspector of Tatar, Bashkir and Kyrgyz schools in the Kazan Educational District [Bio-bibliography, 1989, p. 103–104].

The 1880s marked a new period in Oriental studies disciplines at the University and in the

development of Oriental studies in Kazan in general. This most important period, confirmed by original materials, continued up to 1917–1918. During these years, I. Gotwald (1813–1897), V. Radlov (1837–1918), N. Krush-evsky (1851–1887), I. Baudouin de Courtenay (1845–1829), M. Veske (1843–1890), N. Katanov (1862–1922), N. Anderson (1845–1905), V. Bogoroditsky (1857–1941), I. Smirnov (1856–1904), N. Ashmarin (1870–1933), N. Nikolsky (1878–1961) and Ya. Kalim (born in 1884) and others played the most significant roles in the revival of Oriental studies at the University. Oriental studies in Kazan at the end of the 19th to the first decades of the 20th century and close academic contact with Russian and foreign Orientalists were both inextricably linked with these individuals.

The restoration of Oriental Studies at Kazan University in the mid 1880s, specifically Finno-Ugric and Turkic-Tatar philology, owes its success to Professor I. Baudouin de Courtenay. His most prominent contribution was the development of Turkic and Finno-Turkic philology 'that would allow Kazan University to take the lead in linguistic and ethnographic research into the eastern regions of Russia' [Biobibliograficheskij, 1989, p. 2]. He made an offer to V. Radlov to head the department of 'Turkic languages'. But the election of V. Radlov as a full Academician of the Literature and History of the Asian Peoples (June 1884) prevented the implementation of important and promising measures for the inclusion of Oriental languages, especially Turkic, at the university. The revival of the tradition of Turkological research at the university started only ten years later thanks to N. Katanov, a scholar of the Arabic, Persian, Turkic and Tatar languages from the Department of Oriental Languages of Saint Petersburg University [Gordlevsky, 1922, pp. 448–451; Ivanov, 1962; Iskhakov, 1960, p. 87–90].

At the end of the 1880s the university started teaching Finno-Ugric languages, which was associated with the pedagogical activities of M. Veske, PhD, a lecturer in the Estonian language from Dorpat University. From 1887–1890 M.

Veske taught Finnish dialects. He was a scholar of the Leipzig linguistic school in Kazan Oriental Studies, and received European training in comparative historical linguistics. During his Kazan period of research and teaching activity, he published a range of works on current issues in Finno-Ugric studies [Veske, 1889; 1890]. Finno-Ugric studies experts from Kazan University during the 1880s–1890s embarked on ethnographic research trips to Nizhny Novgorod and Simbirsk guberniyas (M. Veske) and Vyatka, Perm, Nizhny Novgorod and Penza guberniyas (I. Smirnov) [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 977, inv. HFF, file 1500, 1530].

During the last quarter of the 19th century to the early 20th century, the teaching and study of the history, language and culture of the Finno-Ugric people in Eurasia were carried out by M. Veske, N. Anderson and Ya. Kalim, scholars of European and Russian Finno-Ugric studies. They were prominent members of one of the first domestic departments of Finno-Ugric philology, established at Kazan University in the 19th century. Historical and philological issues of the Finno-Ugric peoples of the Volga and Ural regions were the focus of attention of the Kazan school of Orientalists in the late 19–early 20th centuries. Kazan researchers and teachers made major contributions to elucidating current issues in the relations of the Finno-Ugric, Eastern and Indo-European language families and groups, and the history, ethnography and archeology of the Finno-Ugric peoples in the Volga-Ural region. The origins of domestic Finno-Ugric studies—a complex discipline encompassing the languages, history, ethnography, folklore and archeology of the Finno-Ugric peoples—were also directly associated with Kazan educational institutions and societies. Researchers from Kazan studied Finno-Ugric languages, along with the ethnography, folklore and history of the Mordvin, Mari and Udmurt peoples of the Volga-Kama Region [Veske, 1889; 1890; Vikhman, 1893; Katanov, 1904, No. 9, p. 133–134; 1904a, vol. 71, Book 9, p. 48–51; Smirnov, 1869].

An entire epoch in the history of Kazan Oriental studies from the 1890s to the first two decades of the 20th century was associated with the teaching and research activity of Doctor of Comparative Linguistics N. Katanov (1862–1922), whose multi-faceted approaches to Oriental studies contributed to the preservation and development of Oriental education and research in Kazan.

In the first decade of the 19th century, Turkic studies at Kazan University were led by S. Malov, a graduate of the Department of Oriental Languages at Saint Petersburg University (1909).

In Kazan in the latter half of the 19th to early 20th centuries, higher educational institutions continued to teach Oriental languages and host orientalist societies, with the main disciplines and research activities of Kazan Orientalists being both preserved and developed. Kazan Orientalists collected and studied historical, linguistic, archaeological and ethnographic materials related to the peoples of the East. The scientific foundation of Oriental research in Kazan formed in the first half of the 19th century and from that point on continued to develop.

Scientific societies played an extremely significant role in the history of Oriental studies in Russia from the 19th to early 20th centuries. I. Gotwald, G. Sablukov, Bachelor N. Ilminsky and the University's Tatar language instructor M. Makhmudov, established the Oriental Society in Kazan in 1855 [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 968, inv. 1, file 1, s. 4]. Its mission statement was defined as 'research and the revelation of the East in philology, jurisprudence and history' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 968, inv. 1, file 1, s. 4]. Plans to achieve this goal centered around resolving a number of urgent research tasks: '... through the publication of original texts, namely, original works in the Chagatai language, along with popular stories, songs, sayings, riddles and so on in Tatar, Chuvash and other languages; through translations of Muslim and other books and articles into Russian; through the compilation of a Dictionary and Grammar of the Tatar-Finnish languages, and finally,

through independent studies based mainly on Eastern data' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 968, inv. 1, file 1, s. 4].

The Oriental Society in Kazan became one of the first provincial public scientific organisations for Oriental studies established in Russia in the 19th century. During its sessions, one particularly well-known work on Tatar linguistics by M. Makhmudov [Makhmudov, 1857], and the issue of research into the Tatar vocabulary, 'which should be drafted according to the present needs of science...' were considered and discussed [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 968, inv. 1, file 1, s. 2]. This first valuable initiative of Kazan Orientalists in the last quarter of the 19th century maintained its energy through the various activities of the Society of Archaeology, Ethnography and History at Kazan University.

The importance and overall volume of the Orientalists' research work occupied a very special place in the activities of the Society of Archaeology, Ethnography and History during the formation and development of unique research associations. The origin of the Society of Archaeology, Ethnography and History is best known through Russian Orientalists I. Berezin (1818–1878), V. Velyaminov-Zernov (1830–1904), I. Gotwald (1813–1897), N. Ilminsky (1822–1891), P. Lerkh (1828–1884), V. Radlov (1837–1918), V. Rozen (1849–1908), G. Sablukov (1804–1880), V. Tiesenhausen (1825–1902) and others. They contributed to the preparation and organisation of the 4th Archaeological Congress (Kazan, 1877). At the request of the Congress, the issue of centralising research on the vast region of eastern Russia (the Volga-Kama Region, Siberia, Central Asia and the Far East) was resolved through the establishment of the Society of Archaeology, Ethnography and History.

During subsequent periods in the Society's history, its honorable, fellow and staff members included famous Russian Orientalists such as V. Vasilyev (1818–1900), V. Rozen (1849–1908), G. Potanin (1835–1920), V. Nalivkin (1852–1918), N. Ostroumov (1846–1930) and others. The intelligentsia of the peoples of the Volga River made up the Society's members, most

notably Sh. Mardjani, K. Nasyri, G. Akhmarov, A. Ilyasov, Sh. Akhmerov, S. Aitov, M. Zaitov, M. Yusupov, N. Zolotnitsky, N. Nikolsky, V. Magnitsky, N. Ashmarin and other prominent figures in the science and culture of the Tatar, Chuvash, Mari and Mordvin peoples.

The research and promotional activities of the Society precisely reflected the current stage in the study of the history and culture of the peoples of the East of Russia (Volga-Ural, Central Asia and Siberia). Eastern countries were less represented in the activities of the Society and its publication, 'Reports of the Society of Archaeology, Ethnography and History'⁵.

The three most significant periods of activity of the Society of Archaeology, Ethnography and History at Kazan University should be pointed out: 1) the late 1870s—the middle of 1890s; 2) the middle of 1890s–1917; 3) 1917–1929.⁶ During these periods, oriental studies and various fields on the study of historical and cultural heritage of the peoples of the Russian East played an integral part in the scientific work of the Society of Archaeology, Ethnography and History. Its scientific and educational activities reflected the close relations with Russian and foreign oriental institutions and

associations of the late 19—the first decades of the 20th century. Kazan orientalist and active members of the Society (I. Gotwald, V. Radlov, I. Baudouin de Courtenay and others) took part in the work of the international Congresses of Orientalists [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 977, inv. HFF, file 1187, 1188, 2175, 2176]. In the period from 1878 to 1904 'The Society was related to 167 individuals and institutions in Russia and 44—from abroad' [Izvestiya, 1905, Vol. 21, Ed. 2, p. 26].

In 1870s—the first half of the 1890s scientific research covered the history and culture of the peoples of the Volga and Ural Regions. In 1897 the society's new charter included the regions of Central Asia and Siberia.

From 1896–1914 N. Katanov, the prominent orientalist and traveller, a researcher of languages, history, ethnography and culture of Turkic-speaking peoples, was the secretary (from 1896) and the Chairman (from 1898) of the Society of Archaeology, Ethnography and History.

N. Katanov's published and specially archived legacy [Valeev, Tuguzhekova, 2008–2009; National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 969, inv. 1–2] is a vivid testimony of the fruitful and versatile organisational and scientific work of the Society in the field of oriental studies.

The most important area of oriental research was the history and culture of the Turkic-speaking and Finno-Ugric peoples. They paid great attention to the study of history and ethnography of peoples of the Russian East—the Kirghiz, Kazakh, Yakuts, Mongols and others. Ancient history, material and written sources on the history and culture of peoples, their customs, manners, folklore, legends and so on manifested themselves in the research work of members of the Society of Archaeology, Ethnography and History.

The scientific and educational research of teachers and scientists of the First Kazan gymnasium and the university on the history and culture of the peoples of the East became a phenomenon in Russian culture and science. The scientific and pedagogical work of the Ori-

⁵ In 1878–1929, 34 volumes of 'Izvestiya OAIE' were published. Before 1892 three issues of 'Izvestiya' were published, and subsequently six issues per year were published. Original and translated articles and works were published in editions dedicated to the problems of archeology, history, ethnography, and culture of Russia's Eastern peoples; news and chronicles of the discoveries, excavation, archaeological, anthropological, archaeographical and ethnographic expeditions of Russian and foreign Orientalists, bibliographic reviews of books and sites on oriental studies, etc. To this day 'Izvestiya' is a unique publication and an historical resource of Middle Eastern research in Russia and Europe. In 1903 'Izvestiya' was distributed to 175 addresses in Russia and 40 addresses abroad [Izvestiya, 1904, Vol. XX. Annex, pp. 17–19].

⁶ In 1929–1930 the biggest historical Oriental Society of Archeology, History, and Ethnography at the University of Kazan was combined with the Society for the Study of Tatarstan, thereby ending its independent existence. The Scientific Society of the Study of Tatars (1923–1929) also played a crucial role in the development of Soviet Oriental studies and has become a major centre for Oriental studies in the Volga and Ural Regions [Khabibullin, 1979, pp. 12–14].

entalists of the university and other centres of Kazan significantly contributed to the further development of Oriental studies as a prospective humanitarian education and science. The study of Eastern languages in the gymnasium and the Department of Eastern Philology of Kazan University marked the beginning of systematic and comprehensive oriental studies education in Russia.

University oriental studies education in Kazan and in Russia as a whole became the foundation for the development of scientific and applied sciences about the East and a significant direction for the socio-political and general cultural activity in all spheres of Russian society.

Unfortunately, the closure of the Department of Eastern Philology at the university interrupted the research-scientific and pedagogical tradition and comprehensive and systematic study of historical and cultural traditional societies and states of Islamic East, Central and Southern Asia at Kazan University.

During the 19–early 20th century important organisational, research and socio-cultural changes occurred in oriental studies at Kazan University. This period, despite the critical milestones in the history of oriental studies at Kazan University, was characterised by progress and its influence on the development of humanitarian education and science.

CHAPTER 4

The Study of the History and Culture of the Tatars in the Synodal Institutions of Kazan

Mars Khabibullin, Radik Iskhakov

The history of studying the ethnography, linguistics and religious beliefs of the Tatars at Synodal educational establishments of Kazan is inextricably related to the missionary activity of the Russian Orthodox Church in Eastern Russia, a policy of religious unification, adopted by the Russian State towards heterodox subjects. Its origins date back to the activity of schools for the newly-baptised, established in the 18th century, for teaching the basics of Orthodoxy to children of non-Russian peoples in the region, who adopted Christianity. In these schools, for the first time in the history of the Orthodox schools, classes in Eastern languages were introduced, scientific research in the field of Turkic studies and comparative philology were made. 'Persons of Tatar origin' appeared among the Tatar language teachers of schools for newly-baptised [Nikolsky, 2007, pp. 227–229, 321].

With the closure of schools in 1800 for the newly-baptised, had implications of great significance for fluency in the Tatar language, which was a common language of cultural communication for local Turkic and partially for the Finno-Ugric peoples, its teaching was implemented in 1797 by the Kazan Spiritual Academy (old). A special class was opened there—the Department of Tatar language, led by a priest from the village of Sontury from Tsarevokokshaysk uyezd Kazan guberniya. Alexander Alexandrovich Troyansky. A native of the baptised Tatar village of Apazovo (Kazan uyezd), A. Troyansky while still a child, lived among the Tatars, learnt their language, he acquired the language 'in the same pure and fluent manner, as a native' [Opy'ty', 1883, p. 168]. Later he continued to improve his knowledge

of the language, learning from the Tatars-Muslims living in the city.

During his work in the Kazan Spiritual Academy, A. Troyansky asserted himself as a talented teacher and scientist-orientalist. In the course developed by him it was proposed to study the writing system and grammatical basis of Tatar language, parses of the sentences, translation of Christian prayers into Tatar. Without having any academic basis, the students studied the above-mentioned disciplines according to handwritten works and teacher's notebooks and from 1814—according to his published 'Short Tatar grammar' [Pokrovsky, 1900, p. 584]. In 1820 in order to help students, A. Troyansky prepared for publication the two-volume 'Dictionary of the Tatar Language and Some Commonly Used Arabic and Persian sayings', published in Kazan in 1822 with a circulation of 1200 copies [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 11, inv. 1, file 102, s. 472–475].

Apart from the preparation of priestly staff, who have knowledge of Tatar language, in the Kazan Spiritual Academy (in 1818 was transformed into the Seminary and subordinate to the government of Moscow Spiritual Academy) they made attempts to encourage teaching pupils from other regions. In 1821 diocese management sent to study at Kazan Peter Listov and Peter Vvedensky (from Nizhny Novgorod Seminary), Timofey Uglyansky and Philip Kamensky (from Tambov Seminary), Timofey Turchaninov and Egor Pechenezhsky (from Penza Seminary) [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 11, inv. 1, file 181, s. 472–475], in 1822—Vasily Paradoksov and Egor Revyev (from Simbirsk Spiritual School),

Mikhail Stefanov, Nikolay Yakimov (Vyatka Seminary) [Pokrovsky, 1900, p. 602], in 1831—Adrian Kostylev, Matfey Bogolyubov, Vasily Unsvitsky, Georgy Ilyin (from Orenburg Seminary) [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 116, inv. 1, file 111, s. 1]. Later these individuals became teachers of the Tatar language in seminaries and schools in their native dioceses.

Despite the attempt to create a stable system for teaching the Tatar language, teaching Islam and the ethnography of Tatars, in the spiritual and educational institutions of Kazan of the first third 19th of the century this task was not resolved. In 1824, after the death of A. Troyansky in the Kazan Seminary an overt crisis in the study of these disciplines was noted. For a number of reasons A. Troyansky did not manage to establish his own school of oriental studies. His successors in the Department of Tatar language did not possess the scientific or pedagogical talent of their teacher. A significant reason for the decline in the study of oriental disciplines during this period was their unofficial status. They were not obliged to attend and success in their studies did not provide any advantage with regards to priestly appointments. Teaching local languages had not been foreseen in the Charter of Seminaries, that's why periods for their study were assigned to after school hours. While they planned to assign two hours per week for studying the Tatar language, in fact 'classes were confined to one hour on Saturday afternoon, when the majority of seminary students were resting' [Kolesova, 2000, p. 38]. This was obviously not enough for studying these disciplines, that's why even the few seminary students, who attended classes during two years, at the end of the course could not speak fluently in Tatar. It should be added that the teachers of Tatar classes were prepared according to the same system as usual seminary students, that is why their level of training was only slightly different from the level of their pupils.

A new page in the history of studying Eastern languages, history, ethnography, Tatar language and languages of other non-Russian peoples of the Russian Empire occurred in the

1840s–1850s, when the Spiritual Academy was re-established in Kazan (1842), the departments of oriental languages were open under it (1845) and also special missionary departments (1854). The goals and objectives put before the Kazan Spiritual Academy and also specific character of this institution demanded attracting talented instructors. The administration of the Kazan Spiritual Academy sought to tie state policy on the Christianisation of non-Russian peoples with an active study of its research. That's why we can say that in missionary departments of the Kazan Spiritual Academy the learning process of religious beliefs and languages of non-Russian peoples, their history and lifestyle gained features, typical for the 'Kazan school'; there were its inherent research methods and techniques, new ideas were put into practice and a whole host of eminent scientists appeared. G. Sablukov, N. Ilminsky, A. Bobrovnikov, E. Malov, N. Ostroumov, M. Mashanov, N. Katanov, P. Zhuze and others were the most prominent representatives of that school [Valeev, 1993, p. 6].

Due to the specific nature of educational and science-practical activity, Kazan Spiritual Academy quickly turned into a large scientific, Islamic and missionary centre of pre-revolutionary Russia. Its influence covered not only the territory of the Middle Volga region but also the entire Eastern part of the Russian Empire. The most important prerogative of the Kazan Spiritual Academy was studying the languages of the non-Russian peoples of Russia to perform active missionary work among them. To carry out these tasks it was necessary to establish the professional specialist training, that is, who possessed a good knowledge of history, ethnography, culture, linguistic peculiarities in the languages of the non-Russian peoples of the Middle Volga Region.

Work on the creation of the missionary departments in the Kazan Spiritual Academy begun immediately after its opening [Znamensky, 1892, p. 5]. Having determined the most widespread languages of the non-Russian peoples living in the lands of the Middle Volga Region and eastern fringes of the Russian State, in 1845 the administration of the educational

establishment opened two departments: 1) Turkish, Tatar and Arabic languages and 2) Mongol and Kalmyk languages [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 10, inv. 1, file 463, s. 1; file 827, s. 40]. The rector (1844–1851) Grigory (Mitkevich) took care of the introduction to serious study of oriental languages at the Academy. Upon his initiative, in 1845 two classes for language learning were opened—Mongol-Kalmyk and Tatar with Arabic. The outstanding scientists of Kazan University, A. Kazembek (taught Turkish-Tatar and Arabic languages) and A. Popov (taught Mongol-Kalmyk language) became the first teachers-linguists. Both professors were mainly involved in studying languages, and provided information about history, ethnography and religion of Arabs, Mongols and Kalmyks in a superficial way. Nonetheless, during the year and half of teaching at the Academy, they managed to prepare a few excellent mentors of non-Russian languages for the seminaries and two for the Kazan Spiritual Academy—A. Bobrovnikov and N. Ilminsky. The latter compiled an entire epoch in the history of missionary education not only in the Academy itself but also in the entire Kazan academic district [Kharlampovich, 1907, p. 740]. That is why it should be stated here that even 'short term teaching of university professors was very important for the subsequent fate of oriental studies in the Kazan Spiritual Academy. It determined the main directions for its development—the study of languages of the Turkic peoples in Russia, Islamic history, created the succession of scientific research of the Kazan university and Kazan Spiritual Academy [Kolesova, 2000, pp. 47–48].

The Anti-Islamic department of the Kazan Spiritual Academy was supposed to become the centre of specialists training to perform missionary activities among the Muslims, newly-baptised Christians and pagans, who lived mainly in the territory of the Middle Volga and Urals Region. N. Ilminsky and G. Sablukov were appointed as teachers there (1856) and interns of the Tatar language Yambulatov. Over



Kazan Theological Academy.
Photo from the early 20th century.
Modern-day 2, Yershov Street.

the course of four years students at the department studied the following disciplines: 'The history of Muhammad', 'Mohammedan faith' according to its sources with the revelation of the general nature of the Tatars, their way of thinking, customs and habits, 'pedagogy', 'Tatar' and 'Arabic' languages to the extent that students would be able to speak fluently with Tatars in an everyday setting not only about simple things, but also about Christian religious doctrine, the commandments, concepts and so on [Gvozdev, 1868, p. 49]. Summer classes for the vernacular Tatar language were conducted in the Tatar Quarter, where students were accommodated at the government's expense. Thus, the pupils of the missionary anti-Islamic department were well educated in religious doctrines and the history of Islam, Christianity, the languages of non-Russian peoples, which allowed them to efficiently use them in their future missionary activity.

The anti-Islamic department in its purpose and definition became scientific centre for studying the history, ethnography and languages of the non-Russian peoples in Russia, as well as the history and foundations of Islam. It was here where there was a concentration of famous teachers and experts on the Muslim

religion. As M. Batunsky noted, students and teachers of the anti-Islamic department of the Kazan Spiritual Academy 'were the first professional missionary-Islamic scholars in Russia' [Batunsky, 1987, p. 261]. I. Alekseev also highly appreciated the activity of that department, calling it an innovation and political-cultural project: 'The establishment of a missionary anti-Islamic department, preparing highly qualified specialists, who had an integrated knowledge of socio-cultural realities, languages and religious beliefs of Muslim peoples of the Russian Empire, was a certain innovation in the religious educational practice of the Orthodox Church and did not necessarily evoke sympathy among the clergymen themselves. It can be stated that it was a cultural and political project rather than a church project, initiated by secular persons, such as N. Ilminsky. It was focused on the actual implementation of the provisions on the dominant character of Orthodoxy with methods of purposeful cultural policy' [Alekseev, 2004, p. 68].

At the initial stage of its existence, the anti-Islamic department performed the collection of materials about a subject of their scientific research, purchased Muslim literature and sources, developed methods for working on them [Valeev, 1993, p. 7]. The fact, that Kazan experts were invited to participate in organizing the III International Conference of Orientalists, held in Saint Petersburg in 1876, indicates the growing reputation of this department [Protokoly', 1876, pp. 127–131].

In 1851 the Kazan Spiritual Academy sent N. Ilminsky to Islamic countries (Egypt, Arabia, Syria and others) for two and half years with the aim of deepening his knowledge of the Arabic language, Islam and also in relation to the increased necessity of analysing the organisation of missionary work by the Catholic clergy [Spassky, 1900, pp. 32–33]. After returning from this scientific business trip in 1854, N. Ilminsky was appointed a teacher in the missionary anti-Islamic department of the Academy. He taught the stories of the prophet Mohammed, 'Mohammedan faith', pedagogy, the Tatar and Arabic languages. At first he placed 'the study of languages above the study

of Islam and especially theological polemic against it' [Krachkovsky, 1958, pp. 125–126]. Nevertheless, a certain fascination of N. Ilminsky with missionary ideas, which according to I. Krachkovsky, did not allow his talents to fully manifest themselves: 'N. Ilminsky, was an outstanding representative of the Kazan school, a brilliant specialist in Turkic and Arabic philology, deeply fascinated by missionary ideas and 'educational' activities among 'non-Russians', did not give Turkic nor Arabic philology what he could have given them' [Krachkovsky, 1958, p. 127].

N. Ilminsky paid great attention to study the history, ethnography and languages of the non-Russian peoples of Russia. Apart from a desk job, he sought to study the Tatar language 'from Tatars' own lips'. For this purpose he lived some time in the Tatar suburb in Kazan and attended madrasah classes. On the instructions of Archbishop Grigory (Postnikov) of Kazan, he travelled extensively within the settlements of Kazan Governorate and collected valuable information on the religious situation on site, on the history of the Tatar people, ethnographic materials.

Many articles by N. Ilminsky, introduced the popular folklore of non-Russian peoples, their customs, rituals, and also a great number of his linguistic studies were published in 'Proceedings of the Archaeological Society', 'Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences', 'Proceedings of the Kazan University', 'Journal of the Ministry of National Education', 'Orthodox observer' (from 1863), 'Orthodox interlocutor', 'Parochial school' (1888 and 1889), 'Bulletins of the Eparchy of Kazan' and others. Among the main works that can be emphasized are the 'Russian grammar self-teacher for the Kirghiz' (Kazan, 1861), 'From the correspondence about the application of the Russian alphabet to foreign languages' (1883), 'Baptised Tatar School of Kazan. Materials for the History of Tatar Education' (1887) and others.

G. Sablukov was another teacher in the missionary anti-Muslim department. He was transferred to the Kazan Spiritual Academy from the Saratov Spiritual Seminary in 1849. The alumnus of the Moscow Spiritual Academy

was fluent in three Oriental languages (Jewish, Arabic and Tatar). According to I. Krachkovsky, the meeting and communication with academicians Kh. Fren and P. Savelyev replaced G. Sablukov and 'did not help him obtain his special school' [Krachkovsky, 1958, p. 218]. During the teaching process at the anti-Muslim department, G. Sablukov developed a strict system of studying missionary disciplines. On the basis of his own lectures and scientific research he composed an extensive study guide for the students (in 1858–1859) 'The Collection of Information on the Mohammedan doctrine, suitable for conversations of a Christian with Mohammedan about the truths of faith', played a prominent role in the formation of the polemical Islamic Studies in Kazan and defining in many respects the main vectors of its development. In the future, G. Sablukov continued his Islamic studies investigations: in 1873 his fundamental work 'Collation of Mohammedan study about God's names with the Christian study about them' was published. After the death of G. Sablukov, in 1889 his research 'Stories of Mohammedans about the Qibla' was published. But undoubtedly the most significant achievement of the scientist was the translation of the Quran into Russian. It was created as a textbook for Orthodox missionaries and students of the Kazan Spiritual Academy, this translation, according to famous modern Islamist E. Rezvan, 'emerged because of the need to have an adequate image of the 'Tatar' Islam, which was very important for the success of missionary activities' [Rezvan, 1991, p. 18]. This work became the first print translation of the Quran from the primary source into Russian was greatly appreciated by the scientific community of Russian and Europe. It testified to the serious scientific level, achieved by the Kazan missionary-polemical school in Islamic studies.

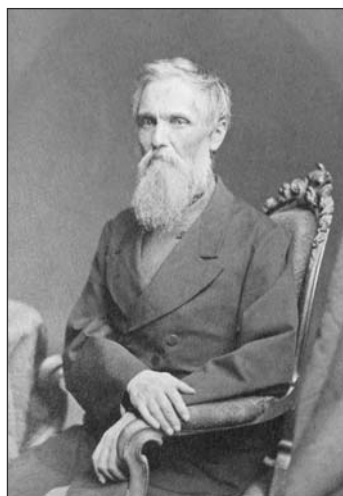
Significant changes and transformations in the field of education at Kazan Spiritual Academy in the latter half of the 19th century are related to the actions of its Rector, Bishop John (Sokolov) (1858–1864). His activities in this field were first of all directed, primarily, against the actions of missionary departments.

He reduced the number of faculties in missionary departments, each department was left with one mentor and fired the intern of vernacular Tatar language. As a result, the best professors fled from the Academy and the most important faculties were emptied out [Kharlampovich, 1907, p. 709]. 3 November 1858. N. Ilminsky left Kazan and went to work in the Orenburg Border Commission. One of the main reasons for him to leave the Academy was the divergence of views with the academic authorities. N. Ilminsky was 'rebuked for being fascinated by Islam and even its propaganda' [Krachkovsky, 1958, p. 126].

After the departure of N. Ilminsky from the anti-muslim department, the authorities demanded that G. Sablukov cover all questions of polemic with muslims, 'putting languages on the back burner'. It is enough to say that for some time he was forced to leave only one hour every two weeks for Arabic and Tatar languages. Contemporaries of G. Sablukov highly appreciated his pedagogical work, but in such conditions it was ineffective and short. In the 1862, due to the dislike of the bishop Ioan, G. Sablukov left the anti-muslim department at the Academy.

With the departure of G. Sablukov, Evfimiy Aleksandrovich Malov led the department of anti-muslim polemic in the 1864, 'from the first steps he distinguished himself not only as a scientist but as an energetic leader in the missionary field' [Kharlampovich, 1907, p. 748]. E. Malov, besides his teaching, actively practiced missionary work and was famous for his numerous essays. He knew in detail Christianity, Judaism and Islam, their dogmas and sources [Istoriya, 1997, p. 38].

At the Kazan Spiritual Academy E. Malov taught Tatar language, the ethnography of Tatar tribes and the 'history of their christianisation'. P. Znamensky wrote: his 'nature was as if he was created for practical missionary work; and he's a historian of the mission and a skillful observer of behaviours, mental and religious terms of Tatars' [Znamensky, 1892a, pp. 156–161]. The practical activities of E. Malov also reflected the direction of his literary-scientific



G. Sablukov.
Photo from the second half
of the 19th century.



E. Malov.
Photo from the early 20th century.



M. Mashanov.
Photo from the late 19th century

works, which were mostly polemic. Among them: 'Essay on the religious state of baptised Tatars, who were under the influence of Mohammedanism' (1871), 'Collation of Mohammedan study about God's names with a Christian study about them' (1874), 'Laws of Moses on Bible and Quranic Studies' (Experience of explaining one of the most explicit contradiction in Quran)' (1889), 'About baptised Tatars (from the missionary diary' (1891), 'The Mohammedan ABCs (missionary-critical essay)' (1894) and others.

From his first years at the Kazan Spiritual Academy E. Malov showed great interest in studying the ethnography of the non-Russian peoples of the Middle Volga Region. Numerous observations about the everyday life of the peoples of the Volga Region, made during his visits to the uyezds of Kazan guberniya, became the foundation for his ethnographic studies. Significant attention was paid to the study of everyday life, its quality and the quality of the whole system of moral and ethical values of Kazan, baptised Tatars, Chuvash, and especially the Mishar Tatars [Malov, 1885].

Some changes regarding the missionary departments occurred during the time of Rector Innokenty (Novgorodov) (1864–1868). He began the reconstruction of missionary departments to go back to their previous form. In

1865 with the initiative of teachers from the anti-muslim department, the Synod once again reformed the missionary departments. They restored them to the form they had had until 1858, having destroyed the necessity of missionary subjects of any group for all students [Kharlampovich, 1907, p. 710].

The transformation of the Kazan Spiritual Academy according to the approval by the Synod on 30 May 1869. The statute and staff of the spiritual academies was completed on 15 August 1870. Three new departments were introduced in the Academy—theological, church-historical and church-practical.

The new statute almost excluded missionary departments from the structure of such educational institutions [Berdnikov, 1892, p. 18]. Only through the insistence of the Kazan Archbishop Antonius (Amfiteatrov), by decree No. 1408 on 24 June 1870, did the Synod accept teaching some missionary subjects against 'Mohammedanism' and against 'Buddhism' at the Kazan Spiritual Academy, though on relatively unfavorable terms: '1) having left inviolable the aforementioned distribution of departments by the academic statute, allowing the teaching of missionary subjects in Kazan Academy—anti-muslim and anti-Buddhism and teaching of languages related to them; 2) assigning this task to two mentors with the

grant of equal rights with teachers of other subjects regarding salary and official advantages, but without categorising them as teachers of any academic department; 3) assigning special hours for missionary subjects, above those officially assigned for other subjects; 4) not making the attendance of missionary subjects required for students of the Academy... ' [Protokoly', 1870, pp. 6–7]. Such a setting for missionary subjects could not guarantee a certain amount of listeners and attract workers to them. Following N. Ilminsky, E. Malov also left the former anti-muslim department. He transferred to the Department of Hebrew and Biblical Archaeology of the Academy. It appeared that things were going toward the closure of missionary departments, to cease the studying of missionary subjects. But thanks to certain persons, including N. Ostroumov and M. Mashanov, the former missionary departments gained significant support and were not closed.

N. Ostroumov (1870–1877) became the representative of the anti-muslim missionary department of the Academy after the departure of E. Malov, and after his departure to Turkestan his position was taken by M. Mashanov (1878–1911, fired in 1911 but kept in the Academy as a supernumerary professor until 1921) [Ternovsky, 1892, p. 21, 30].

Nicolay Petrovich Ostroumov was born in 1846 in Tambov guberniya to a family of a protoiereus. In the 1870 after he graduated from the Kazan Spiritual Academy, he taught 'missionary subjects against Mohammedanism': 'the repudiation of Mohammedanism', 'history of Mohammed', Arabic and Tatar languages. In Kazan he studied history, ethnography and the language of Tatars. In particular, he composed and developed 'The first experience of the Tatar dictionary on the dialect of baptised Tatars of Kazan guberniya' (1876) and the 'Tatar-Russian dictionary' (1892).

Mikhail Aleksandrovich Mashanov was born 11 May 1852 in Petropavlovsk to a family of a protoiereus. In 1876 after he graduated from the Kazan Spiritual Academy, he taught there the same disciplines as Ostroumov. There is a lot of interesting data on history, ethnog-

raphy and language of Tatars and on Islam in the scientific works and reports of M. Mashanov. Several of them should be emphasized: 'A note on religious and mental condition of baptised Tatars of Kazan guberniya, Mamadyshsky uyezd' (1875), 'Summary about a trip to the Nikiforova village of Mamadyshsky uyezd for moral suasion of those who left Christianity' (1881), 'The Personality of Mohammed in Physical, Mental and Ethical Relations', 'The Personality of Muhammad', 'Essay on the religious life of Arabic Pagans during the time of Muhammad' and others.

In his research M. Mashanov reviewed different aspects of functioning of muslim religion, the actions of the Prophet Muhammad, his nature and moral qualities, problems of marriage in Islam, the role of women, sects, the role and the place of Arabic people in the foundation of Islam as a religion and other questions. His works undoubtedly contributed a lot to Russian Oriental Studies [Mazitova, 1989, p. 89].

In 1885 M. Mashanov had a scientific business trip to the Muslim East (Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria). I. Krachkovsky wrote about the positive impact this trip had on Mashanov: 'It provided him with a good acquaintance not only of the Arabic Language, but of the whole Muslim world, different representatives of which he could met in Hejaz' [Krachkovsky, 1958, p. 129].

The teachers of missionary subjects in Kazan Spiritual Academy, who actively engaged in researching Islamic studies and Tatar studies, sought to test the results of their research in the mass media. 'The Missionary anti-muslim digest' was supposed to become the printed foothold for a polemic with muslims [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1207, inv. 1, file 1]. The first volume was printed in the 1873, the last volume (14th) in the 1914.

The thematic review of the editions of the 'Missionary anti-muslim digest', separately printed works, and also a course of works demonstrates the wide thematic research made by teachers and graduates of the Kazan Spiritual Academy. They were engaged in the identification of the religious and philosophical foun-

dations of the various Muslim sects, the study of the beliefs of non-Russian peoples of the Middle Volga region, their cosmological and eschatological views, the religious situation of Muslim communities in Russia and the Christian communities in the Muslim East, etc. However, the key focus in the study of Islam by the Kazan missionaries was the development of issues related to the personality of the Prophet Muhammad and criticism of the Quran. On 15 August 1884 the new Statute of spiritual academies was introduced at the Kazan Spiritual Academy, which had been developed with the participation of the new Ober-Procurator of the Synod, K. Pobedonostsev. To a great extent, the new statute took into account the desires and requests of the teachers at the missionary departments of the Kazan Spiritual Academy, who were constantly looking to improve the quality of education at the only missionary departments in pre-revolutionary Russia.

In 1884 structural changes were conducted at the Kazan Spiritual Academy: the Theological, Church-historical and Church-practical departments, existing from the 1870 were closed. The subjects of the academic course were divided into two groups: verbal and historical. Besides this, the Statute introduced into the Kazan Spiritual Academy a third, completely new group—missionary, which were divided into two departments: Tatar and Mongol. The introduction of the missionary group was a big accomplishment for the Kazan Spiritual Academy and gave it a distinctive feature in comparison to other similar educational institutions in Russia. Thus, the state had recognised the importance and the necessity of the special missionary education for the Middle Volga and Cis-Ural Regions, which was lost in 1869 when the missionary departments at the Kazan Spiritual Academy were abolished.

The Statute of 1884 prescribed the following subjects to be taught in the Tatar Department: 1) the history and repudiation of Mohammedanism; 2) the ethnography of Tatars, Kyrgyz, Bashkirs, Chuvash, Cheremis, Votyaks and Mordvins; 3) the history of Christianity spreading among the aforementioned foreign tribes; 4) Arabic and Tatar languages

with the common philological review of the languages and dialects of the aforementioned tribes [Ternovsky, 1892, p. 246].

From 1884 on, the Department of Tatar Language and Ethnography of the Tatar section was filled by the extraordinary professor of the Academy E. Malov [Ternovsky, 1892, p. 252]. He taught the Tatar language, the ethnography of Tatar tribes and the history of the spread of Christianity among them. 29 January 1886. E. Malov was made acting full Professor and from March 1889 an Honorary Professor. From 1884 the Department of Arabic language and the Repudiation of Mohammedanism was filled by acting docent of the academy, M. Mashanov, who taught Tatar language and the 'Repudiation of Mohammedanism' [Kazanskaya, no year, pp. 810–811, 814]. The baptised Tatar priest Vasily Timofeev remained in the position of staff intern of the Tatar language. After his death in December 1895 this position was filled by his apprentice and successor in the education of the old-baptised Tatars, the priest Timofey Egorov. He also took the place of V. Timofeev in charge of the Kazan Central Christian Tatar School. The Muslim Tatar Sakhb-Girey Akhmerov, who upon being baptised took on the 'name Pavel', was appointed as a supernumerary intern of Arabic language from March 1891, according to the special decree of Synod dated 6 February 1891 [Protokoly', 1891, pp. 19, 33]. Archimandrite Rafail, an Arab by nationality, was temporary assigned to this department in 1893 (in 1895 he went to America where he became the Bishop of Brooklyn). After the death of Akhmerov, the position of a supernumerary intern of Arabic language was from the 12 August 1896 (and from 1900—the only one) filled by the Syrian, Panteleimon Krestovich Zhuze, who finished the Academy the same year and later became a Master of Theology.

Thus, the Kazan Spiritual Academy throughout the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, and being the centre of the Christian enlightenment of people of the Middle Volga Region, Cis-Urals and Siberia, contributed greatly to the study of the history and ethnography of Tatars. Its teachers developed

a number of interesting works on the history of the non-Russian peoples, their relationships with Russians and on the spread of Christianity among them. The missionary departments created a solid foundation for the Kazan Spiritual Academy as a centre for Oriental Studies. Teachers at the missionary departments of the Kazan Spiritual Academy made a significant contribution to the study of the history, ethnography and language of Tatars and other non-Russian nations of the Middle Volga Region. Such well-known persons as N. Ilminsky, G. Sablukov, E. Malov, N. Ostroumov, M.

Mashanov and others left a great legacy after themselves: works on history and ethnography, reviews of their enlightening trips to villages with non-Russian populations, various notes and lecture courses. The missionary departments became 'producers of scientifically informed personnel' for the enlightenment of baptised Tatars, Mari, Chuvash, Kalmyks and other peoples. The teachers at the missionary departments launched an active policy of developing methodological toolkits, grammar books, textbooks for studying the Russian language by non-Russian peoples.

CHAPTER 5

Enlightened Education and Tatar Literature

Daniya Zagidullina

The origin of the Enlightenment and Tatar literature of the first half of the 19th century.

The positive changes occurring in the social life of Tatars at the turn of the 18th–I centuries made a significant impact on the socio-cultural situation of the first half of the 19th which primarily is reflected in the origins of the ideology of Enlightenment.

Enlightenment as an intellectual and cultural movement and paradigm, underpinned by the ideas of societal modernisation and human improvement, meant moving to a higher stage of civilisation. Ideas of enlightenment appeared in Tatar social thought in the end of the 18th to the early 19th [Abdullin, 1976, p. 24]. Important political events: the peasant rebellion under the command of Yemelyan Pugachev 1773–1775, the Patriotic War of 1812 and others—had a significant impact on the development of social thought, produced ideas of revival, which were reflected in the national enlightenment movement in Russia. However, the period of traditionalism and following of canons continued in Tatar literature, which became a mirror for the enlightenment ideology, up until the latter half of the 19th century, '... to the middle of the 19th I, may refer to the prehistory of the Tatar enlightenment' [Usmanov, 1980, p. 188].

The opening of the Kazan University (1804), the beginning of teaching Tatar language there and in other educational institutions, the foundation of the Department of Oriental Languages (1807) contributed to the formation of the Tatar enlightenment, the transformation of religious and philosophical views of Tatars.

The university prepared teachers for the re-opening of educational institutions, provided them with educational and instructional materials, and attracted representatives of non-Russian tribes of the region in the work in those

institutions. Thus, S. Mikhaylova, describing in her biography the project by M. Niyazov on the opening 'the school for teaching Tatars Russian language' in Astrakhan, pointed out that there were in Tatar society such assistants as Mukhtasip Niyazov, who sincerely wished the enlightenment of their people. S. Mikhaylova also mentioned other projects of professors and teachers at the Kazan University, the project about organisation of the special Oriental Institution in Kazan by F. Erdman and K. Voigt in particular. The position of F. Erdman (1829) was noteworthy: he suggested that the opening of the institute on the one hand would contribute to the enlightenment of the Tatar people, and on the other hand would allow us to explain the 'many dark aspects of the history and geography' of the Oriental peoples and also 'different properties of languages and religions of Asian Russia, about which educated Europe still had no clear knowledge and probably would never have them without the help of such institution' [Mikhaylova, 1972, pp. 52–54]. The opening of several gymnasiums, schools or departments in the existing gymnasiums for teaching Tatar languages in a number of cities can be considered a result of understanding the requirements of the time: In the early 19th century, the Tatar language was studied in the gymnasiums of Tobolsk, Tomsk, Orenburg, Saratov, Astrakhan, Stavropol and Simferopol [Kononov, 1974, p. 34]. Oriental languages and the foundations of the Islamic religion were also taught in certain educational institutions of military service.

According to N. Mukhitdinov, these innovations were due to the changing of state policy toward Tatars in the late 18th century. 'If until the middle of the 18th century, the policy of repressions continued, the policy of open persecutions of Tatars, legislative acts reinforcing the

restrictions on rights of Tatar peasants, clergy, merchants and industrialists, then the expansion to the East, 'peaceful' penetration to Bukhara, Khiva, India and China, the conquest of Kirghizia made the tsarist government change their policy against Tatars. 'Giaour' could not get inside of Bukhara and Khiva; Muslim trading intermediaries were needed here. The Kazan Tatars acted as trade and diplomatic intermediaries.... That is the economic basis on which they began to build an ideological bedrock. It was during the heyday of the Tatar commercial and industrial bourgeoisie when the reform movement became animated among the Tatars. This movement appeared also in the field of education' [Mukhitdinov, 1930, pp. 106–107].

According to the data of N. Mukhitdinov, the archives of Moscow, Leningrad and Kazan preserved 5 projects on the organisation of the Tatar middle schools which pertain to the years 1825–1830, and two projects pertaining to the years 1860–1880. The first-time project belonged to the mufti M. Khusainov, the second to the merchant of the third guild of Chistopol, Mukhitdin Said-Burgan, the third—to the head of the Main Kazan national school, Pyatov, the fourth and the fifth were to—The Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Internal Affairs [Mukhitdinov, 1930, p. 108].

The project of the mufti M. Khusainov was aimed at the organisation of two middle schools (gymnasiums) for the Muslims of Ufa and Kazan: one under the command of the university and the other under the Governor. In the project under consideration the necessity for 'equaling' programmes of these educational institutions to the programmes of existing gymnasiums, so those young people who having graduated from these institutions could attend university without any obstacles.

The project of the 3rd guild merchant Mukhitdin Said-Burgan on the organization of a Large (Central) Tatar School in Chisopol (N. Mukhitdinov thought that the initiator of this project was the Serving Tatar of Chistopol, Ibragim Akhmerov, grandfather of Shakhbazgery Akhmerov, the inspector of the Kazan Tatar Pedagogical School) concerned an advanced school, illegally existing under the cover of a

common confessional school, which could be turned into a gymnasium according to the presented training plan and statute. The university Recotr, Professor G. Solntsev gave a good review with respect to the school statute and the project as a whole, however, the new trustee of the Kazan Educational District, M. Magnitsky thwarted this initiative.

The project of the director of the main Kazan public school Pyatov (1816) envisaged some renewal of the Muslim confessional school, at the same time it supposed to keep its theological nature and make it closer to the official state schools. The author of the project came from the need for the subordination of the national schools to the university.

The fourth project, prepared by the Department of Religious Affairs of Foreign Faiths, suggested the establishment of Muslim schools at the Kazan gymnasium 'to transform Mohammedans, who devoted themselves to a spiritual vocation'.

The next in the line was the draft organisation of 'Oriental Institute' in Kazan. The plan for its organisation was proposed by the trustee of Kazan Educational District, M. Magnitsky (he filled that post from 1819–1826), but it was denied by the Ministry of National Education. Later this project became the basis for the opening of the Department of Oriental Language Arts at Kazan University.

The most interesting was the project of V. Radlov to create the 'Tatar Pedagogical Institute' in Kazan, an organisation that was motivated by the necessity of involving the existing madrasahs in preparing teachers for national schools. According to N. Mukhitdinov 'this project is either an exact copy of the project of Faizkhanov and Marjani, or was made under their strong influence, because during this time (1874–until the opening of Kazan Tatar Pedagogical School) this project was developed during the period of collaboration between Radlov and Marjani' [Mukhitdinov, 1930, p. 119]. However, this project was denied too, but Radlov managed to get the Kazan Tatar Pedagogical School opened and was in charge of it.

Although the projects weren't successful, they testify to the appearance in society about

the idea of a Tatar middle school, which would open the way to the university for its students, where the preparation of teachers was performed, of translators, clerks and others.

An important moment of the educational work of Kazan University was its impact on the social, political and cultural life of the region. The university became the centre, around which all intellectual powers gathered. It played an instrumental role in creating the periodic press of the region. In 1808, the draft edition of a newspaper in Russian and Tatar languages appeared and was authored by university associate I. Zapolsky. However, the government approved the publication only in Russian and the first edition of 'Kazanskie izvestiya' (Kazan news) came out on 19 April 1811, already after the death of I. Zapolsky. The newspaper existed until 1820.

The second attempt to create a newspaper in the Tatar language, named 'Bäxer äl-äxbär' ('The sea of news') was made in 1834 by a student at the Oriental Department of Kazan University, M. Nikolsky. The project was approved by professor A. Kazembek and the trustee of the Kazan Educational District, M. Musin-Pushkin. However, as the initiator he was quickly removed from his position at the university and sent to work in the Astrakhan Governorate [Amirkhanov, 2002, p. 34].

An important place in the cultural life of the region was played by the magazine 'The Volga Ant', a private periodic publication of professors and teachers from the University. Material about Bulgar history and the history of the Kazan Khanate were printed on its pages, examples of native literature, descriptions of the Bulgar ruins, as well as analysis of ancient Tatar writings.

In 1806 'The society of free exercise in Russian language arts' was created, and led by the teacher of Slavic grammar and Russian language arts, N. Ibragimov, who had been educated at Moscow University [Tatar Encyclopaedia, Vol. 2, 2005, p. 513]. Society sought to contribute as much as they could to the study of everyday life and the spiritual heritage of local people. During the ceremonial meeting that took place on 12 December 1814, its secretary P. Kondyrev, summing up the Society's activ-

ity, noted: 'Besides general subjects, there are also those that are by circumstance closer to us and we can benefit by paying attention to them from time to time. We live among many foreign peoples, in the ancient Tatar kingdom, meaning the former Bulgarian capital. Tatars, Chuvash, Cheremis, Mordvins, Votyaks, Zyrrians surround us. Armenians, Persians, Bashkirs, Kalmyks, Bukharans and Chinese are closer to us, than to other societies. We can feel more comfortable about their language or language arts, to communicate and to make use of them. It is very useful to collect different songs of these people, tales, notes, novels, books, inscriptions and so on, and this is still very new for us' [quote from: Mikhaylova, 1972, p. 67].

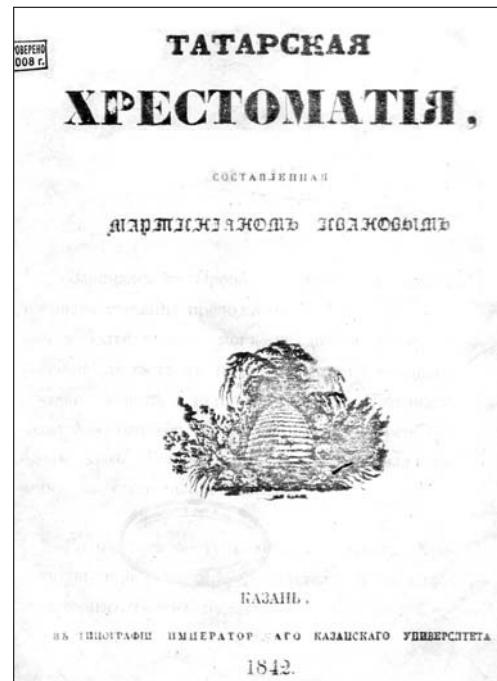
The university strove for its activity to be considered by the local peoples as answering their needs. A printing house, financed by the University, printed books in the Tatar language (dictionaries, textbooks, anthologies, scientific publications of Tatar historical and literary writings, prepared by university scientists), and with the lack of the government funding, the staff provided funds from their own pockets. Thus, in 1849 the famous orientalist I. Berezin published, at his own expense 'Sheibaniada' ('The History of Mongols-Turks in Chagatai Dialect with Translation, Notes and Appendices') from the series 'The Library of Oriental Historians', and at the university's expense the texts of the 'Khan yarliks' were published [Karimullin, 1983, p. 45].

The university published invitations in the Tatar language for the ceremonial meetings that had been arranged, public exams and from the 1812—'public teaching of the Tatar language'. In 1830 the university library became the public city library. The university's offices and museums were open for public viewing and scientific discussions were held in them. Professors and teachers at the university participated actively in charity work.

Kazan University is related to the fate of *Ibrahim Iskhakovich Khalfin* (1778–1829), who in 1823, was the first of the Tatars, confirmed as an adjunct-professor in the oriental language arts. In 1800, at the age of 22 he was appointed the teacher of Tatar class in Kazan Gymnasi-

um, and with the opening of the University became a lecturer of Tatar Language. I. Khalfin was one of the first Enlighteners, who raised the issue of the necessity of Tatar enlightenment. He outlined the plan 'Curious thoughts of I. Khalfin on the Education of Tatars' and transmitted it to the Academic Senate of the Kazan University. I. Khalfin suggested to work with the ignorant mass 'for their enlightenment through university students'. He combined his pedagogical work with his scientific work: in 1804 his textbook 'The Alphabet and Etymology of the Tatar Language' was published (in 1809 it was published under the name 'The Alphabet and Grammar of the Tatar Language with Arabic rule for reading'), in 1819 his 'Tatar Chrestomathy' was published, and the writings of oriental historians were ready for printing: 'Šacäräi törek' ('The family tree of Turks', 1825) by Abulgazi Bahadur Khan (1603–1663) and 'As-sabgıs-sayar' ('Seven planets') by Crimean historian Seid Muhammad Riza (died in 1756), medical books, ancient Tatar manuscripts. The works of I. Khalfin triggered the publications of Tatar historical sources, from his 'easy hand' they were re-printed in the prestigious scientific magazines of Western Europe.

The Kazan orientalists made significant contributions to the formation of Tatar studies as a science. The issues of Tatar language and the history of the Tatar people were especially actively developed. One example which may be cited is the data from the biography of the Tatar educator *Abdyush Vagapov* (1814–1876), who, being a teacher at a military school of the Kazan garrison, at the age of 46 went to the university as a guest student to improve his knowledges in oriental languages. He became an orientalist and one of the first Tatars source studies student. For the needs of Asian University printing house Vagapov engaged in translating the ancient oriental manuscripts, his work 'Tatar fairy tales about the capture of Bulgar by Timur' was printed in 1852 in 'Kazanskie gubernskie vedomosti' ('Kazan guberniya news'). Together with M. Makhmudov and R. Amirkhanov he took part in publishing books in the Tatar language. He thought the necessary condition for the mutual understanding of two nations was



Cover of M. Ivanov's book 'Tatar reader book' (Kazan, 1842).

the 'respect for their native languages'. In pursuing this goal Vagapov created 'the self-teacher for Russian-Tatar and Tatar-Russian', which was later widely distributed. The 'Russian-Tatar alphabet' (1852) by A. Vagapov was re-printed several times. A. Vagapov put these essays in the section 'Songs of the Tatars' as an appendix. Consequently, I. Berezin included the collected songs in the 'Turkish Chrestomathy' (1890). Vagapov put a lot of time and energy into collecting examples of national oral traditions. The textbook on the national oral traditions of Tatars prepared by him is preserved in handwritten form [Mazitova, 1965, p. 34].

Graduate of Neplyuev's school *Martinian Ivanov* (1812–?), who after he passed his exam in the Oriental Department of Kazan University in Tatar and Persian languages for the right to be a teacher at the gymnasium (1832) became a teacher of this school, created a 'Tatar grammar' and 'Tatar chrestomathy' (1842) out of Tatar folklore and fiction and translations from different languages. In particular, they included 128 Tatar proverbs, 8 tales, 70 songs and 35 puzzles, and also examples of written literature: poetry



Eastern researcher M. Makhmudov with his wife and daughter. Photo, 1870.

of Mukhammedyar, A. Kargaly and others) [Minnegulov, 1982, pp. 20–25].

His classmate and a graduate of the Oriental Department, who 'received a degree of candidate' (1836), teacher of Arabic and Persian languages in the Neplyuev's military school *Salikhdzhan Kuklyashev* (1811–1864) prepared the 'Tatar Chrestomathy' ('Divane xikāyāte tatar') and 'The Dictionary to the Tatar Chrestomathy' (1859). The chrestomathy includes rich literature and historical material: examples of national oral traditions (proverbs, sayings, epics, songs, aphorisms), passages from the medieval oriental manuscripts or books, historical works.

Muhammadgali Makhmudov (1824–1891)—state councilor and calligrapher, in the 1843 through the recommendation of A. Kazembek he was accepted as a teacher of the Arabic and Persian languages, and also the Turkish-Tatar calligraphy in the Oriental Department of the University and in the gymnasium. After the Oriental Department moved to Saint Petersburg he was appointed teacher of Tatar language and practiced the methodology of its teaching.

M. Makhmudov is well known as a copyist of manuscript books in Arabic, artist designer, author of handwritings of the Arabic script. In particular, in 1849 he wrote in Arabic script in the Tatar language, the manuscript of 'Tatar chrestomathy' (1942) by M. Ivanov, the work 'History of the Bulgars and Kazan' by Sh. Marjani etc. [Tatar Encyclopaedia, Vol. 4, p. 97]. M. Makhmudov is the author of 'A practical guide to the study of the Tatar language' (1857). The purpose of this book was not only to establish regularities of the development of the Tatar language, but to familiarise Russians with Tatar folklore, lifestyle, customs, the lexical richness of the Tatar language. According to S. Mikhaylova, 'on the scale that Makhmudov did it, any of his predecessors failed' [Mikhaylova, 1972, p. 192]. In 1858—and 1859 he worked on the compilation of the Russian-Tatar dictionary and engaged in translating it into the Tatar language.

Khusain Faizkhanov (1828–1866) was an orientalist, historian, linguist, was prominent in the educational movement of the first half of the 19th century. Student of Sh. Marjani. At the suggestion of A. Kazembek, in 1854 he moved to Saint Petersburg, where he began to teach the Turkish and Tartar languages at the Oriental Department at the university. From 1858, on the orders of the Academy of Sciences, he explored the funds of the Moscow Main archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with an eye to identifying and arranging diplomatic credentials of the Crimean khans. In 1859 Faizkhanov was elected the member of the Russian Archaeological society that sent him to Kasimov in 1860 to study the Tatar epigraphic monuments. Copies, taken from 29 epitaphs, later became history of the Tatar literary culture. In 1862 he published the textbook on the grammar of the Tatar language. At the same time he collected and copied oriental manuscripts, translations of various historical works and documents from the eastern languages. During these years, Kh. Faizkhanov was engaged in the preparation of manuscripts of scientific works, that were later collected together: the project on the reform of the Tatar madrassah 'Islakhi madaris', historical non-fiction treatise 'Risälä' ('Essay'), studies in the history of the Tatar people 'Kazan

tarikhi' ('Khanate of Kazan') and 'Qasim khan-lyg' ('Qasim Khanate'), and a description of 25 ancient epigraphic monuments [Khusain Faiz-khanov, 2006, pp. 694, –695]. The work begins traditionally: with an appeal to Allah and to the prophet Muhammad. In the introduction the author urges Muslims to become educated, calling it a holy deed. The first chapter 'On the Benefits of Knowledge' is about the history of science in the Muslim world, the second chapter, 'On the Status of Muslim Tatars in Russia' is devoted to a brief history of the Tatars of the Ural and Volga regions. In the third chapter 'On The State of Our Madrasah', the author examines the structure of Tatar educational institutions, thinking about the possibility of making changes to the curricula of the madrasahs. The fourth chapter 'On the Benefits and Necessity of Opening a New Madrasah' is devoted to explaining the author's ideas on the establishment of a new type of madrasahs, where the curriculum would be comprised of religious and secular disciplines.

Thus, Kazan University and the opening of the Oriental faculty helped to strengthen the educational activities of a whole galaxy of Orientalists. The works of the aforementioned professors and many other educators—M. Ivanova ('Tatar grammar', 1842), A. Kazembek ('Grammar of the Turco-Tatar language, 1839), I. Berezin ('Supplement to the Grammar of the Turco-Tatar language by Kazembek', 1846), etc.—greatly expanded the information in the field of language, literature, history and ethnography of the Tatars. Despite the fact that in 1854, the Oriental faculty was transferred to Saint Petersburg, in Kazan a scientific school operated that became the research centre for the further development of the Humanities.

The key frameworks within Tatar urban communities developed from the end of the 19th century, the printing houses of Kazan and other cities in Russia began mass publications of Tatar books. Along with religious and Sufi books, works of a literary-historical nature were published. So, from 1819 I. Khalfin studied the manuscript of the 17th century. 'Dastane Chyngyz Khan vā Aksak-Timer' ('The Legend of Chinggis (Genghis) Khan and Aksak Timur') and in 1822 he published it [Gaynullin, 1975,



Hussein
Fayeze Khanov.

p. 14]. In 1824 Utyz Imyani conducted textual work on the poem 'Kyissai Iosyf' by Kul Gali: having collected around ten of the oldest lists, he collated them and made a summary of the scientific-critical text, which was published in 1839 [Karimullin, 1979, p. 39–40].

However, the first half of the 19th century was the heyday of Tatar theological thought. At the same time many poets and prose writers were well-known religious figures, the promoters of Islam and Sufi ideas. The emerging educational ideals were organically connected to the traditions of Muslim culture. The exaltation of the role of knowledge, the definition of educated people as moral pillars of the society, criticism of the ignorant and immoral acts of individual members of the clergy are the artistic ties that have linked Tatar literature of the traditionalist wing of the beginning of the 19th century and secular educational literature of the second half of the 19th century.

A prominent representative of Tatar culture *Tadzheddin Yalchygul* (1768–1838) was a sheikh, healer, religious leader, teacher and historian, in his numerous works he raised many problems of a religious and philosophical nature. Yalchygul is the author of over ten works: 'Tarikhnamai Bulgar' ('The History of Bulgars'), 'Waemsyszlarny iskartu' ('Warning to the careless'), 'Gylme tyibb' ('About medicine'), 'Tafsir' ('Comments to 'Khaphtiyak'), etc. The Arabic work of Yalchygul 'Inayat äs-sebkhani',

was created as a teaching manual for shakirds for the interpretations of the mystical state (guyilme äl-khāl) according to the technique of the teachings of the Naqshbandi like any other medieval Tatar Sufi literature. His book 'Risäläi Gazizä' (1806) is particularly well-known. It is a Turkic-language commentary to 'Säbat äl-gazhizin' by Sufi Allahyar in which many principles of Islam and his religious-Sufi views are presented. According to M. Kemper, the works of Yalchygul were the only treatises of that period that represented the tradition of the concept 'väkhdat äl-vezhud'—unity of being [Kemper, 2008, p. 161]. Over the entire 19th century, the concept related to the idea of a perfect man, to the faith in the creative potential of man, played a significant role in the development of the Tatar literature and philosophical thought.

This tendency toward the transformation of the religious-didactic thought manifests clearly in the works of *Ghabdennasir Qursawi* (1776–1812) was a famous Tatar theologian, philosopher. He outlined his religious and legal views in Arabic publications: 'Kitab äl-Irshad li-l-ibad' ('The book of admonition to people') and in the commentary to 'Mukhtasar äl-Manar' by Tahir Khussain b. Jilly. In them, he turned to the interpretation of one of the most important issues of the fiqh—ijtihād, making independent judgments [Yuzeev, 2007, p. 70].

In his works Qursawi criticizes the ignorant and praises those who aspire to knowledge. In the introduction to 'Kitab äl-Irshad li-l-ibad', when specifying the main purpose of his work, he writes: 'We must know that among the people of our past centuries, there are those, who having no knowledge, present themselves as men of science. It would be nice if I released these words and dedicated individual pages of this book to exposing the depravity of their thoughts, the result would create a certain opinion and the right mindset, and thus made would be a step to getting rid of the ignorant and unlearned, even to the oblivion of their names. But, fearing that the end for me would be very sad I didn't follow that path. In particular, I was afraid of people who disguise themselves in the mantle of scientists but welter in ignorance. So I found that it would be better and more appro-

priate if I limit the exposure of the depravity of their words, and gradually they will be rejected by the thoughts expressed by them' [cited in: Gaynullin, 1975, p. 10].

According to G. Idiyatullina, G. Qursawi saw the path to fixing society through the eradication of bid'ah—innovation, a distortion of the norms of early Islam, the return to the pure origins of the faith and the revival of the right to ijtihād. Demanding under any circumstance to strictly follow the example of the pious Muslims of the early centuries, Qursawi gives the rationale for a particular line of behaviour, defines a fundamentally new relationship between individuals and society—opposition of a man to society, his isolation from the crowd appears as a kind of selfless service [Idiyatullina, 2005, pp. 32–33]. Speaking for a knowledgeable, enthusiastic and open-minded person, proved the ability of critical remarks about individual members of the clergy, Qursawi paved the way for the formation of Tatar educational literature.

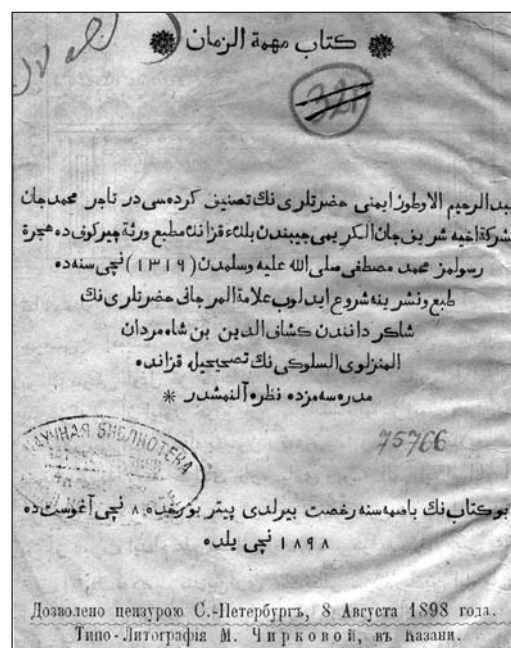
One of the prominent representatives of the enlightenment was *Gabdrakhim Utyz Imyani äl-Bulgari* (1754–1834) a poet, philosopher, religious reformer. He left behind a rich scientific and artistic heritage: over 100 works of different genres in Tatar and Arabic, including treatises on philosophy and theology, 10 poems: 'Täkhfät äl-gorabä vä lätaif äl-gazä' ('The gift to the disadvantaged and proverbs about patience'), 'Gavarif äz-zaman' ('Gifts of the age'), 'Tänzikh äl-äfkär fi näsäikh äl-äkhjar' ('Good counsel for purification of thoughts'), 'Mähimät äz-zaman' ('The most important problems of the age', 1820), etc. Religious and moral-ethical issues were addressed in them. The poem 'Tänzikh äl-äfkär fi näsäikh äl-äkhjar' deals with the state of society, the author associated improvement with the moral development of people. The poet indicates the moral vices of his contemporaries—hypocrisy, insincerity, the desire for personal enrichment, the loss of social ideals. The highest moral qualities, in his opinion, are education and knowledge ('*Feel free to acquire knowledge, because knowledge is the essence of human life; knowledge is the key to overcoming any difficulties. Knowledge is the pearl of the human soul, and it cannot be*

taken away by an enemy or a thief' [cit.: Istoriya tatarskoj, 2003, p. 28]). According to the author, mutual understanding, friendship and mutual aid can lead society to peace and harmony.

The religious-ethical and literary-aesthetic views of Utyz Imyani, despite the presence of his individual ideas, was characterised by traditionalism and a penchant for rhetoric. The leading motives of Utyz Imyani's works are criticism of the ignorant and vicious Bukhara and Tatar clergy and the approval of the ethical and aesthetic ideals of the perfect man (äl-Insan äl-Kamil). They are closely connected to the problems of mind and knowledge, body and soul, 'the poet's reflections about divine justice and the search for the consent within himself and the surrounding reality' [Ganieva, 2002, pp. 31–32]. Thus, the educational discourse, aimed at a comprehensive critique of the existing foundations being based upon the principles of humanism and justice, and is read as a call for religious reforms in the works of Tatar poets.

The poet glorifies the educated person who possesses religious knowledge. In the poem 'Gavarif äz-zaman' ('The gifts of the age') he divides the scholars by the degree of education into seven categories. The representatives of the first five—the mujtahids are those who can think in new ways, the rest are blind imitators of predecessors. In the poem 'Täkhfät äl-gorabä vä lätaif äl-gazä' he criticizes those who imagine themselves to be enlightened without having enough knowledge to claim this. For Utyz Imyani knowledge, education is a concept of both a religious and secular nature. He talks about a dedication to the scientific knowledge of the world and to the Sufi knowledge of the foundations of life.

The poem 'Mähimmät äz-zaman', consisting of introduction (the traditional invocation to Allah, the prophet Muhammad and other saints), 26 chapters, and a conclusion, reminds one of the didactic works of the Middle Ages. Each chapter is devoted to a vital problem which the author explains, based on Sharia law. For example, in the chapter 'Don't be careless', he warns readers about the dangers in the road of life. In the chapter 'Imitation of time', the author points out the signs of the times that, in his view, are destroy-



Cover of G. Utyz Imyani's book
'Kitabe mahimmatez-zaman' (Kazan, 1898).

ing the moral foundations of society: disobedience of elders, the pursuit of material wealth, pride, etc. In order to preserve humane qualities in such circumstances, one must be humble and patient ('About friendship), learn a profession ('The profession), honour family ('How to preserve the family'), where women are the mainstay ('The sanctity of women'). The author gives his advice in simple and clear terms: 'If you are a true Dzhigit, hence prove your valour: / Be thrilled by your boundless love for the Motherland. / Be fair, be the defender of fidelity / don't hurt anyone; / If the character of your wife does not appeal to you, / She will be worth five wives, do not dream of two or three wives, / It will be harder for you to live'; 'Where you are, may your family be with you / As they open their eyes may them see you / do not let women go alone, take care of them'; 'the one who is against service to the common cause, / everything will go wrong for him' etc. [word-for-word translation.]

Thus, in contrast to other Sufis, who perceived earthly life as flawed and unworthy of attention, Utyz Imyani in his works calls the people of indecent behaviour and bad morals the cause of all the ills of mankind ('Don't say:

'The world was corrupted!'/ It is tranquil. The people are the cause'). This motive A. Sibgatullina traces in the works of other poets—Kh. Salikhov, A. Kargaly, M. Yumachikov, arguing that 'the plight in society' is associated with ignorance in the poems [Sibgatullina, 2001, pp. 28–29]. At the same time in the works of poets of the first half of 19th century one can see faith in human potential. Not only the feelings associated with divine purpose, but ordinary earthly experiences gradually become the basis of artistic creativity. After the death of his beloved wife, Hamida, Utyz Imyani writes elegies 'Märsiyai Hämidä, zäuzitā Gabdrakhim Bulgari' ('Elegy, dedicated to Hamida, the wife of Gabdrakhim Bulgari) and 'Märsiyai Gabdennasyir, välädä Gabdrakhim' ('Elegy of Gabdennasyir, the son of Gabdrakhim'). In the former one he presents the image of Hamida as a close friend and adviser, a humble and faithful life partner who has always supported her husband and has been a woman of high moral qualities, in the latter elegy he presents the image of Hamida as a loving and beloved mother, he elevates her to the status of a saint.

Utyz Imyani was a well-educated man. He wrote works in the Tatar, Persian and Arabic languages and he also knew Russian. He worked on the correction, editing and elaboration of manuscripts, wrote commentaries on the books of Ghazali, Attar, Jami, Rumi, Sufi, Allahyar, transcribed many volumes of the works of important scholars and poets of the East, compiled bilingual dictionaries and gave explanations of difficult words in the scientific treatises of well-known oriental scholars.

Abulmanikh Gabessalyamov Kargaly (1782–after 1833) was a Sufi poet and theologian, one of the representatives of the movement for religious reformation. He was the grandson of the poet Gabdessalam Ibn Urai. He studied at the madrasah of Bukhara, and was employed in the diplomatic service at the court of the Emir of Bukhara (1816–1817). After returning home, he took up arable farming. In 1833, under the pretext of the Hajj, he left the country [Tatar Encyclopaedia, Vol. 3, 2006, p. 237].

The book by Kargaly 'Tärzhemäi khazhi Abelmänikh äl-bistävi-Sägyidi' ('Translations

of Abulmanikh-Hadja from the Seitov sloboda', 1845) consists of 10 stories in verse in which a number of religious and philosophical problems were raised, which were of concern to the Tatar clergy at that time. The collection contains an autobiographical narration about one of the author's journeys in the Near East, as well as odes and elegies praising the prominent proponents of Sufism—Khasan Basryj, Rabiga Goduvani.

Kargaly created works of a purely Sufi and lyrical nature glorifying God. For example, in the poem '... Tändä canim' ('... the soul in the body') he describes the state of tawbah. The work features a technique which was quite new to Tatar Sufi literature: the poet distances himself from the poetical 'I', he speaks in the name of a person living his life in ignorance: *'I did not say the zikr together with those who knew the Quran, / The most honourable thing for Allah is—The Quran, I didn't know'*. Several laws of life are established in the poem: *'the soul in the body—is a guest'; 'life should be built according to the divine canons'; 'you must pray at night'; 'a man should be merciful, show clemency'* [Tatar poeziyase, 1992, p. 260].

Motifs of the renunciation of the world are predominant in his poems: the glorification of asceticism, the recognition of the corruptibility of things and the unattainability of justice ('Cikhanniñ cani... ' ('The Wealth of the World')). The poet reminds us that progress along the Path requires a constant struggle with the nafes (passion, the inferior ego). Kargaly also describes a person in a state of zuhd (abstinence), stating that 'the wealth and the glory of the world' are deceptive, and, addressing himself, he exclaims: you can't expect any good of them, 'for the sake of one joy the world gives a man a thousand troubles'.

Letters in verse are an important part of the works of Kargaly. The semi-literary, semi-publicist genre allowed the poet to express openly his educational views, primarily in the form of a criticism of wealth and those who are in power, who live for their own pleasure ('Kibay bayga' ('To the rich man Kibai'), 'Khaci Mökhämmät bayga' ('To Muhammad-Haji Bai'), and not in the interests of society. The poet expresses his disappointment about the fact that there was no

place for his knowledge, experience and abilities in his home country. In these works the critical motifs are more 'down-to-earth' and separated from religious and philosophical ideas, the poet uses satire to draw an image of an ignorant, backward and greedy man—his contemporary.

Kargaly's poetic travel writings 'Säyaxät-namä' turned over a new page in the chronicles of this form. They describe his studies in Bukhara, his travels to Istanbul in 1815, the author shares his memories of Egypt and Arabia. Although, according to the tradition of medieval oriental literature, the work is illustrated with quasi-fictional translated stories from the life of the ishans and sheikhs, it contains the first samples of landscape lyrics (*'Today I took a leisurely stroll in the steppes, / The meadows, so full of flowers, were beautiful. / Somewhere a cuckoo cries: 'kak-kuk', / From her voice, so full of longing, I lost my mind. Divine larks ceaselessly circle the sky, / A quail prowls, ducks swim with their heads held high. / Cranes soar; but the geese stand still and dour. / Nightingales sing like mad things, shedding tears upon the flowers.'* [Gaynullin, 1975, p. 96]), dedications to his motherland, to his native country (*'Yearning for one's motherland never dies, / So I went back to my country. / For the love of one's motherland is sacred, / A love felt by man and woman until they die.'* [quote in: Gaynullin, 1975, p. 97]).

A. Kargaly is the author of numerous munajats, madkhis, dedicated to the prophet Muhammad ('Mönäcäte äl-khaci Äbelmänikh' ('Munajats of Abulmanikh-Haji')), and other works. 'The optimistic motifs of his verses are not derived from life in general but are based on his belief in God, in his omnipotence,' says M. Gaynullin, and cites as an example the following lines: *'Oh, friend, do not be too saddened about the insignificance of this world; / Some day God will make your dark days bright, as the light of the moon'* [Gaynullin, 1975, p. 95] Indeed, this remarkable poet continued the traditions of Tatar Sufi poetry, above all, of M. Koly and Qolşarif. However, his poems started to reveal a faith in the power of human feelings, associated not only with the spiritual world but with the material world too.

Shamseddin Zaki (1822–1865)—Tatar poet, Shamseddin Gubaydullin was blind from birth. He was a teacher and knew the Quran, a great many hadiths and the works of eastern authors by heart. The largest part of S. Zaki's legacy is a corpus of lyrical poems written in the genres of the madhia and ghazal. They are suffused with Sufi religious ideas and philosophical musings about human life and destiny. The main theme of his poems is the mystical love of the Almighty. Thus, in his poem 'Ästäsäm galämdä dik yar bulgay-bulmagay' ('If I search the Universe, shall I find a man as much in love as you?') Zaki employs the traditional Sufi symbols of the marketplace and trade (bazaar—säüdä) representing being and life. The interplay of symbols serves to depict a philosophical world view. The poet speaks of death as a destructive force which takes away lovers, youth and friends: *'You're on horseback, so travel this earth and see its worth / For who knows how long your horse will last... / In the city of this world there's a lot of bargaining at the market: So bargain, for who knows how long the market will last'*. [Tatar poeziyase, 1992, p. 254]. The poem stands out in Tatar Sufi literature because it reveals the illusory nature of existence.

An exhortation to repent is the subject of the poem '...hay, nä oersän' ('Ah, why do you sleep?'). Appealing to his own soul, the poet employs the same words as Qolşarif: 'nä oersän' ('why do you sleep?'), 'eçmä gaflät şirbäten' ('don't drink the wine of indifference'), 'näfse... hälakeñ—oşbu doşmanıñdadır' ('passion is the enemy that leads to perdition'). The hero of the poems '...Bu süze kägazä yazmak kiräkder' and '...Gaflät uykusınnan uyangım kiler' is also in a state of 'tawbah' (penitence).

Restoring the tradition of the zikr, S. Zaki in his poem '... Tınmayın gizmäkne agın sudan ügränmäk kiräk' ('The incessancy of motion should be learned from flowing water') advises that reunion with God starts from the zikr 'Hu'. For a Sufi every speck of dust, every particle of nature is a subject for emulation and admiration; generosity can be learned from the rain and self-sacrifice from a butterfly. Advocating self-restraint in everything, he calls worldly goods an 'enemy' and an 'evil Div'. Confronta-



Shamseddin
Zaki.
Photo,
1850s.

tion with the nafes, the lower human self, is one of the main themes in Zaki's poems.

His prose deals with various tenets of Islam. In 'Är-risälät äl-farız' ('The Treatise of the Indispensable') he looks at questions of Sufism. S. Zaki argued for the active acquisition of knowledge that can open up the truth to human beings. In his monograph M. Gaynullin quotes a letter by Zaki addressed to the mullah Akhmejan Nariman, in which the Sufi poet expresses his view of life: *'Hey, you who call upon me to quit studying philosophy and teaching this science, hear me! Taking you and the person beside you as witnesses, I say: the prophet Ibrahim, seeing how the heavenly bodies light up and then become extinguished under the influence of some force, has come to the philosophical conclusion that these bodies do not have the right to be God; I find nothing bad in that. Given such strong evidence, it takes a bright, rich and perfect mind to draw the right conclusion. It is not for nothing that the prophet Ibrahim—is said to be Plato's and Aristotle's shakird. When you attain the Truth, however, you have no need of philosophical*

judgements, for philosophy—is only the beginning, which prepares seekers of Truth... Upon my soul, it was only after I studied philosophy that I understood the meaning of God's words, that people will come to meditate on the creation of the world and that I would need God's assistance for my own development...' [quote in: Gaynullin, 1975, p. 105].

S. Zaki entered the history of literature as a subtle lyricist and author of elegant philosophical poems.

Khibatulla Salikhov (1794–1867) was renowned as the author of the book 'Texfät äl-äuläd' ('A Gift to Children'), in which 'tajwid', the Arabic pronunciation rules are treated in verse. His poetic legacy (more than 2,000 lines) came to light in the collection entitled 'Mäcmäg äl-ädäb' ('A Collection of Pieties', 1839). This book is a corpus of religious and ethical instruction. The poet appeals his readers to abstain from bad deeds and to be kind to others. Written as illustrations to number of exhortations, his stories revive the traditions of the medieval fable.

K. Salikhov's poetical persona perceives life as a turbulent sea, hostile to humans, covered by the darkness of ignorance, leaving humans lonely and helpless against this dark element: *'The sea of ignorance—wave upon wave, / People drowned there... / Who will see my hand, reaching out from the darkness, / Who will save me from this abyss?'* There is, however, no hope of light: *'To love life—is to drink the devil's brew'* [Khibatulla Salikhov, 2000, p. 168]. This can only be countermanded by following the Sufi commandments. In the poems 'Täässef' ('Regret') and '... Äbelmänixneñ "Tändä canım" şıgyrenä' ('On Abulmanikh's poem "Soul in the Body"') the hero, in the state of tawbah (repentance), recalls his life and shows remorse: 'I didn't know that the soul is the body's guest'; 'life has passed me by'; 'I have built my life on ignorance'; 'I couldn't open my eyes because of indifference [(*'gaflätän küzemne açmadım, tönlä torıp'* [Khibatulla Salikhov, 2000, p. 168], the most common motif in Sufi poetry); 'I have wasted my life on worldly pleasures' and so on. The radif 'belmädäm' / 'didn't know' serves as an intertextual link to a poem by Kargaly.

Gabdeljabbar Kandaly (1797–1860) is one of the more original poets of the period, who influenced the development of Tatar enlightenment literature. He was born to the family of a mullah, in the village of Sary Kandal (Irtugan) in the Samara guberniya. He wrote his first poem 'Risäläi äl-irşad' ('The book of guidance on the path of righteousness', ca. 1815–1816) when he was studying at the madrasah. It was a religious and didactic poem, which consisted of an introduction, 28 chapters and a concluding munajat. The author exhorts the reader towards righteousness, which, to his mind, is only attainable through Islam. The poem emphasises the caducity of earthly existence and the necessity to prepare for future eternal life. For this, it is necessary to study, be kind, patient and compassionate and to shun evil and cunning. G. Kandaly repeatedly tells us that ignorance is evil and knowledge is good (*'Run away from ignorance, / Open the doors of knowledge, / How many people there are in the world, who, like you, / Live in the darkness of ignorance'* [quote in: Istoriya tatarskoj, 2003, p. 37]). The poem reflects the author's critical attitude to earthly existence (*'This world—is a cave where streams of sorrow flow, its bazaar makes you cry a thousand times over, and from which there is no escape'*), to the morals of society (*'This world is polluted with dung, it—is an abode full of discord... The people of this age are remarkable indeed,—they are worthy only of spiritual stagnation, and are bound to depravity'*), and to human relations (*'The world is an astonishing, quite astounding place if you cast a look at it: there is no regard for the poor; while the rich are greatly honoured'*) [Istoriya tatarskoj, 2003, p. 37]. Exhorting his readers to be merciful, he reminds them that human behaviour leads them either to heaven or to hell, which is depicted in the poem.

Kandaly's next work was a major ethical and philosophical poem 'Kiyssai Ibrahim Adham' ('The Kiyssa of Ibrahim Adham'), named after one of its characters, Sultan Balha Adham Ibrahim. In search of the truth, he decided to abandon his throne and started wandering as a dervish. In relating the story of this character, Kandaly draws parallels with his own life,

describing how he took to travelling to seek wisdom. Like all his poems, this is an autobiographical work, which is reinforced, according to R. Akhmetov, 'by its intimacy and subjectivity' [Akhmetov, 2003, p. 40]. The poem is rich in didactics, raising many problems characteristic of Turko-Tatar literature, such as the justice of a ruler, the relationship between rulers and the people, the meaning of life and the secret of humanity. As far as the novelty of the poem is concerned, A. Sibgatullina remarks that it was not for nothing that the traditional 'common-place' topics of Eastern poetry were recurrent themes in the literature of the Islamic countries, and argues that Ibrahim Adham figures as an ideal of independence from power and wealth, being an enlightened and socially just ruler [Sibgatullina, 2001, p. 25]. According to Sibgatullina, Kandaly introduced into Tatar poetry an irrepressible striving towards self-realisation.

The poetical persona of G. Kandaly's poems is an educated mullah, who is bound up in the interests of his spirit and his heart, independent in his actions and striving for happiness in love. He behaves in ways that are contrary to the accepted moral norms, and openly speaks of sensual love: *'My heart has succumbed the fire of love, / My heart is burning with the passion of love'* (*'...Gışık ilä vä illyä xäyranım mänem...'*). He declares openly: *'Sending letter after letter, / I fell into disrepute'* (*'Bu süzlärne išetübän...'*), and appeals to us to take delight in love in earthly life: *'Has God prescribed that I take you [for my wife], / And taking you, to remain in bliss. / Lay my hands upon your breasts. / In this world and the hereafter I want to be together with you'* (*'Näzmi Yosif'*) [quote in: Sibgatullina, 2001, p. 102].

Kandaly overcame the edification and didacticism of Sufi poetry, praising instead the beauty of the world and the inner life of man. Romantic poetry comprises the largest part of Kandaly's works. In his youth Kandaly extolled the beauty of girls, comparing them to fresh fruits, natural phenomena, the moon, water springs, gardens, houris, flowers, doves and so on, and praised the beauty of romance ('Amina', 'Kamile' etc.). The feelings of the poem's hero progress from the assurance of mu-

tual love ('Süräteñ dösemä kerer...', 'I'll see your face in a dream...') to suffering caused by his beloved's refusal ('Ax, barmıym digän süzen karadır...'—'Ah, your black refusal...'), 'Söygän-emä ısanmasañ, Bädiga...'—'If you don't trust my love, Badiga...')

Divine and earthy love are mutually complementary in Kandaly's poems: '*As soon as I finish my prayers with the words 'Allah is great', / Your face at once appears in my soul*' ('Fah-ri'); '*After my prayers, my darling, / I'll ask God for your hand*' ('Kolak totıp ıset, canıy...' 'Hear me, my darling...') [quote in: Sibgatullina, 2001, p. 103]. The hero of the poem—an educated mullah—is juxtaposed with an ignorant boor—a man of the crowd. G. Kandaly's ideal was particularly clearly depicted in his poem 'Sahibjamal', innovative for its time. It was written in an epistolary style and depicts the hero's love of a simple country girl:

*'You are like a golden fruit,
Your beauty burns my heart,
I can't bear the burden of separation,
I am so weary!'*

(Transl. by R. Moran) [Anthologiya, 1957 p. 84].

The hero's desire to win the heart of the girl is frustrated by her reluctance to yield. He loses temper and, infuriated, speaks of the dull life of the Tatar woman, doomed to hard physical work and anguish of the soul, living with a 'common boor'. Addressing the girl, the protagonist urges her to choose an enlightened mullah for her husband, while arguing in favour of freedom of choice in love and matters of the heart:

'All your life,—year after year,—you will spend in a rich abode,

In play and caresses, without a care, away from the troubles of life.

You will be dressed, night and day,—in different garments...

The godly (khazret) husband will cherish his wife, who adorns—his house.

Rich ichigs will squeak on her feet, her earrings of pearl will glimmer.

She will be crowned with a silk kalfak, radiating light.

You will not be wronged, you will not reap your bread in sweat, or sleep,

Stricken with heat, not having wiped the bitter sweat from your face.

When you get tired of play and wither with boredom,

You will travel everywhere to see the wide world'

(Transl. by R. Moran) [Anthologiya, 1957, p. 87].

This motif appears in other poems by G. Kandaly. In 'Bän sezlärä ber suzemne...' ('I shall speak my mind'), while advising girls to fight for their happiness ('Don't be shy, my dear, tell them (the parents) what your word is / If you keep silent, you'll remain in misfortune, / And God will not forgive you'), he concedes that if a wife's love for her husband ends, she should be entitled to leave the man she no longer loves ('Seek your way forward by yourself,—/ God will grant you your true love'). In the opinion of M. Usmanov, the poet, 'in spite of the existing norms of law and behaviour, which limited the rights of Tatar women, virtually leaving them without any rights, becomes the first staunch proponent of women's emancipation in the history of Tatar social thought...' [Usmanov, 1988, p. 552].

In his mature works ('Faxrisorur', 'Fatiyma', 'Bädiga', and others) G. Kandaly juxtaposes his hero with the ignorant representatives of different classes, be they mullahs, the wealthy or commoners. The protagonist harshly opposes the ignorant mullahs: '*Even if you turn me away, I won't despair; / And I won't stop writing, / You will not get rid of me, / This won't be the end of it, / In my chalma-chapan, / I'll roam the steppes, / And I won't forget you, ignoramus,—/ I shall requite you a hundred-fold*'. ('Bu illärdä torıp kalsam...'). Thus Kandaly laid the foundations for a critical evaluation of the clergy's moral qualities. In his poems he depicts the tragic fate of Tatar women, and appeals for enlightenment by raising the standard of education. Kandaly takes an interest in social issues and in the cause of improving the material life of the people. In the poem 'Mulla belän abistay' ('The mullah and the abistay [mullah's wife]', 1855) he creates an image of a mullah whose purpose in life is to attend the majlis, to eat well and to sleep.

Hence, it was in the works of G. Kandaly that the programme of enlightenment was born, which called for the spread not only of religious, but also of secular education and morality among all societal strata.

In the literary process of the early 19th century there is a strong presence of folklore and romantic traditions in eastern literature. The rebirth of dastan fiction ('Kryssai Tamimdar' by I. Tubakov, 1831; 'Kryssai Äbü Gali Sina', 1836 and others) is closely interrelated with the tendency of Tatar literature to drift away from religious and didactic traditions. The romantic epic poems by Bakhavi ('Büz eget', 1842), Ahmet Uruzaev-Kurmashi ('Taxir-Zöxrä'), Yusufbek Shaikhulislam ('Säyfelmölek vä Bädigrälcämal'), 'xikayats' by S. Kuklyashev and other poets tell of great love and conflicts between reason and feelings, between duty and distractions. Continuing the spiritual traditions of the Middle Ages, these works inculcated in their readers the idea that love and freedom are the most important values of human life. Dastan literature was popular up to 1917. It is exemplified in the works of Maulekay Yumachikov, G. Makhmudov, Sh. Ibragimov, F. Khalidi, S. Rakhmatullin. According to M. Gainutdinov, this literary trend 'shook the traditional foundations' and 'set the stage for the development of the literary language and the different genres of the new realist literature' [Gaynutdinov, 2003, p. 56].

In summary, the emergence of the Tatar enlightenment in the first half of the 19th century was the result of a complex of subjective and objective influences, brought about by the changing political and social life of Russia. The opening of Kazan University played a key role in the enlightenment. The University became a seat of learning which contributed to the development of the culture of the numerous peoples of the Volga and Ural regions, and transformed Kazan into the centre of the Tatar renaissance.

The enlightenment depended on the introduction of various forms of secular science and the spread of secular forms of culture. The movement for religious reform also had a part to play, as it opposed dogmatism without refut-

ing or controverting religion, which found its expression in the philosophical searchings of fictional literature and in the interest for social problems (the improvement of people's lives) and freedom of thought. 'In the Tatar society, as in Russia generally, the direct expression of progressive socio-political aspirations was impossible, so its literature served as its press, its public tribune and as an institute of social science' [Sibgatullina, 2001, p. 4].

Tatar literature in the first half of the 19th century was a complex mosaic with certain elements that laid the foundation for the subsequent transition from the medieval religious concept of the individual to that of the enlightenment. The literary life of this period sees the appearance of religious didactic treatises, eloquent Sufi poems, social satire, travel essays, adventure dastans and hagiographical poems. Tatar Sufi poetry of the first half of the 19th century traditionally reflects the different stages of the mystic's Path: the tawbah and the zuhd, and also mahabbat, love of the Almighty. But apart from Sufi motifs, the works of the poets included poems that dealt directly with nature, love or everyday life, which may be called the first examples of secular Tatar literature. (Concerning the poem 'Saxibdjamel', G. Rahim writes: 'This poem by Gabdeljabbar Kandaly, written in the pure Tatar language, which speaks openly and with no Sufi subtext about earthly love, sets him apart from his predecessors and makes him quite unique. This is why we value him' [Räxim, 1925, p. 297]). The poets were laying the foundations for the new enlightenment literature, bringing the human potential to know, love, feel and create to the forefront. Even though all poets were Muslims, and at the forefront of their artistic world view was the sole opposition of the microcosm and macrocosm (God and human), which involved a gradual evolution, leading to an appreciation of the self-worth and civil duty of humans and the dependence of the human character on the social environment and morals of its time. Tatar literature in the first half of the 19th century reflected this shift in all its detail.

The progress of the enlightenment and Tatar literature in the second half of the 19th century.

The Tatar enlightenment, as the enlightenment movement of other peoples, was a way of ideologically overcoming the feudal and medieval societal relations. The emergence of capitalism in Russia led to a gradual breakdown of centuries-old traditions and caused profound changes in the spiritual life of the Tatar people. These new phenomena activated national life, gave impetus to the national conscience and made visible the clash between the medieval ways, which were still predominant in society, and the challenges of social development [Abdullin, 2003, p. 75].

As previously, Kazan University played the leading role in this process. In 1861, its Turkic-Tatar Language Department was reopened. Several scientific societies were established, such as the Society of Kazan Physicians (1868), the Natural Science Society (1869), the Society of Archaeology, History and Ethnography (1878). Kazan became Russia's third-largest centre of learning, after Moscow and Saint Petersburg.

In the late century, the University's printing office became one of the largest publishing centres of the empire, where Tatar publications accounted for over 50% of orders. These were mainly folklore and fiction publications. Thus, the poem 'Kıysai Yosıf' ('The Tale of Yusuf') by Kul Gali was published in 23 editions during this period [Karimullin, 1983, p. 60]. 150 editions of textbooks in the Tatar language were produced, as well as textbooks and teaching materials in all branches of knowledge.

In the 1860s, Tatars joined the movement for the creation of printed periodicals in their native language. In 1863, Q. Nasiri and the owner of a lithography printing office M. Yakhin petitioned for permission to publish a newspaper. Their petition was refused, and for years Q. Nasiri continued patiently to insist on the need to publish the newspaper 'Tañ yoldızı' ('Morning Star'). Teacher of the Turkic languages of St. Petersburg University X. Faizxanov also petitioned for this (1857–1859). In the early 1870s, a petition by non-commissioned officer A. Kutluyarov and merchant's son Kh. Bikbulatov (St.

Petersburg), who wanted to publish the newspaper 'Däftäre möcdävär' ('News Digest') was rejected. A. Kutluyarov submitted two more petitions for permission to publish the newspaper 'Möcdävär' in the capital. In 1885, an unsuccessful attempt was made by a native of the Spassk uyezd of the Kazan guberniya, S. Akhmerov. A petition by the founder of Tatar drama G. Ilyasi (1887) for the publication of the newspaper 'Kazan' was not given any consideration. In 1891–1895, G. Bayazitov, translator with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, collegiate assessor and akhun of the 2nd mahalla of St. Petersburg, was denied permission to publish the newspapers 'Xäftä' ('The Week'), 'Çışmä' ('Spring'), and 'Nur' ('Ray'). Similar requests by the writer Z. Bigiev, Honorary Chairman of the Imperial Society for the Study of the Orient O. Lebedeva (1893) and inspector of the Tatar Pedagogical School of Kazan Sh. Akhmerov (1894–1895) were not met. According to R. Amirkhanov, by 1905 over 20 petitions were addressed to the Minister of Internal Affairs, the General Directorate for the Press, the St. Petersburg Censorship Committee and to the Governor of Kazan by Tatars requesting permission to publish periodicals in their native language. However, the government authorities responded to the persons trying to assume responsibility for the publication unvaryingly with a refusal, citing either their alleged incompetence or the fact that it was impossible to provide censorship control of the periodicals in the Tatar language [Amirkhanov, 2002 pp. 35–36].

A breakthrough in this direction was the establishment of the newspaper 'Tärceman' ('Translator') in 1883 by Ismail Gasprinski (1851–1914). The newspaper was issued once or twice a week, but the effect it had on the Turkic peoples was enormous. The educator used this publication to put forward the idea of the cultural and national unity of the Turkic peoples of Russia, based on the 'unity of language, thought and actions' of the Muslims, and assumed that education would play a key role in the national revival of the Muslims of the country [Tatar Encyclopaedia, Vol. 2, p. 64]. The newspaper urged people to improve their knowledge, to engage in work for the good of

society, and served as a stimulus to literary and pedagogical activity. Under the influence of 'Tärce-man' new schools and charitable institutions were opened in different parts of Russia, and literary activity flourished [Mukhametdinov, 2005 p. 65].

The Tatar intelligentsia paid special attention to the publication and distribution of books, and literature was regarded as a means to promote the ideas of the enlightenment. Of significance in this respect is a letter of the future gold industry entrepreneur and publisher Shakir Ramiev, which he wrote in 1881 to his 21-year-old brother Zakir, who was studying at a university in Istanbul: 'The issue of resolving matters of education is being gradually raised in our region, but I don't know how far it will go, it is hard to say as yet. You have seen for yourself and you know that our people do not pay any attention to the words of people who do not have a chapman or turban on their heads. Some people were alarmed when they heard that Gasprinski was intending to publish a newspaper and, pointing with their fingers, declared: "A newspaper, a newspaper... will lead to the ruin of the world". Mind you, everyone can be educated, and it is essential, therefore, to read new books, collections depicting the events of life. What our nation needs right now are books, not newspapers. For this reason, try to bring more books of different kinds that give knowledge, and novels showing progressive development. Write about the availability, cost and delivery of printing types. Whether you can bring them during this trip or on another, but you have to try...' [Pis'mo, 1913, p. 189].

These ideas were prevalent among educators. For example, *Raxmatullah Amirxanov* (1805–1876)—educator, translator and publisher—published, at his own expense, his own essays as well as educational and didactic works ('Zöbdäten-nä-saix' ('Best Advice', 1849), 'Gakai-de mänzumä' ('Religious doctrine in verse', 1856), 'Mäğrifät-namä' ('The Book of Knowledge', 1845, by the Turkish poet İbrahim Haqqı, etc.)), and donated them free of charge to rural schools. In 1841, he started publishing Tatar calendars [Gaynutdinov, 2002 p. 140], which served as the foundation for forming Ta-

tar periodicals. This area was developed strongly in the second half of the 19th century.

'Kazan qalendare' ('Kazan Calendar') by Q. Nasiri was published in 1871 (it was issued annually until 1898). Nasiri paid special attention to the chronology of events that were taking place in Russia and in the world, to the informative material on the rules of trade, prices, banking activity and on drafting trade documents. Such advertising was found in the reference desk calendars of the teacher, writer and translator Sh. Rakhmatullin, which had been published for 10 years (since 1891).

In 1893, F. Xalidi started publishing wall calendars containing information on Muslim and Christian holidays, literary and historical materials, as well as recipes, useful tips, entertaining short stories and legends, which had delighted the Tatar reader for 30 years [Möxämmätšin 2001, pp. 47–71]. In 1898, A. Maksudi issued the first tear-off wall calendar 'Takvimi divari' ('Wall Calendar'). All calendars contained works of folklore and historical information.

In the early 20th century, these traditions were continued in the calendars 'Zaman' ('Epoch') by Sh. Shagidullin, 'Möshävarät' ('Advisor') by M. Kadermatı, 'Şärık' ('East') by K. Bashirov, et al., which at the same time became popular scientific, informational and entertaining illustrated publications in large format. In the early 20th century, the 'Sabax' and 'Millyat' calendars took pride of place amongst the printed products of the national publishing houses of the Karimov brothers [Zayni, 2004, p. 11].

The Dastan literature also developed as a result of the striving of the Tatar intelligentsia to make books attractive to the people ('Marzban namä' G. Makhmudov, 1864; 'The Tales of the Forty Viziers' by Q. Nasiri, 1868; 'The Tale of Xatam Tai', 1876), and others. By the end of the 19th century, books appeared in which answers of popular appeal to acute problems were propounded: 'Äsbab äl-fökr vâl-gana' ('The Causes of Poverty and Wealth', 1899) by Sh. Khamidi, 'Näsaix näfiga' ('Useful Tips', 1899) by M. Galimov, etc.

Of great significance during the enlightenment era were translations of the finest works

of Russian literature into the Tatar language. In 1867, Josif E`rak translated and published 'The Fountain of Bakhchisaray' by A. Pushkin under the title 'Küz yashe çış-mäse' with a dedication to A. Kazembek. In 1890, the story by L. Tolstoy 'A Spark Neglected Burns the House' was published as a single book, and by the end of the 1890s 'Robinson Crusoe' by D. Defoe (1897), 'Ashik Kerib' and 'Bela' by M. Lermontov (1898) were published, and 'The Captain's Daughter' by A. Pushkin, 'The Old World Landowners', 'The Government Inspector', 'Marriage' by N. Gogol, etc. were translated.

The striving towards Europeanisation which had emerged in Tatar society and at the same time the desire to preserve oriental traditions did not contradict, but rather complemented each other. This tendency is clearly seen in the works of Ş. Märcani (1818–1889), Q. Nasırı (1825–1902) et al.

Şihabetdin Märcani had an excellent command of the oriental languages and an extensive knowledge of eastern culture. He actively collaborated with the Orientalist scholars of the University of Kazan (Prof. I. Gotwald, Turkologist V. Radlov, Prof. A. Kazembek, the first female Orientalist O. Lebedeva, known among the Tatars as Gülnar hanım, et al.), and St. Petersburg (V. Velyaminov-Zernov, Sheikh at-Tantawy). He was the first of the Muslim scholars to be elected a member of the Society of Archaeology, History and Ethnography and became one of its active participants [Yuzeev, 2005, p. 48].

Ş. Märcani's occupation focused on scientific work, his six-volume dictionary 'Vafiyat äl-äslyaf vä täxiyät äl-äxlyaf' ('Detailed Information on our Predecessors and their Salute to their Descendants') became an encyclopaedia of the spiritual life of the East. The author compiled a 'Mökaddimä' ('Introduction') to the dictionary, which described the birth of sciences in the Orient, gave them their classification and discussed the specific features of the major schools of Islam. This work (1883) belongs to a particular genre of Oriental literature—the *Tabaqat* (biographies), in which the author propounds his views on various issues of the liberal arts.

Märcani considered science to be the driving force of society and divided the sciences into rational (*gakliya*) and traditional (*nakliya*) sciences. Rational sciences included mathematics, physics, medicine, etc., traditional sciences were linguistics, syntax and some areas of literary theory: 'magan—the science of creating logically correct content by arranging words in a special order, bayan—the science of expressing one and the same meaning, badig—the science of beauty, figurative speech, garuz—the science of versification' [Märcani, 1999, p. 47]. According to the author, the linguistic disciplines, which started as a means for understanding the Qur'an and the Sunnah, later became branches of science in their own right. Philosophy and philology, in his opinion, came into being predominantly under the influence of the works of Ancient Greek scholars. Märcani analyses the views of Aristotle, Plato, Socrates et al. on literature and works of fiction. He believed that al-Farabi, Abu Ali ibn Sina were proponents of these concepts in the Muslim world [Märcani, 1999, pp. 31–32]. Although Märcani created a classification of sciences similar to that of Ibn Khaldun, he tried hard to elaborate on it with his own additions and discoveries [Xismätullin, 1999, p. 23].

'Muqaddimah' contains certain statements about the specific features of poetry and literature. The author believed that poetry should be harmonious and should please people. As far as the essence of art is concerned, Märcani saw this in the expression of the truth and in the impact on the minds and hearts of people. He considered genuineness to be not an optional feature of artistic expression, but an inherent quality of literature: the non-genuine is not poetry. The confirmation of the inseparability of poetry and truth, the requirement for literature to be something more than just the artistic presentation of material, and the appreciation of the significance of literature in terms of moral values were reinforced by Ş. Märcani not only in a religious but also in a scientific context. Taking this into consideration, G. Gubaydullin called this book the work of a man in love with beauty, who strove to synthesise religious and scientific thought [Gobäydullin, 1989, pp. 314–315].

Indeed, Ş. Märcani attempted to give science a position of priority in society, alongside religion. His classification of sciences, including the study of literature, was very instrumental in their popularisation among the Tatar population.

The expansion of the historical and literary perspectives of the Tatars began with the publication of Märcani's historical book on Volga Bulgaria and the Khanate of Kazan 'Möstäfadäl-ähbar fi ähvali Kazan vâ Bolğar' ('Information Presented for the History of Kazan and Bolghar', 1885, Vol. 1), in which he tried to trace the connection of traditional Tatar national science and culture with the history, literature and science of the central regions of the Muslim world, and to show the contribution of the Tatars to all-Muslim science and culture. In particular, Ş. Märcani was the first to examine the Turko-Tatar records 'Nähc äl-färadis', 'Kıyssai Yosıf', 'Bädavam' and others, and prove that they were truly part of the spiritual heritage of the Tatars. In addition, he provided information about the Tatar poets Qol Ghali, G. Utız İmyani and others.

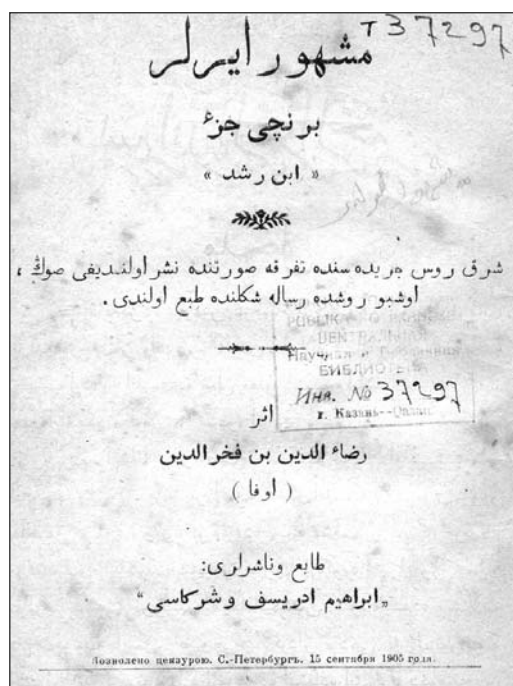
Ş. Märcani's activity in the area of historic and literary research was continued by *Riza Faxretdin* (1858–1936)—thinker, social activist, and writer. He was born in the village of Kichuchatovo in the Bugulma Uyezd of the Samara guberniya into the family of a mullah. He received his primary education at his father's madrasah and spent 10 years at the madrasah of the village of Nizhnie Chershily'. In 1886, he went to Kazan, where he met Märcani. In 1889, he began working as an imam khatib in a mosque, and a mudarris of the madrasah in the village of İlbyakovo of the Bugulma Uyezd. At the same time he was engaged in scientific activities. His first treatises 'Kitab ät-tasrif' and 'Kitab äl-iğtibar' (1887–1888) were devoted to the teaching of the Arabic language and Islamic law.

In 1891, R. Faxretdin was appointed to the position of qadi of the Spiritual Assembly. At this time he was collecting material for his six-volume bibliographical work 'Asar' ('Monuments'), which included biographies of Muslim Tatars from the 13th century to the beginning of the 20th century. In addition, as part of the

series 'Famous Men', he published a number of books about famous Arab-Muslim thinkers: Ibn Rushd (1905), Al-Ma'arri (1908), Ghazali (1909), Ibn Taymiyyah (1911), Ibn al-'Arabi (1911), about the outstanding women of the Muslim world—'Mäshür hatinnar' ('Famous Women', 1903). He considered their life and work to be models to emulate.

R. Faxretdin authored 11 books devoted to the moral education of children ('The Well Brought Up Mother' (1898), 'The Well Brought Up Child' (1898), 'Morality of a shakird' (1899), etc.). They were used as textbooks in the madrasahs. He wrote two novels: 'Salima, or Chastity' ('Sälimä, yaki Gıyffät', 1898), 'Asma, or Deed and Retribution' ('Äsma, yaki Gamäl vâ Cäza', 1903), where he put forward the ideal of a Muslim woman with a European education, who could be not only the mother to the family, but the mother to the whole nation. Thus, the protagonist of the novel 'Salima...' is a Tatar shakird, who studied in a madrasah with old methods of teaching, but then moved to a Jadidist one. However, he is not familiar with true enlightenment, crafts, art. Compared with other schoolboys and students, he seems backward. In contrast to him, R. Faxretdin created an idealized character, Salima—the educated and cultured Muslim girl, a graduate of one of the Egyptian universities and fluent in Arabic, French and English. Author wrote about her with admiration: 'She is lovely and practical, attractive and tender, as she is intelligent. She is as smart and charming as she is educated and ethical. As soft as oil, her voice enchants the soul, it's as lulling as the nightingale's song, as the breath of the morning breeze. She could be called the ideal girl, which is the sea of science' [quot. from: *Istoriya tatarskoj*, 2003, p. 130]. Salima became the embodiment of the author's ideal: through his characters, the writer conveyed educational ideas significant for that time.

In addition, numerous set pieces, aimed at creating a new mindset, promoted his educational beliefs. Here is a typical quote: 'Knowledge religious dogmas alone is not enough for life—scientific knowledge is needed. In order for youth to serve the people, we shall reform



Cover of R. Fakhretdin's 'Ibn Rashd' (Orenburg, 1905).

the methods of training and education in the madrasahs. Without knowledge of the Russian language and mastery of the basics of science, it is impossible to serve the people. If you want to make the nation happy, you need to convey knowledge to it and develop the crafts. Without mastering the Russian language, all this is impossible' [quot. from: *Istoriya tatarskoj*, 2003, p. 130]. The beliefs of the author were in tune with the cultural demands and aspirations of the Tatar intelligentsia.

The famous encyclopaedist, educator and social activist *Qayum Nasiri* (1825–1902) emphasised sustained interest in Russian culture and social life as an important factor in the cultural development of the Tatars. As a shakird, he had learned Russian alongside studying in the madrasah. In 1855, he began to teach Tatar at the Kazan Theological Seminary. In 1871, he opened the first Russian-Tatar elementary school in Kazan. Annual calendars, published by him for 24 years, adequately fulfilled the function of the Tatar periodicals. In 1885, Nasiri was elected as a member of the Society of Archaeology, History and Ethnography.

Q. Nasiri made a huge contribution in almost all the major fields of science and culture. In 1860, his textbook for elementary schools 'Buş vakit' ('At Leisure'), which considered questions of morality within the Muslim ethic tradition, was published. Nasiri used specific examples from Tatar families everyday lives to tell young readers about kindness, compassion, respect for elders, deceit, cunning etc., and of the consequences of certain actions.

Later, the scientist wrote textbooks on mathematics ('Xisaplık, yağni Gıylme hisap kagıydäläre, yaki arifmetika və hisaplık mäsäläläre' ('Arithmetics', 1873), 'İstıylahät gıylme händäsä' ('Geometry', 1895), geography ('İstılähate cäğräfiya' ('Basics of Geography', 1890), 'Cäğräfiyai käbir' ('Complete Geography' in three parts, 1894-1899), botany ('Gıylme zirägat' ('Basics of Agriculture', 1892), 'Gölzar və çämänzar' ('Plants and Flowers', 1894), and medicine ('Mönafığ ağza və kanune sıyxxät' ('Human Body and Hygiene', 1892), brochures about the jewelry and locksmith trades, and the art of cooking. The textbooks 'Äxlak risaläse' ('Anthology of Morality', 1881, 1890), 'Tärbiya kitabı' ('The Book of Upbringing', 1891), 'Tärbiya' ('Upbringing', 1892), etc. raised questions of ethics, upbringing and pedagogy. His textbooks and manuals for studying the Russian language occupy a special place: 'Kavagıyde kıyraäte rus' ('Russian Reading Rules', 1889), 'Nämünä, yaki Änmüzäc' ('Grammar of the Russian Language based on the Arabic Language Model', 1891), 'Lögate rus kitabı' ('Russian-Tatar Dictionary', 1892), 'Zöbdäten min tävarixe äre Rusı' ('Concise Russian History', 1890).

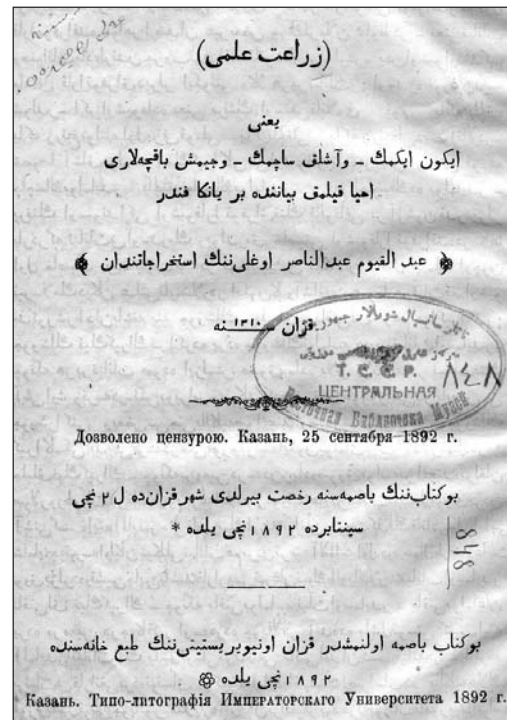
In 1882, Q. Nasiri published a treatise on poetics by Keikavus 'Kabusnamä', translated by him from Persian (16th century). In his accompanying commentary he set out his requirements of poetic speech. Following Keikavus, Q. Nasiri imposed certain conditions on Tatar poets: the works should be meaningful, well-organised, rhymed and rich in fantasy. The book sets out the school of thought regarding the differences between poetry and prose, poetic forms and styles. The release of the treatise heralded the end of the 'trilingual' development

period in literary theory, although Arabic and Persian still remained the languages of science. The book had a huge impact on the development of national poetry, as this was the time when the practice of the national art form and literary theory converged.

In the second half of the 19th century, national folkloric monuments began to be studied using concepts from literary theory. Q. Nasiri was also associated with this field of study. In 1871, he published samples of Tatar folklore in his 'Kazan Calendar'. And in 1880, his book 'Kırık bakça' ('Forty Sections') appeared, in which the author introduced readers to samples of Tatar folk literature and provides instruction about the genres of folk poetry. In particular, he identified six Tatar folk song genres: songs of woe, songs of praise, melancholy songs, songs about love and separation, about suffering.

Referring to the medieval adab—requirements for the educated and civilised person—he wrote a book 'Fävakiñ ä-l-cöläsa fi-l-ädäbiyat' ('Fruits of Conversations about Literature', 1884), in which he re-created the human ideal, expounding upon positive and negative human qualities. The fortieth chapter of the book is devoted to the problems of theory and history of literature. Q. Nasiri translated some of the theoretical issues from the treatises in 'Mostatraf' written by the 14 century Egyptian scholar Muhammad Ahmad al-Khatib and 'Ravzıl-axyar' by the 12th century lexicologist Zamakhshari. The author informs the reader of this in the preface of the book.

Here, Q. Nasiri continued the study of literature and, in addition to motivational classification, raised the question of the structure of folk texts. For example, the scholar pointed out that the Tatar poetic strophe consisted of two lines, whereas the first couplet of the folk song verse differed in content from the last couplet. He also revealed the variability of the Tatar song. The scholar was interested in the origins of folklore, and expressed his thoughts about the purposes and functions of literature. Along with Ş. Märcani, Q. Nasiri saw literature as an effective tool for influencing people, and he stated that aesthetic enjoyment was a natural human



Cover of K. Nasyri's book 'Ziragat Giyleme' (Kazan, 1892).

need, paying particular attention to the concept of catharsis. For the first time in Tatar literary theory, Q. Nasiri meditated on the criteria for evaluating individual works. With regard to Tatar folk songs, he defined evaluation criteria such as beauty of style, elegance of lyrics and pleasantness of meaning. With respect to axiology, the author saw literature as the ideal, rarefied standard.

In the book, he attempted to analyse the rhythm and metre of folk and literary works (for example, the poem 'Säxipcämal' by G. Kandaly). The author used garuz metres to do this. This fact was significant for Tatar theoretical thought. It is known that in 19th century Tatar literature, many artistic and aesthetic systems coexisted (Sufi, educational, religious-didactic literature, etc.), and, from each point of view the boundaries, goals and achievements of literature itself were seen in a different light. Each system had its own theory, which took on a particular form. Folklore had its own strict, although not expressly stated, theoretical basis. In his analysis that 'switched' from literature

to folklore, Q. Nasiri, proved it was possible to develop a single scientific concept for the study of different literary systems. A statement such as this could be made because of the theoretical fragmentation had become a realised fact through which the multiple styles of Tatar literature were viewed. In addition to this, Q. Nasiri's research on *garuz* intensified the study of the Tatar *garuz*, and facilitated the search for variations in Tatar *vazen* metres from Arabic and Persian.

At the turn of 1840–1850s, in West-European and Russian philology, a special research area—the so-called mythological school—was formed. Starting in 1894, the 'IOAIE' printed articles by E. Malov, N. Katanov, Ya. Koblov, A. Dmitriev, S. Matveev and I. Smirnov, in which the comparative-historical method was used in the study of Tatar literature and folklore. Q. Nasiri was also interested in the concept of the mythological school. In his work 'Beliefs and Rituals of the Kazan Tatars' (1880), he compared Tatar folk beliefs with the folklore of other nations. Applying the principle of naturalisation, or migration theory, Q. Nasiri tried to determine the origins of some of the myths and fairy tales. In 1896, he published his work 'Samples of the Folk Literature of the Kazan Tatars', and in 1900—in collaboration with P. Polyakov—'The tales of the Kazan Tatars and a comparison with the tales of other nations'. The authors commented on individual works and made connections with the life of the people. They emphasized that the mythical tales of mankind and nature that the language had preserved was in fact the people's understanding of nature and the spirit, being expressed in certain ways.

Q. Nasiri has gone down in the history of Tatar literature as the author of several fiction works. In particular, his works 'Äbügalisina' ('Abugalisina', 1872), dedicated to the great medieval thinker Ibn Sina, and 'Kırık vâzir kıyssası' ('The Tale of Forty Viziers', 1868), 'Äfsânâi Gölruş vâ Kamârçan' ('The Legend of Gul'ruş and Kamardjan', 1896) et al., which included revised novellas and stories from Arab, Persian and Turkish literature, were popular among the Tatars. Their fantastic motifs were intertwined

with moral teaching. The hero lost his epic-heroic status and became an ordinary person. The storylines were simply allegorical.

Thus, in the second half of the 19th the socio-cultural life of the Tatars experienced a gradual crisis. An awareness of the need for closer relations with European culture grew, and for ways of life to adapt to the needs of modern times. J. Validi wrote on this subject: 'We have seen the tendency to this (awakening) both in Ş. Märcani and represented by the translated calendar literature. However, all this as a spontaneously universal and coherently continuous phenomenon is reflected in a special kind of mental-cultural movement known as 'usul jadid', that is 'the new method'. Representatives of this movement decided that it was proper to start with school and alphabet reform. This made the movement very popular and full of vitality. The issue of school reform was discussed not only among scientists and educators: reform would affect the lower classes as well, so all sections of the population were deeply interested in it. It is probable that the problem of school reform raised more agitation among the Tatar than any other problem in their history up to this point' [Validov, 1998, p. 40].

Indeed, in the 19th century, the development of education was the only possible way of engendering a spiritual revival and a growth in society's intellectual potential. Educators focused training specialists who could show their worth in reforming the life of the nation. The Muslim education system was largely dependent on charitable organisations and foundations interested in the outcomes of the educational movement. Private charitable giving was widespread among Muslims. These donations were used to build and maintain educational institutions and libraries, and to publish books.

These innovations contributed to a shift of direction in literature: In the second half of the 19th Tatar secular educational literature took shape. This educational movement specifically became the fertile soil from which the new literature emerged.

Educators wrote works that concerned the most burning issues of national life, from their

point of view. An increasing desire to perceive actuality realistically led to them to a completely different, realistic model of the world in literature, where two sides of reality were presented in opposition: new/old; enlightenment/ignorance; good/evil; happiness/misery; living/dead; spiritual/material; poverty/wealth. This model was grounded in a faith in the transformative power of the human mind, a desire to revive the ideas of a just society, and a distaste for any manifestations of ignorance, hypocrisy or anger. Although all the writers were Muslims, the secularisation process focused on representing reality, while irreality could now serve only as a distant background in this model of the world.

These new ideological, aesthetic attitudes to genre manifested themselves mostly in poetry. According to A. Sibgatullina, poetry served as a bridge in the literary process, helping to smooth the transition from one stage of development to a more sophisticated stage, from a medieval concept of the human character to a modern one [Sibgatullina, 2001 p. 10]. The works of G. Chokry, Aqmulla, Bahawetdin Vaisov (1819–1893), Galimatelbanat Biktimirova (1876–1906), Gaziza Samitova (1862–1929) et al., captured contemporary reality, raised topical issues, criticised certain manifestations of ignorance and celebrated those who were educated. As a result of criticism of certain human qualities by representatives of the Tatar clergy, Tatar poetry switched to biting satire, aimed at coping with the ‘intolerable conditions’ in which mankind lives. The pens of poet-educators recreated aspects of life that were previously considered unworthy of attention in fiction.

The works of *Miftaxetdin Aqmulla* (1831–1895), a representative of the Tatar, Kazakh, Bashkir literature, are noted for their aphoristic nature; most of his works are in the Turkic aqyn tradition, written to be recited. A son of a village mullah, born in the village of Tuksanbaevo in Belebey Uyezd, Orenburg guberniya, he took lessons from the Sufi poet Sh. Zaki. In Troitsk, he studied under Sheikh Z. Rasulev. He wandered from village to village, teaching children and selling books. He was arrested as



Cover of G. Biktimirova's book 'Targiybel-banat fi taglimel adabiyat' (Saint Petersburg, 1897).

a result of a tip off. In 1867–1871, in Troitsk prison, he wrote a famous cycle of prison poems. He died a tragic death.

Sufism attracted Aqmulla as it offered the possibility of self-improvement. For example, in the poem 'Böradär, çın mullah kem...?' ('Brothers, who is the real mullah?'), he exclaims, 'Brothers, do you know who is the real mullah? / See any books on Sufism?'. The poet dreamed of building an ideal society through education and improving mankind. He saw the root cause of the nation's troubles in its ignorance and carelessness, believing its collective consciousness to be in a century-long hibernation ('How many troubles fall to our lot, / But the people, knowing that, remain careless. / No anxiety from carelessness, no awakening, / And on the caravans go, one after another'). His actions were aimed at overcoming this hibernation. It was through education, upbringing, improvement of mankind—with the help of books and cautionary advice—that the poet thought it was possible to change the

world and its order. Aqmulla extolled science, knowledge and crafts:

It is difficult for a person to keep up with the riches,

Outdated concepts have no use.

A man's quality lies in education,

Crafts should not be treated carelessly.

('The trait of courage is in education', transl. by R. Shakur) [Shakur, 2006, p. 103].

Although the Sufi poetry tradition strongly influenced his work, especially that of Sh. Zaki [Akhmetov, 2003 p. 162], the creation of a lyrical persona—a common man, interested in everything happening around him, a caring and thinking person—led to new themes and motifs. The theme of glorifying educators most clearly manifested itself in the marcia dedicated to the blessed memory of Ş. Märcani 'Elegy in memory of the Reverend Shigabutdin' (1892). As a historical figure, the educator is praised in the manner and style of prophets and saints. In the poem, the poet calls Kazan the centre of Tatar culture, and calls Märcani his spiritual mentor (as the Sufis did), but glorifies him as the leader and protector of the people, thus making him more 'earthly'. 'Aqmulla's character is a person boldly speaking out against the old principles, a fighter' [Sadretdinov, 1983, p. 51]. This character appears in his other marcia—'Xörmätle Rizaetdin—ber kamil zat...' ('Honourable Rizaetdin has a perfect character'). In announcing that famous scientists of his time had perfect characters, the poet thus elevated the roles of education and science, identifying them as two of the most significant charitable deeds.

Another theme was criticism of the existing order and the moral state of Tatar society. His persona is full of self-irony: he presents himself as an imperfect representatives of the imperfect Muslim community. Sometimes Aqmulla speaks the words of negative characters, those who are the objects of his criticism: *'We clouded the eyes of our people, / We became their misfortune, their plague. / What terrible nonsense is often spoken / By a respectable man with a big turban!'* (Transl. by S. Lipkin). This device moved national poetry away from its predetermined didactic course.

Aqmulla knew people's everyday lives inside out and tackled the most pressing and urgent problems of the time. Aqmulla saw the root cause of all society's ills in ignorance and carelessness, and believed the poet's mission was to promote knowledge and learning. His persona is ready to give his all for this, in the belief that mind and morals, education and morality are all united. Only a highly educated society can raise honest, pure people. In his famous introduction to the didactic ethical treatise 'First of all, we need holy beliefs..., which lives on in the form of munajat, he defines a person's necessary qualities. They are: noble beliefs, pure soul, intellect, reasonable demands, good manners, self-control, fidelity, sincerity' [quot. from: Akhmetov, 2003, p. 166]. These qualities include freethinking, which stands out in his works as an independent theme. At the same time we feel that he is aware of the futility of his attempts to change society.

M. Aqmulla, continuing the tradition of çığan folk singers, strove to become a part of the era and to cover its most important events. He was one of the first poets able to convey the people's suffering and their hopes for the revival of their former greatness.

Ghaly Chokry (Muxammadghali Gabdessalixovich Kiikov, 1826–1889)—a poet and writer, educator, whose works were also deeply affected by the revival. The son of a mullah, he was born in the village of Staryj Chokur of Birskeyezd, Ufa guberniya. He received elementary education from his parents, and studied in many madrasahs in the Volga and Ural regions until he was 21. In 1849, after his father's death, he became the imam in his native village. Chokry belonged to a Sufi brotherhood called Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidya and was a student of Sheikh Muhammad Murad al-Badakhshani. He made the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca on four occasions (in 1872, 1879, 1880, and 1889), during which he became an heir to the founder of the Mujaddidya branch, Ahmad Sirhindi, as Sheikh Muhammad Mazkhar Sahib-Zade [Gumerov, 2003, p. 13].

The first work by G. Chokry 'Täcvid' ('Teaching the correct reading of the Qur'an', 1873), was planned as a textbook for maktabas. He

wrote a series of textbooks—religious instructions filled with religious-mystical ideas and descriptions of religious rites: 'Zammı nazıyr' ('A supplement to the work "The End of the World" by S. Bakırgani', 1888), 'Tarxibe ramazan' ('Veneration of Ramadan') and others. In his poem dedicated to the Prophet Muhammad, Chokry called Him 'xäbib äl-mustigan' (the favourite of Allah), 'şäfiğ äl-möznibiyn' (protector of the despised). Chokry's persona tells the prophet of his troubles and hopes, and is willing to give his life for him: 'If I had a thousand lives, I would like to give them all for You'.

His manuscript 'Tävarixe Bolgariya, yaki tägribe Gari' ('History of Bulgaria, retold by Gari') has a poem written in the Sufi style. 'Fosule ärbaga' ('Seasons'), 'Zammu nazıyr' ('A Similar Bond'), 'Fäyzi Gari' ('Chokry's Generosity') and others are devoted to celebrating love for God. Chokry expressed the idea of the union of God and mankind through various symbolic images: the nightingale and rose, the sea (bäxer), the pearl (dörre), the diver (gauvas), the beam of light (nur), roads (tarika), spring, autumn, etc. Within the Sufi understanding of truth, Chokry pays special attention to Dhikr as the first step on the path to divine love. In the poem 'Fosule arbaga', Dhikr is compared with the sounds of nature in spring, his persona can hear the song of divine love in birdsong and animal calls, in the sound of the wind: *'They all speak of one thing only, / They sing a song of love'* [quot. from: Gumerov, 2003, p. 16].

Chokry's writings include roughly 200 madhias and marcias, his collection 'Şämg äziya' ('The Source of Light', 1883) is devoted solely to praising past leaders who have left a significant mark in history. The poem 'A Hymn for Kazan' ('Mädxä Kazan', 1889) has become a reference point for works that reconstruct the historical past of the Tatar people. On the one hand, the exalted, romanticized image of Kazan is presented as the elite centre of the nation. This depiction of 'incomparable Kazan' is at the forefront of portrayals that mythologize the city as a centre of Tatar culture, science and education:

It is a place where shoes, gowns, ichigs and scarves are made.

They are praised by experts, captivated by the perfection of the work.

The women's craftwork is beautiful, their embroidery is resplendent,

And there are as many tubeteikas as people in the world!

Everywhere, the houses are clean and the men and women, pure.

From one direction bursts a stream of fair songs, in another direction lies a precious treasure trove of knowledge.

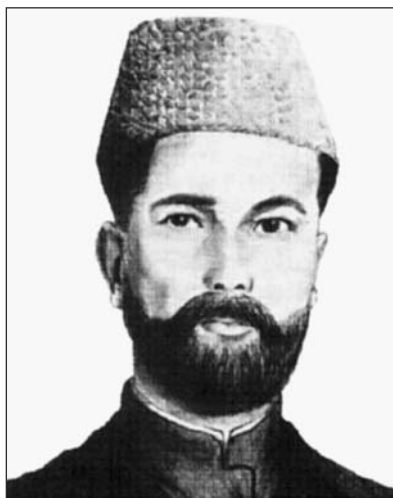
There are many doctors, singers, writers and men of wisdom living there,

And from all quarters praises flow to you, oh, blessed shelter!

(Transl. by S. Lipkin) [Anthologiya, 1957, p. 96].

Against this background, the author reflects on his nation's past: in the first chapter of the poem he describes the destruction of the holy city of Bolghar—the capital of the ideal state, in which the culture of Islam flourished (Darel-Islam) ('Bolghar, the holy house of Islam, has been turned to ruins'). Kazan is named as the spiritual heir of Bulgar [Gumerov, 2003, p. 16]. On the other hand, historical events are described from the perspective of representative of the Tatar people (*'There came Aksak-Timur; the villain, the killer of the young and old, / To crush the Muslims rapidly and turn the city to ruins. / He struck the city with all his might, he burst like wildfire alight, / And he debased and crushed Bolghar; many men and women perished...'*, transl. by S. Lipkin). The poem shows the desire to awaken a sense of national pride, to draw the contemporary reader's attention to the creative potential of the nation. This trend would be further developed in all genres of educational literature.

Another motif—praising contemporaries for specific acts—takes on a different meaning in the odes of Ghaly Chokry. Two of his odes provide a clear example of this. In the first, dedicated to Ş. Märcani's educational work, the object of admiration is represented traditionally—with saintly status (*'Having studied many sciences and philosophy, he guided us to the truth'*). However, the ode dedicated to Nigmatulla-ışhan notes the good work that he has



Ghali
Chokry.
Photo from
the second
half of
the 19th
century

done for the people, in particular the pipes that Nigmatulla laid from the spring to the centre of the village, allowing the water to flow through them and to be used by all.

In this way, Tatar literature displays an educational ideal that differs from the medieval 'perfect man' ('*āl-insan āl-kamil*'): he is a simple, active business man, who uses his mind, wealth and skills to be of use to society. This protagonist is also present in Tatar educational prose.

The interest in the surrounding world and the social status of a people of other nationalities combined with the establishment of the high educational role of literature was most in evidence in the *sayakhatname* genre. This was a form of travel writing, which, from being on the fringes of medieval literature, became a fully-fledged literary genre. One example of this is 'The History of the Hajj' ('*Xacnamā*', 1876–1879) by G. Chokry. In addition to placing the autobiographical protagonist-traveller in a real geographical position, the work also contains the author's assessment 'of his and a stranger's reality' from an Enlightenment perspective: the author advocates the Europeanization of Eastern culture. He praises the scientific and technological progress throughout Russia and encourages people to acquire knowledge and professional skills. His pride in Russia is his leitmotif. 'On the journey to Odessa, I did not meet any Russian Muslims. I travelled around Russia with Russian people all the time. The wealth of the Russian state is enormous. From your home vil-

lage to Odessa, you pass through hundreds of villages and towns. The well-built houses, vast arable lands and buildings are clear evidence of their wealth. Moscow is particularly large and well appointed. The city has many different plants and factories that are known throughout the empire. Imagine the distance by railway from Nizhni Novgorod to Odessa. Imagine how much cast iron was used! Thousands of well-equipped carts called wagons travel along these railroads. It is impossible to describe all the ingenious and valuable things that the machines pulling these carts are equipped with. Hundreds of thousands of rubles were spent on the construction of this road!...' [quot. from: Gaynullin, 1975, p. 128]. Even comparing Russia with Arab countries, the author emphasizes the 'order' that exists in his native country. It is as though the educator wishes to focus the reader's attention on the fact that the Tatars living in the empire, with advantageous conditions for making technical and cultural progress, should not be lagging behind the Russians in this respect. This view was completely new to Tatar literature, which was dominated by the clarion call for education within the bounds of a narrow society, isolated from Orthodox Russia.

Yakov Emelyanov (1848–1893) was a Kryashen Tatar poet, who authored two collections under a single title 'Poems in the Kryashen Tatar language. Deacon Ya. Emelyanov stixları' (1879; 1888). He became famous for his socially-oriented poems describing the hardships of peasant life:

*It's the fifth day of the month.
Well. I got up early,
And once again I looked in all my pockets:
Nothing. Everything vanished into thin air!
I took my last rags
And went to the rich man to pawn them.
He refused.
And I sadly walked back home.*

('Yarlı tormış' ('Living in poverty', transl. by R. Moran) [Anthologiya, 1957, p. 104].

Social injustice and human vices such as greed, deceitfulness and vanity were the poet's objects of ridicule ('*Olısmaklık*' ('Pride'), '*Ālāk*' ('Slander'), '*Saran bay*' ('The greedy rich man') and others. The poet believed the under-

lying reason for these traits was the people's ignorance. Written in a conversational style and based on folklore, Ya. Emelyanov's poetry opened up new ways to criticise the existing social order. For example, in the poem 'Äläk', which contains sarcasm aimed at ridiculing slanderers, the persona also expresses ironic views about society, that, having inventing new moral canons, still cannot cleanse itself of slander:

*No matter how law-abiding yo may be,
How rightful, fair and true,
No matter, if your conscience is clean—
The slanderer will name and shame!
However silently you suffer,
However loud you cry and weep,
However deep your grief,
However hard you may hold your tongue,
It's no matter—
The slander will stick!*

(Transl. by R. Moran) [Anthologiya, 1957 p. 105].

Ya. Emelyanov's writings include romantic elements. Most in evidence is his faith in the power of the soul, which not only elevates a person above the mundane, but also stops them from succumbing to the pressure of grief and misery. This theme is especially prominent in the poem 'Kaigr' ('Grief'). In the last lines of the poem, the persona proudly proclaims the victory of the spirit over grief (*'Although you boil inside my soul, / You cannot break me!'*).

This theme would return with renewed vigour in the romantic poems of the early 20th century poets G. Tukay, S. Ramiev, and N. Dumavi.

The figure of the rebellious romantic character, who challenges fate and remains undefeated despite suffering blows, appears in works by *Ahmet Urazaev-Kurmashi* (circa 1855–1883), in particular his romantic love poems adapted from well-known folk dastans. The poem 'Kıyssai Büz eget' ('The Legend of a Young Jigit', 1874) is based on a work of the same name by the Tatar poet Bahawî (from the first half of the 19th century) about the tragic fate of young lovers. The plot of the dastan is simple: The warrior hero Büz eget and the beautiful Karaçâçsılı fall in love, having seen each other in a dream.

After overcoming numerous obstacles in a four-year search, the protagonist finds his lover. However the Shah, the girl's father, wants her to marry the son of another Khan. The Shah wants to get rid of the young man, so he gives an order for the protagonist to be captured and killed. Unable to endure the death of her lover, Karaçâçsılı commits suicide. 'Kıyssai Tahir ilä Zöhrä' ('The Legend of Taxir and Zuxra', 1876) tells a similar story. It was freely adapted from 'Dastan Babaxan' by Kylych bin Sayyadi, which was popular among the Tatars.

The Tatars had numerous lists of these dastans. The romantic theme and the sincerity of the characters' relationships attracted readers' attentions. Influenced by the time in which they were written, A. Urazaev-Kurmashi's poems the socio-philosophical leanings are indisputable. The protagonists—Büz eget and Tahir—allow the author to express the strength of the human spirit and the pursuit of happiness through poetry. The greatness of their dream and their energy in overcoming all obstacles are the most important aspects of their characters. Even the protagonists' deaths are considered a victory: neither hardship, nor betrayal by their loved ones, nor despair could break them—they remain true to their ideals until their dying breath. Through his characters, Kurmashi tried to stir people into activity and give them hope. He praised the beauty of the human pursuit of happiness. As a result, these works—adaptations of medieval dastans—became popular and were loved by Tatar readers in the 19th century, the readers of the age of enlightenment.

Changes in the social life of the Tatars were also reflected in the 'female literature'. Prominent female writers in the second half of the 19th century were G. Biktimirova, Kh. Gismatullina, G. Rakhmatullina, G. Samitova and others. The fact that literature was open to them is first and foremost a sign of a newly-awakened desire to participate in public life. Secondly, it shows how the treatment of women in Muslim society was transformed during the enlightenment period. An example of this is the literary career of *Galimatelbanat Biktimirova* (1876–1906). She was born into a mul-

lah's family in the village of Kyshlau in Kazan uyezd. She studied in an all-girls' madrasah opened by her father Lotfullah akhoond, and started teaching there from the age of 16. She mastered Arabic and Persian, and was familiar with Eastern literature. After getting married, she moved to the village of Yaubash in Kasimov uyezd (1895) and opened a maktab for girls there. She is the author of the books 'Tärgıyb äl-banat' ('Encouraging Girls', 1892), 'Hösne äl-vasıya' ('A Perfect Guardian', 1895), 'Möğaşärät ädäbe' ('Ethics of Communication', 1895), on the role of the Tatar woman in the family and on the methods of bringing up orphans. The books express the need to spread knowledge and education among women as well as men. Happiness through knowledge is the motto of the first female writer. In the preface to 'Möğaşärät ädäbe', she writes: *'All my thoughts are concentrated on how to spread education among my fellow countrywomen and give them knowledge. After all, women constitute half of the world's population. Families are happy and prosperous when women are intelligent and educated. Women educate their children as they raise them, and as a result they bring great personalities into the world...'* [quot. from: Gaynullin, 1975, p. 157]. The pages of Tatar newspapers and magazines were full of similar thoughts in the early 20th century.

In her poetry, G. Biktimirova also reflects on the place and role of women in Tatar society. It is noteworthy that she not only advocates gender equality in her poems, but also argues that men's happiness and the future of the nation are more dependent on women than on men. In addition she argues that poor family relationships will inevitably lead to the disruption of society itself, causing a fall in social mores. Well-being and prosperity can only be created through the true union of husband and wife: *'A good wife is one who knows no idle talk, / But cheers her husband with sweet and agreeable words... / She will tell no one, if your soul grieves, / But will point out your vice to you'* [Ömet yoldızları, 1988, b. 49]. Her writing that a husband should behave like a slave to a well brought-up wife sounds innovative in contrast with the majority of Tatar literature:

She is a nestling in the bright palace of the world,

*She is a breath of wind—a sign of comfort,
If such a soft flower falls to you,
Say: I am yours, I am your slave.*

(Word for word translation.).

Khanıfa Gismatullina became famous for her journalism books 'Gakıydätel-ähle xak' ('Beliefs of the people of truth', 1895), 'Tärgıyb' ('Interest', 1898), 'Mäğdänel-mäsail' ('The Source of Tasks', 1900), which raised the issues of education, family and the status of women in Tatar society. Particular attention was paid to education of girls. Gismatullina proposed dividing pupils into separate classes to teach them their native language, arithmetic, geography, and other subjects. She reflected also on ways to accustom children to cleanliness and methods of teaching the ethics of communication, etc. [Gaynullin, 1975, p. 155].

Gismatullina's lyrical poetry is autobiographical: they express her grief over the death of her husband, who passed away at a young age. An affirmation of love's higher calling is present in all her works.

Gaziza Bagautdinovna Samitova (1862–1929) was a poetess from Astrakhan who started to write poetry in her youth. Poems written in 1876–1882 tell us about her youth, her dreams of a bright and happy life as a girl. A traditional folk style is harmoniously intertwined with elements of classical Sufism. For example, the poem 'Ükenerseñ' ('You'll be sorry') is read in the context of Sufi aesthetics. The persona often talks to a young female friend. Styled on folklore, these poems are full of lightness. The beauty of human emotions is seen as giving existence its ultimate value ('Xädiçägä' ('Xadiche'), 'Sin elama, yash` tutash!' ('Do not cry, young tutash!'), 'Bän eğlamıy, kem eğlasın?' ('Who will cry, if not me'), 'Küp sayrama, sandugaç!' ('Nightingale, do not sing so often')). G. Samitova's verses keep to certain themes such as simple-hearted love letters, correspondence with friends (or reminiscences about them), and lamentations about parting. However, in the last quarter of the 19th century, these unpretentious themes introduced a completely new persona into Tatar poetry—that of

a simple Tatar village woman with her worldview, problems and search for personal happiness. This image is the same as that of Xanifa, Xadicha, Magruj in the first realistic short novels, only it is shown in a way the reader would have found familiar: *'The banks of the Volga are full of green stones. / Why are you crying bitter tears? Who will cry, if not me—/ A lonely orphan* [Gaynutdinov, 1982].

Gaziza experienced many hardships. During this period, the main theme of her poems became the fate of Tatar women, which was her own fate:

For thirteen years, day and night, I have secretly shed my tears.

My dear soul, my poor little head Has gone through so much in this world!

I have visited many places, moved from home to home.

I drank many potions, Waiting for them to heal me.

(Word for word tr.) [Gazizä Sämitova, 1965, p. 28].

Whether talking to her beloved man or to a severed fate, Samitova's persona reflects on the inevitable arrival of love, of the predetermination of earthly life ('Özeldem lä, özeldem' ('I was worried, I was worried'), 'Säügännän aerd' ('You parted me from my beloved'), 'Niçek tüzim?' ('How shall I bear it?').

Researchers consider 1894–1900 to be Samitova's most creative period [Gaynullin, 1975, p. 159]. Deep apathy, confusion and despair emerge as a response to understanding the meaning of life. Themes of trouble, sorrow, anguish, absolute loneliness ('Dönya fanımı?' ('Is the world material?'), 'Aldadı' ('You deceived me'), 'Minnän nindi ez kalır?' ('What mark will I leave?') 'Bez nik yaşıbez?' ('Why are we alive?')) represent the human soul in different states. Accusing life itself of being imperfect, the persona is deeply anxious and outraged because the dreams of her youth have not been fulfilled.

Samitova's poetry concerns shattered hopes, dissipated illusions of love, frustration and a sense that existence is unjust [Zavgarova, 2002, p. 2]. The poetess reveals the inner world of a woman capable of deep feelings. The sense that

existence is a catastrophe, one which does not allow refuge to be sought or even allow a person to dream of transforming their life, makes her work a harbinger of the romantic strivings in Tatar literature.

According to A. Sibgatullina, the Tatar poetesses of the second half of the 19th century tried to draw public attention to the important issue of the need for women's education. 'While they do not step out of the limits permitted by that time, nor put forward any revolutionary slogans, they gradually, systematically set about solving the problem of the woman's role in the family, childcare and education. In such a way, enlightenment ideas were confirmed in society' [Sibgatullina 2001, p. 57].

In the late 19th century, prose came to the fore in literature. The novel and short novel genres took shape in this period. Writers' increased attention to different aspects of Tatar society is most in evidence in prose. These torch bearers began to describe in detail subjects as diverse as madrasahs, Tatar houses of the rich and poor, merchants and mullahs, stores and editorial offices, restaurants and steamboats, in an attempt to create the fullest possible picture of real life. Education and romance came to the forefront of characterization. Tatar prose writers concentrated more on 'ideal' heroes, and to direct demonstration of the desired and appropriate behaviours through the direct expression of the author's ideal.

In 1886, the first Tatar novel was published—a work by *Musa Akyegetzade* (1864–1923) 'Xisametdin menla'. Akyegetzade was born in the town of Chembar in Penza guberniya. His grandfather, Altynbaj Aqegotov, received a noble title for heroism during the Patriotic War of 1812. After finishing his studies at the Penza gymnasium, Musa applied for enrollment at Moscow University, but he was not accepted. He was a teacher in the Penza governorate and, in 1886, moved to the Crimea, where he started to work for the Terciman newspaper. From 1888 to 1891, he studied in Turkey at the higher school for civil servants. Then he taught, published the newspapers *Metin* (The Original) and *Öch kardäş* (Three Brothers), and worked in the city administrations in İzmir and Sivas. In

1914, he moved to Istanbul, and for the rest of his life worked on systematizing and cataloguing the library of the Turkologist N. Katanov, which had been taken out of Russia.

The novel 'Xisametdin Menla' reveals the life of the Tatar community of the time through the lens of changes. Its central characters, Xisametdin and Khanifa, fight for the freedom of a private life. In their desire to marry into the family of Ghali Dzhavatov, an influential merchant in the district, Khanifa's parents decide to give her in marriage to the rich Sibghatullah. Learning of this, Xisametdin says, '*...freedom is very precious in human life. We will be able to defend our personal freedom.*' [Aqegetzadä, 1986, p. 38] Khanifa stands with him and leaves her family home in protest. In the end, despite the difficulties, they finally get married.

The educated and active religious figure Xisametdin, the novel's protagonist, values above all in a person an energetic attitude. He believes that people should use their skills and knowledge for a noble purpose, to serve their nation. He dedicates his life and work to educating people, teaches children in his home village, and distributes popular books. In the figure of Xisametdin, Aqeget embodied the ideal of the educated person, the ideal of Modern history. In contrast, negative characters are present in the novel—the conservative mullah Bikbulat, the rich man of the village Ghali, and his son Sibghatullah.

The novel raises the problem of Tatar society's socio-economic backwardness and the theme of the nation's destiny. Aqeget writes that two sworn enemies of the nation—ignorance and a lack of trade knowledge—have brought it 'to its deathbed'. '*Surprisingly, we are able to show mercy to the individual, and yet we have no mercy for millions, for the whole nation... Is the grief and misery of a whole nation less significant than the grief and sadness of a single person?*' [Aqegetzadä, 1986, p. 52] He opposes the scholasticism prevailing in religious educational institutions, protects those maktab and madrassas where the necessary knowledge for life is studied, and advocates for the doors of educational institutions to be open to everyone who desires learning. Ac-

cording to Akyegetzade, teaching Russian in Russia is indispensable. Such characters as the young gymnasium student Abuzyar Davletgildiyev, the son of a bey, master coppersmith Gajsa Zurkolakov, and the poor orphan Muxtar represent different ways of serving the cause of enlightenment. But they all share a desire to serve the progress of Tatar society. The novel's central theme is encapsulated in Zurkolakov's words that it is not enough to talk about the benefits of the nation, people must work hard. The distribution of books, teaching under the new method, the opening of madrassas, assisting people in learning crafts—these are specific, practical steps taken by the novel's characters.

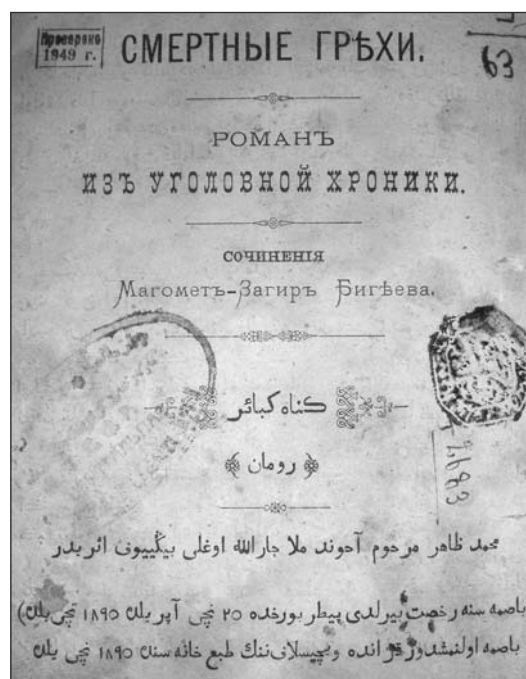
A year later, the novel 'Öluf, yaki Güzäl kız Xädiçä' ('Thousands, or the Beautiful Khadiča', 1887) by *Zagir Bigiev (1870–1902)* appeared. Bigiev was born in Rostov-on-Don into a family of akhoonds, and studied at the Russian school there, then in the Priozyornoye madrassa in Kazan (1886–1891). At the age of 16, he wrote his first novel (which put forward a social motif, the power of money), rightly considered the first adventure/detective work. It begins with the discovery of the corpse of a woman, Zuleikha. It turns out that a young, rich man from Kazan, Musa Salikhov, who has graduated from St. Petersburg University, was in love with the beautiful Zuleikha. However, they had gone their separate ways. Musa met Khadiča, the daughter of the wealthy Axmadi Xamitov, who was offering a dowry of 100,000 roubles for her. Khadiča and her dowry were sought by Gabdennasyr, the son of another wealthy man. After her father's death, Zuleikha had gone to Kazan to see Musa, and, having learnt about his intentions, committed suicide. Wishing to remove his rival, Gabdennasyr hides the girl's suicide note. Suspicion falling on Musa, he tries to clear himself. The secret fight of Gabdennasyr against Musa, the investigation by the detective Shubin—hired by Musa's brother Nigmatulla—and Shubin's trip to the Crimea to see Zuleikha's mother allow the complicated story its resolution. Musa is freed from prison. The criminal gets his due, leaving this life voluntarily.

Against a mystery background, Bigiev presents an interesting picture, critical of the lack of sensitivity and of the immorality of people who want to get rich at any cost. The contrast between the main characters shows his position. First are Musa and Gabdennasyr. Educated, with a certain status in society, the young men are opposites in terms of morality. The open, always guileless, friendly Musa and the plotting, deceitful Gabdennasyr embody Bigiev's idea that only the morally pure can fulfil their desires. Both Khadicha and Zuleikha are educated, beautiful young women, but the former is rich and the latter poor. Having defied her parents, Zuleikha commits suicide. Khadicha entrusts her fate to her father and is close to happiness. Although Bigiev makes the dowry the cause of the absurd struggle, the novel does not reveal Musa's true feelings. However, in his following works, he also evaluates people from a moral point of view.

In the novel 'Zur gönahlar' ('Great Sins', 1890), Bigiev withdraws from the detective genre, turning to the social problems of Tatar society. Recounting his characters' amorous adventures, Bigiev says that breaking rules and traditions leads to criminal acts, and that the environment in which the person lives is very important. Gabdelgafur Mansurov—a son of a village mullah who has received no education to speak of—falls under the influence of hard-drinking students. He becomes a killer. Magrui has grown up in a good family and married for love, but her life subjects her to a moral test. She takes up with a young gigolo, Yakub, but having realized her mistake, kills him.

On the one hand, the novel's positive characters, Dzhigangir and Magrui, and negative characters, Ibrahim and Yakub Galiev and Memet, express Bigiev's educational stances. On the other hand, he shows that some immoral sides of Tatar society result from backwardness in cultural development, a new feature of the national literature.

In 1891, Bigiev returned to Rostov-on-Don and became a mullah. He wrote two novels, 'Mörtät' ('Apostates', 1891) and 'Katıylä' ('The Killer', 1892). He handed them over to the publishing house, where they were lost. According



Cover of Z. Bigiev's book 'Ganahe Kabair' (Kazan, 1890).

to contemporaries who read the manuscript, these novels also presented the idea of preserving the traditional moral laws in Tatar society.

Fatikh Gilmanovich Karimi was born in the village of Minnibayevo in the Bugulma Uyezd, studied at the Kamaliya madrasa in Chistopol, and received his higher education in Istanbul at the higher school for civil servants. He mastered Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and French. After the death of his father in 1902, he ran the printing office of Karimov, Khusainov, & Co. From 1906 to 1917, he was a chief editor of the newspaper *Vakit*. He was elected to the All-Russian Congress of Muslims in 1905, 1906, 1914, and 1917, and was one of the leaders of the Tatar revival.

The main themes in Karimi's writings are criticism of old-fashioned schools and the struggle for reform of Tatar religious schools. One of his first works, the story 'Cihangir mäxdümneñ avıl mäktäbendä ukul' ('The Study of Dzhigangir the Mullah's Son in the Village School', 1900), is dedicated to the practices of the old-fashioned schools. He writes about the students' unacceptably low study level: '*Peasants put their children in schools for two or three*



Zagir Bigiev.



Musa Akyegetzade.

years at most. One year passes in rote learning without any apparent benefit. The other two years are spent in vain on reading such useless books as "Kisekbaş", "Bädävam", "Kızıl alma", "Fazail aş-şöhur". In short, children do not learn anything about such necessary subjects as arithmetic, history, geography. As a result, they become ignorant fanatics, convinced that being a Muslim is shaving their moustaches and hair according to sharia ritual, wearing a tubeteika, and going to mosque in a good chapan. Spending their strength and energy on slander; they become the four-headed enemy of culture and progress'. [Istoriya tatarskoj, 2003, p. 132]

Akhmetsha, a fervent opponent of new practices—once a graduate student and now a madrassa teacher—has, after 25 years of study, only learnt the rules of ritual washing and the ways to 'shout louder than others' during scholastic debates. All winter, he goes on social calls and has no time to go to the madrassa. In spring, when he appears there, there are no more students. Akhmetsha is contrasted with Biktimer an old village man who is the bearer of folk wisdom. And so foolish deeds and acts of uneducated people are rejected, and old-fashioned madrassas are portrayed as useless to society. Karimi emphasizes: '...[T]his madrassa has been here for a long time... Hundreds of residents of this village have studied in it. But among them are very few who can read

and write [...], you rarely find fathers, uncles, and nephews able to write letters to sons at the front or to married daughters, and to read letters from them'. [Gaynullin, 1975, p. 243]

Unlike the first works, in which his educational views are transmitted to the reader negatively, the story 'Ber şäkert ilä ber student' ('A Shakird and a Student', 1899) is aimed at exposing the ignorance of Qadimist mullahs by recreating

Karimi's ideal. The action takes place on a ship. A Russian student of the East meets a Tatar teacher, who was educated in Bukhara, and his students. The teacher does not understand even a greeting in Arabic ('the language in which the Koran is written') and simple questions that the student asks in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. In this way, Karimi advises his readers to follow the example of students of Russian institutions.

The conduit for Karimi's ideas, the student constantly emphasizes the role of knowledge in a conversation with one of the teacher's students, who has completed a full course at the madrassa: 'If other people need knowledge to exist, how can you live without knowledge? You're people as well. You also need to eat, to dress, and to live. Now is the age of knowledge. A person without knowledge is like a bird without wings'. [Gaynullin, 1975, p. 244]. His message resonates in the soul of a madrassa student, who being left alone, reflects: 'While other nations open schools, publish many useful books, newspapers, and magazines, seek enlightenment, our so-called spiritual scholars lead fruitless debates about whether Muslims need to study'. [.]. Karimi thus shows society's reaction to the actions and deeds of the educators.

According to Y. Nigmatullina, educational romanticism has most clearly manifested itself in the ideal female images 'millät anaları' (mother of the nation). They are well-bred and

educated Tatar women who shape their own destiny; faithful helpers of their husbands, together they bring knowledge and culture to the people. Ideal characters and perfect pictures of life created by Tatar educators heralded the poetization of a 'natural principle' in humanity, an exaggeration of the role of art, and the elevation of reason, which together would define the Tatar romanticism of the early twentieth century [Nigmatullina, 1970, p. 59] These most clearly manifested themselves in one of the first romantic works, Karimi's short novel 'Morza kızı Fatıyma' ('Fatima, a Daughter of Murza', 1901). Romantic love is shown as a sudden passionate and overwhelming feeling. Fatima's love for the gardener Mustafa makes her go against customs and the will of her parents: she leaves her home and goes abroad with her lover. Having caught up with the fugitives, the parents give consent to the marriage. The triumph of pure feelings, the glorification of the personality, and the pursuit of happiness form the main emotional content of romantic works.

Karimi travelled a lot and visited various countries. Based on what he saw, he created a series of traveller's reports (*säyaxät*namä). In the book 'Yaurupa säyaxätnamäse' ('Journey through Europe', 1902), Karimi wrote about his trip of 1899, comparing the life and culture of the Tatars and the Europeans and admiring the achievements of the past. He sees the reason for the Tatars' backwardness in their reluctance to reform the educational system and to introduce secular subjects into the curricula. Similar ideas are contained in the book 'Kırımğa säyaxät' ('Journey to the Crimea', 1904) based on impressions formed from a 1903 trip to Bakhchisaray to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the newspaper *Terceman*.

Karimi promoted educational ideas not only in his writings, but also with concrete actions: he published newspapers and books, was engaged in journalistic and political activities, wrote textbooks for new-style schools ['*Moxtäsar cäğrafiya*' ('A Brief Geography Course', 1899), '*Mögallim vä möräbbilärgä rähnamä*' ('A Guide for Teachers and Tutors', 1902), '*Moxtäsar tarix*e gomumi' ('A Brief General History', 1911)], and contributed to the education of the nation.

In many educators' writings, educated and moral characters are contrasted to uneducated and immoral ones, the purpose of the opposition being the cultivation of an educated and harmoniously developed personality, a presentation of a perfect image of a character as a role model. Thus, in one of the first stories by Z. Khadi, 'Bäxetle kızı' ('Happy Girl', 1903), Gaisha, a smart Tatar girl rejects a forced marriage and decides to tie her fate to Gabbas. With his help, she becomes a teacher and finds happiness. Khadi's ideal female protagonist was brought up in a good family, she sees her future husband as her friend, and she fights for her happiness. The ideal male protagonist, Gabbas, is the embodiment of enlightenment ideas. Enlightenment writers believed that literature should foster a person in a spirit of civic virtue and instill hostility to vices, which led to an increased didactic, moralizing pathos.

However, the idealization of characters was one of the means to overcome this didacticism. Along with idealization, an increase in critical pathos was observed. If the ideal characters were presented as the people of the future, then the older generation—the opponents of any change—became targets of criticism.

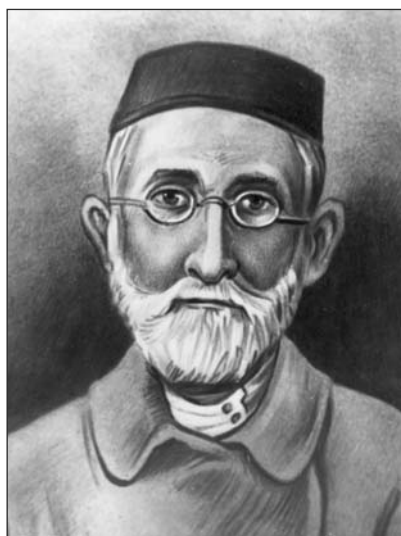
Thus, two lines were clearly defined in the educational prose of the second half of the nineteenth century. One tended to represent the ideal directly, the other to criticize and expose the negative aspects of current reality. In the works of young writers, who appeared on the literary stage at the turn of the century, a social explanation of life was closely intertwined with a biting criticism of certain phenomena inherent in Tatar society.

A qualitatively new phenomenon was the development of Tatar drama, which 'at its birth, was based on folk playing traditions, on the one hand, and on dramaturgical experience of other literatures on the other' [Istoriya tatarskoj, 2003, p. 112] Drama was considered the most effective way to introduce the masses to educational ideas.

The founder of Tatar drama was *Gabdrakhman Muhammad-Aminovich Ilyasov* (*Gabdrakhman Ilyasi*) (1856–1895). He was a son of a merchant of the second guild. After a se-



Gabdrahman Ilyasi.



Fatikh Khalidi.

ries of unsuccessful business transactions, his father went into bankruptcy. After his father's sudden death, Ilyasi, who had to take care of his sister and elderly mother, had to sell the family estate and work as a clerk and book-keeper for hire by rich merchants for the rest of his life. After graduating from the Kasimiya madrasah, Ilyasi became close friends with Q. Nasiri, and together they started performing ethnographic research and observed the stars. They travelled to Tatar villages to collect folklore and written sources. At meetings of the Society for Archaeology, History, and Ethnography, Ilyasi presented his reports on the writings of Ş. Märcani, ancient Islamic manuscripts, and in 1885, he became a member of the society [Ahmetzyanov, 2005, p. 560]

Ilyasi was particularly attracted to the world of Russian culture, literature, and theatre: he dreamed of creating a national theatre. In 1887, his play 'Biçara kız' ('Miserable Girl') was published. The work was written in line with educational ideas: Ilyasi raised problems of individual freedom, women's equality, and education of the Tatar people. It tells of the daring act of the girl Magitab, who, in spite of circumstances, has not agreed to marry the ignorant and stupid drunkard Dzhantimer (Iron Soul), and has tied her fortune to the poor but well-bred and educated Dzhanbai (Rich Soul).

In that same year, Ilyasi published the didactic text 'Yaş kız vâ hatınnarga hâdiya' ('A Gift for Girls and Women'), dedicated to education of children in the family. He tried himself to create a home-grown theatre, staging performances in the native language for friends and like-minded people. Unfortunately, Ilyasi ruined his health early in life and died in Kazan in 1895. His only work

laid the foundation for the dramatic genre and had a significant impact on development of Tatar literature. In 1896, appeared an original creative response from another Kazan educator, Fatih Khalidi. His play 'Rädde bichara kız' ('Debunking of the Miserable Girl') contained a number of critical comments on Ilyasi's works. Both plays focus on negative aspects of life—the young Tatar woman who has no right to choose her husband, the willingness of fathers of respectable families to sell their daughters at a profit, polygamy, the ignorance of parents who are unable to bring up their children. Playwrights motivate them by moral-ethical factors.

Fatikh Khalidi (1850–1923) came from a family of well-known imams. However, contrary to the family tradition, he did not become a mullah and pursued a trade. For some time, he was employed by a large factory owner in Kazan, Gaisa Musin. Having gained some experience and saved up the money required, the former student opened his own store in the Tatar part of Kazan. But commerce was not his main occupation. Khalidi's first attempt at playwriting had a huge success with readers. At the beginning of the twentieth century, he wrote four more plays, the most famous of which was 'Murad Salimov' (1905), about the victory of reason and education over soulless riches, greed, and ignorance. The happy destiny of a young Muslim who studied in Paris and became a profes-

sor at the Sorbonne, and storybook changes in the characters—which suddenly made the poor man rich and the greedy man a generous philanthropist—were always perceived warmly both by readers and theatre-goers.

The works of one of the founders of Tatar professional theatre, playwright Galiyasgar Kamal, revealed the manners of some representatives of Tatar society. *Galiyasgar Galiakberovich Kamal (1879–1933)*, the playwright, publicist, and theatrical and public figure, was born in Kazan, studied in the madrassas Usmaniya and Khalidiya, and later in the madrassa Muham-madiya. At the same time, he received his primary education in a three-year Russian school. Contrary to his father's will, he chose to serve the cause of his people's education. In his first literary attempts, 'Bäxetsez eget' ('Miserable Boy', 1900), 'Öç bädäxet' ('Three Villains', 1900), and others, Kamal criticizes the patriarchal Tatar family structure. For example, 'ignorant' characters in 'Miserable Boy' represent the 'fathers' (Karim bey and his wife) and are to be despised and ridiculed, while the 'educated' characters (the Ufa bey Sabitov's family) are to be emulated. But, according to Y. Nigmatullina, in contrast to the work of his predecessors (Ilyasi and Khalidi), Kamal's play shows something new: a contrast of ignorance, as a social evil, with human nature, its natural state [Nigmatullina, 1970, p. 88]. In the play, the traditional themes of educational literature—education of the younger generation, the gap between 'fathers and sons', the destiny of a Tatar woman, the lives of 'people of the bottom'—are intertwined with a social and psychological evaluation of the life of Tatar society.

Thus, educational literature moved along a specific path of development. By creating new genre and style structures, it became the basis for the formation of a distinctive Tatar national culture in the twentieth century. In general, it was dominated by enthusiastic pathos, motivation of the characters' aspirations and actions, the motifs of correlation between moral perfection and enlightenment, the importance of the family's role in reforming society, and women's liberation from family and spiritual oppression.



Galiyasgar Kamal.

The poetry of this period laid the foundations of a new concept of the human in Tatar literature. From the criticism of certain human qualities of representatives of the Tatar clergy, Tatar poetry turned to irony and satire aimed at overcoming the 'intolerable conditions', in which a person is placed. Poetry developed a theme of the history of the Tatar people, aimed at awakening Muslims' creative potential. The status of the lyrical hero changed, and he began to act as a representative of the common people. Tatar literature showed an educational ideal different from the medieval 'perfect man'—an active man of business, aspiring to be useful to society.

The educational paradigm gave a push towards the transformation of the national literature's traditional symbols and images and of the compositional techniques peculiar to Sufi religious works. They came to be used in a completely different context. The situation arose when many works were read in both religious and secular terms.

Educational prose of the late 19th century on the one hand tended to represent the ideal directly, and on the other, to criticize and expose negative aspects of Tatar reality. Trials in educational literature were developed and enriched in the early 20th century.

CHAPTER 6

Evolution of the Tatar Literary Language

Airat Yusupov

The nineteenth century—a difficult period in the history of the Tatar literary language—was ‘a transitional stage between the Old Tatar Turki and the New Tatar national literary language’ [Faseev, 1982, p. 164]. The Old Tatar literary language was formed on the basis of the Bulgar-Kipchak dialects of the Volga and Ural regions, and functioned within the chronological framework of the twelfth to the Mid-nineteenth centuries [Mudrak, 2009, p. 191]. From the second half of the sixteenth century till the end of the nineteenth century, the literary language, ‘devoid of a constant unifying cultural centre which would stimulate its growth, developed at random, giving way to every breath of the wind’ [Usmanov, 1972, p. 82]. By the early nineteenth century, it included the main types of functional styles: scientific, epistolary, journalistic, and business [Nuriyeva, 2011, p. 328].

The cultural and historical situation of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries had a strong influence on the literary language. It is well-known that the nineteenth century was a uniquely crucial period in the history of the Tatar people. Medieval fragmentation was gradually washed away, social life intensified, and the Tatar people's national consciousness was awakening [Istoriya, 2003a, p. 3]. It was the century of reformation, enlightenment, the secularisation of public life, the creation of a new paradigm of national development on the cultural and ideological basis of Islam [Amirkhanov, 1998, p. 151] and the beginning of a spiritual revival. This revival was prepared by society's whole course of development, but there were some specific conditions that contributed to the awakening of Tatar society and its spiritual life [Khisamova, 1995, p. 39].

V. Khakov defines this period in the development of the Old Tatar literary language as the ‘initial stage of the Tatar national literary language’ [Khakov, 2003, p. 14]. By the early twentieth century, the literary language already had a highly developed form, and possessed almost all styles: literary, socio-political, religious-didactic, scientific-educational, business-official, and epistolary.

According to the sources, the evolution of the literary language as a whole and of its individual periods was characterised by several written versions. In this view, the literary language of the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth centuries was noted for its multifariousness: ‘the centuries-old traditional rules of the written classical Old Tatar language (Turki) come into contact with the commonly used colloquial forms of the Tatar people, the interaction of which becomes the basis for the structural-functional variability of the norm’ [Bashirova, 2000, p. 62]. For example, according to G. Säğdi, the language of nineteenth-century works, in particular those of Sh. Zaki, is ‘Turki’, which consists ‘of Kipchak + Bulgar + Uighur + Chagatai + Turkish + some Tatar components’ in its morphological and syntactical structure, as well as in prose and poetic form [Säğdi, 1926, pp. 36–37].

To understand correctly this period's complex historic-cultural and linguistic situation, the views of E. Tenishev on the variations of the Old Tatar literary language in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and later periods, have important significance. He defines the following variations of the Old Tatar literary language:

— the Oghuz version of the Khwarezmian-Turkic language, which was brought to the Volga region by the flow of cultural influence;

'Qıssai Yosıf', by Kul Gali, 'Kisekbaş', 'Bedavam', and other works were written in this language;

— the literary language, preserving to a large extent the Khwarezmian-Turkic basis, bordering on the more ancient Karakhanid-Uighur language (Rabguzi's 'Kıssasü'l-Enbiyâ');

— the written literary language, continuing the Volga-Kipchak tradition (Qutba's 'Khosrow and Shirin');

— the literary language developed in later periods (the sixteenth and–seventeenth centuries), reflecting Chagatai traditions [Istoriya, 2003, p. 420].

It seems that the concept of the early variations of the Tatar literary language proposed by Tenishev correlates with the development of the Old Tatar language in the nineteenth century. That period was a 'preparatory' stage for the development of the language's structural and functional variations. The Tatar literary language of that period was represented by three variations:

— the Oghuzinized (Ottoman) version of the written literary language;

— the classical literary language, with the active use of Arabic-Persian grammatic elements and traditional common Turkic forms;

— the written-literary language, enriched by common national vernacular forms.

These very versions of the Tatar literary language remained up to the early twentieth century. The observations of I. Bashirova deserve close attention in this connection. In her opinion, at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, 'the term "language" meant the variations of the classical Old Tatar language, called: a) *terki ädäbi tel*—the Turkic literary language; b) *jädidi-gosmanlı*—the Jadid-Ottoman version; c) *gavami tel*—the written-language version, which was enriched by common national colloquial forms...' [Bashirova, 2000, p. 11].

The Oghuzinized (Ottoman) version of the Old Tatar language. It is well-known that the Volga Turki goes back in its roots directly to the literary language of the Golden Horde and Mamluk Egypt of the thirteenth and–fourteenth centuries [Khisamova, 1999, p. 29]. The tradi-

tional part of this language was inherited, and is mostly represented by the Uighur-Karakhanid and, to a lesser extent, the Oghuz traditions. Such mixing became a tradition, which both poets and copyists, 'writing at a different time and in different Turkic-speaking regions', quite consciously followed [Blagova, 1976, p. 28].

Oghuz elements were present at all stages of the development of the Old Tatar literary language. However, in different periods, these elements revealed themselves differently and they penetrated the Old Tatar literary language through different channels. In the the seventeenth and–eighteenth centuries, an intensive penetration by the Oghuz component begins as a result of Ottoman influence [Negmatull-ov, 1984, p. 156]. For F. Khisamova, the tangible manifestation of the Oghuz elements in this period was connected with the particular socio-historic conditions—the intensification of diplomatic relations with Turkey and Iran (Azerbaijan) [Khisamova, 1999, p. 35]. In the nineteenth century, especially in the latter half, there was a growth in Ottoman Turkish influence, as enlightenment ideas coming mostly from Turkey (through education of Tatar youth in Turkish institutions and circulation of Ottoman Turkish literature) started to spread among Tatars [Khakov, 1972, p. 58]. The invigoration of the Oghuz component of the Tatar literary language in this period was also somewhat influenced by the dissemination among Tatars of pan-Turkism, the socio-political and cultural movement based on the concept of the distinguished intellectual, educator, and reformer I. Gasprinsky, the editor of the Terciman newspaper, of a single common pan-Turkic literary language. This concept also had a certain impact on the language situation in the Volga region [Mirkhaev, 2007, p. 13]. By unity in language, I. Gasprinsky understood unity of the literary language, which should later lead to the unity (*ortak lisan*) of all the Turks, under his motto of 'Unity of Language, Thought, and Action'. And the language of Terciman, being the model of that period's publicistic style, became common for all Turko-Tatars of Russia. The result was that certain Oghuz elements, previously emerging just occasionally, in-

creased their presence, while the new Ottoman Turkish components started establishing themselves in the Old Tatar literary language, and a new version of the language began its creation. At that time, it had different names: Ottoman Turkish, Tatar Turkish, the Tärceman language [Mirkhaev, 2007, pp. 8–9].

This phenomenon is also explained by the continued influence of the Old Turkic and Old Tatar writing traditions. The old Uighur elements, however, as G. Blagova notes, by the nature of their use in the poetic variation of the literary written language, can be considered a kind of objective structural property of the style system, while the use of 'Oghuz-Turkmenian' grammatical elements here, on the contrary, does not fit into the framework of a single stylistic system [Blagova, 1976, p. 28].

The key figure of this version of the written language in the first quarter of the nineteenth century was G. Utyz Imyani (1754–1834) [Is-toriya, 2003a, p. 12]. For F. Khisamova, in the literary language represented in Utyz Imyani's rich poetic heritage, 'Karluk traditional features uniquely intertwine with the Oghuz ones' [Khisamova, 1999, p. 39]. Oghuz norms are encountered at the phonetic, lexical, grammatical, and even syntactical levels. Active use of Oghuz elements and language norms can also be seen in works by S. Marjani, K. Faezkhannov, A.-K. Maksudi, Z. Bigiev, M. Akyeget, F. Karimi, R. Fakhretdin, and others. These norms are vividly reflected in fiction and scientific and journalistic works by Fakhretdin, travelogues by Karimi, scientific works by G. Gafurov-Chygtay, et al. The same authors specifically dedicate some of their works to the Tatar reader and largely use common colloquial forms.

In the early twentieth century, however, the Ottoman Turkish influence on the Old Tatar language began to subside. 'Linguistic disputes' (tel bāxāse) lit up on pages of various publications, the gist of which came down to one question: what is to be taken as the basis of the literary Tatar language for its further development—the Old Tatar literary language, the language of the Tärceman newspaper, or the local (Kazan) dialect of the Tatar language? [Bashirova, 2000, pp. 11–19] Since many represen-

tatives of the Tatar intelligentsia in the early twentieth century were against the Terciman language, the issue was decided in favour of the Kazan dialect.

The classical literary language with active use of Arabic-Persian grammatical elements and traditional common Turkic forms. This period of the literary language's development was also characterised by the growth of borrowings from Arabic and Persian. In our opinion, this was driven by two causes. First, from the second half of the eighteenth century, the Old Tatar literary language began to feel the influence of the Chagatai literary tradition more clearly. Back to ancient times went the tradition to deliberately fill the Turkic written literary language, and particularly its poetic variation, with a great number of foreign, not only lexical units, but also grammatical elements, 'thereby cultivating a supra-dialect nature for the language, first of all the language of poetry' [Blagova, 1977, p. 99]. The classical period of the development of Chagatai literature was especially characterised by the abundance of Arabisms and Farsisms [Khisamova, 1999, pp. 35–36]. The poets of the Chagatai literary 'Golden Age' were bilingual, writing verse both in Turkic and Persian. That was regarded as 'the standard style of poetry' [Khakov, 1971, p. 56].

Secondly, most classics of the nineteenth century, particularly in the first half, composed their works under the influence of the Arabic-Persian and Central Asian classical Sufi literature. The emergence of Turkic poetry in the Volga region was from the beginning linked to Sufism. Up to the Mid-nineteenth century, it developed in the course of this school, which was generally characteristic of the whole Islamic world [Idiyatullina, 2001, p. 9]. Penetration in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of Sufi poetry and literature from Central Asia and Turkey, saturated with Arabic-Persian elements, supported the incorporation of Arabic words into the Tatar language. This literature made a strong impact on the development of the written literary language of that time [Siraziyev, 2002, p. 18].

Of all the trends of medieval Arabic Islamic philosophy, Sufism was the prevailing direction in the Islamic East [Abilov, 1984, p. 361].

Broad adoption by Tatar public opinion at the time of the Naqshbandiyya school has its background and explanations. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, a new wave of the forced Christianization of the Tatar people began. The stability of Islam's position in the life of the Tatar community in the colonial period was achieved largely due to its Sufi interpretation as 'a religion of the heart' [Idiyatullina, 2001, p. 12]. Works of Sufi poets were a powerful weapon in the hands of the people. They resounded as a concealed protest against the government's policy, also enhanced by the penetration of Arabic and Persian borrowings into the literature.

In the nineteenth century, however, according to A. Yuzeev, the interest in Sufism began to wane [Yuzeev, 2000, p. 29]. He writes: 'There were objective reasons for this. The new time put forward new demands for changes in the traditional way of life of Muslim society towards personal liberties and the acquisition of secular knowledge, while Sufism had gradually turned into a stronghold of reaction and spiritual dogmatism' [Yuzeev, 2002a, p. 114]. Sufism was undergoing an evolution more deeply in social terms. Having studied Utyz Imyani's works, R. Ganieva has come to the conclusion that 'the growth of the poet's Sufi sentiments resulted from the spiritual crisis that engulfed Tatar society at the end of the eighteenth – the first third of the nineteenth centuries. This drove Utyz Imyani to travel to Muslim countries of the East in search of new ways of purifying Islam from unacceptable distortions through the prism of a moderate Sufi tariqa...' [Ganieva, 2002, p. 52].

It is well-known that Farsi was the main language of classical Sufi poetry, being composed in Iran, Afghanistan, Central Asia, Azerbaijan, Turkey, and India. At the same time, there also existed works in Arabic, Turkish, and even Greek, and Sufi poems and treatises were written in literary Arabic [Ocherki, 2002, p. 245].

Sufism stimulated the development of the Tatar language, giving it an even greater flexibility and introducing new stylistic dimensions. The language of Sufi literature is distinguished by extraordinary figurativeness and expressiveness, diversity of lexical, morphological, and

syntactical tools used for the purpose of stylistic differentiation. Neither cutting off ties with the Tatar literary language of the preceding stage, nor ignoring common vernacular grammatical forms, the literary language widely uses morphological and syntactical, especially stylistic, norms and figures of Arabic and Persian as one of the modes of artistic reproduction of reality.

For example, to express the content of certain categories, alongside the Turko-Tatar grammatical tools, linguistic instruments typical for the Arabic and Persian literary languages are actively engaged, mostly represented by verbal nouns and participles used in the function of nouns and adjectives. There are also pronouns, numerals, adverbs, and auxiliary parts of speech. Arabic-Persian grammatical elements are used mainly for stylistic purposes, allowing avoidance of multiple repetitions of the same form.

Foreign elements are encountered primarily in the setting of nominative parts of speech, as well as in those verb moods which by their semantics and syntactical functions are close to nouns (participles and action nouns). Besides that, they are used not only in the meanings and functions, characteristic for Arabic and Persian, but also migrate to other parts of speech; that is, conversion (the use of verbal nouns and participles in the function of adverbs, the transfer of verbs to the category of auxiliary parts of speech).

Along with this, Arabic-Persian grammatical elements are widely used in the structure of religious expressions of Arabic or Persian origin and phraseological units typical for the language of Sufis, such as Sh. Zaki, K. Salikhov, A. Kargaly, etc. They obey the laws of the Tatar language, by whose scheme and rules, with the use of tools of Arabic and Persian, the meaning of certain categories (the meaning of multiplicity) is being conveyed. Arabic-Persian grammatical forms can also incorporate word formation tools of the Tatar language, agglutinative in its nature; that is, foreign elements conform to the Tatar language's laws and norms. This phenomenon appears vividly in the Tatar literary language of the early twentieth century. Beginning young writers, adher-

ing to the traditions of the Old Tatar language, freely used its main structural variations in their first works, common Turkic traditional written forms and Arabic-Persian borrowings [Bashirova, 2000, p. 62].

The written literary language, enriched by common vernacular forms. The latter half of the nineteenth century saw the beginning of the rapprochement between the Old Tatar literary and the colloquial languages, and for this reason, broad admission of national vernacular forms to the literary language became a characteristic feature of this period. The language of poetic compositions, along with traditional components, uses colloquial and folklore elements. According to Bashkir language expert I. Galyautdinov, the contradiction between traditionalism and innovation 'starts to reveal itself in the language of works by the poet of the first half of the nineteenth century Sh. Zaki. However, they represent not a mechanical mixture, but organically intertwine in the text' [Galyautdinov, 1989, p. 19].

K. Nasyri was one of the originators of the written literary language, which employed national vernacular forms. He was one of the first to drop the use of excessive Arabic-Persian elements from Old Tatar, and to attempt to create a common language in the spheres of science, technology, literature and arts. Writing his works in the language comprehensible for common people, K. Nasyri was developing a scientific-popular style and for the first time introduced in use hundreds of scientific terms of various fields of knowledge [Nasyrova, 2002, p. 18]. Besides that, he compiled bilingual dictionaries and published a vocabulary of the Tatar language 'Lähjäi tatari', which were good ways of developing and enriching the lexical

composition of the Tatar literary language. Thus, K. Nasyri prepared the empirical base and laid down the foundation for a new language variant, which served as a powerful impetus to further development of the Tatar language. This convergence between the written language and contemporary colloquial speech, and the transition from Old Tatar literary norms to national literary norms is quite evident in his artistic works. We also observe the active use of common vernacular elements and linguistic norms in the works of G. Kandaly; to a certain degree it is also characteristic of the works of Z. Bigiev, R. Fakhretdin, G. Ilyasi and F. Khalidi.

The beginning of the 20th century was an especially difficult period because centuries-old, Old Tatar, written traditional norms came into contact with commonly used colloquial forms in the modern Tatar language. This convergence between the two served as a basis for an emerging structurally functional variation of the norm. Thus it was exactly during this period that a standard literary language developed. Based upon traditions of the Volga region Turki, it was heavily influenced by common, national colloquial forms. For example, works by G. Tuqay, Derdmend, Sh. Kamal, F. Amirkhan and G. Ibragimov were all 'written in common national literary language, which was based upon a shared colloquial tradition' [Bashirova, 2000, p. 62].

In sum, we note that the classical, Old Tatar literary language of the 19th –early 20th centuries was a kind of lingua franca, having absorbed certain normative elements from the Arabic, Persian, Chagatai and Ottoman Turkish languages; the interaction between these elements served the basis for a structurally functional variation of the norm.

CHAPTER 7

The Evolution of Historical Knowledge

Farit Shakurov

Realities of the 19th century demanded an understanding and overcoming of medieval insularity by the Tartar ethnos, which could not be achieved within a traditionalist context that rejected the notion of change. Previous definitions of a historical consciousness, which were based upon a kind of national memory that was in essence the stuff of folklore, and upon 'revelations' of a feudal-clerical historiography that focused on the lost glory of the past were no longer acceptable for an awakening and rising nation. It was necessary to reconstruct an authentic past in order to define one's historical and cultural place among other peoples, to explain the present and ensure a worthy future.

In 1885 the first volume of scientific research devoted to the national history, 'Möstäfadel-äxbar fi äxvali Kazan vä Bolgar', ('Information on the History of Kazan and Bulgar'), by Sh. Marjani was issued by Kazan University printing works. It was dedicated to the history of the Tatar people before the fall of Kazan. In this work the reformer and educator reproduced a panorama of events in medieval Turko-Tatar history. He used information culled from numerous Arabic-Persian sources kept in libraries in Bukhara and Samarkand, including manuscripts and autographs that remained inaccessible to later researchers [Usmanov, 1969]. This included epigraphic and numismatic materials, Khans' yarliqs, and literary and folkloric records. Marjani believed that the only way to establish the authenticity historical events and facts was on the basis of an unbiased presentation of all the information, a comparison of the entire complex of available sources, and on their comprehensive analysis based on the context of a given historical epoch [Märçani, 1885, pp. 7–8]⁷. Thus,

philosophic doubt became part of the historical sciences. Objective and unbiased analysis of the past became Marjani's main methodological principle. Marjani believed that history demands truth. Thus, he disregarded H. Muslimi's works, and dedicated an entire chapter to debunking them in his 'Möstäfadel-äxbar fi äxvali Kazan vä Bolgar' entitled 'A Chapter on the Indisputable Mistakes, a Shameful Lie and Distortion of Events in 'Tavarih-i Bulgaria' [Märçani, 1885, pp. 208–226].

The first Volume of 'Möstäfadel-äxbar fi äxvali Kazan vä Bolgar' consists of Sections covering historical events before and after the arrival of the Tatars in the Volga region and the steppes of Eastern Europe. In this first Section, which covers primarily the history and culture of the Volga Bulgars, Marjani also presents information about other medieval peoples in this region, the Kipchaks, Khazars and Burtas. He reports on the Bashkirs and presents passages from Russian history. The second Section, which is organized according to the length of a given ruler's reign, describes the Chinggisid conquests, the period ruled by the Golden Horde, and the history of the Tatar Khanates. As he enlightens our knowledge of the Jochids dynasties, Marjani also touches upon the history of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, concluding his narration with events taking place in the 19th century. The content of the first Volume is not limited to a reconstruction of the history of the Middle Volga region and the military-political chronicle of the Middle Ages; actually, it contains very different information. Kazan orientalist, Professor N. Katanov noted that this work, 'based upon the

⁷ The attitude of Ş. Märçani to the sources was established by his theological background. The methods

of hadith studies required the transmission of authentic texts and the correct presentation of the sources [Kemper, 2008, p. 604].

richness of its ethnographic and historical content, deserves translation not only into Russian, but into European languages as well' [Katanov, 1898, p. 470].

The period after the fall of Kazan, to which the second Volume of *'Möstäfadel-äxbar fi äxvali Kazan vä Bolgar'* is dedicated [Märcani, 1900], is examined by Marjani through the history of mosques and madrasahs, and the accomplishments of their leaders, the imams. In doing so he touches upon the most important phenomenon in Tatar history after the loss of independence, when religious establishments became public institutions that united the people, and mullahs took on the burden of leading and protecting the people. If in writing the first Volume, Marjani mostly followed in the footsteps of his predecessors by relying on traditional sources, that is, the works of previous researchers, then the material for the second Volume was accumulated 'first hand' in bits and pieces from genealogies and epitaphs, private letters and memoirs, various manuscripts, interviews and discussions [Gosmanov, 1998, pp. 19–20; Ibrahimov, 1915, p. 17]. The study also includes material on the history of villages and mosques, and various ethnographic data in which we see reflected elements of the material culture, traditions and Tatar way of life. It also contains information about city leaders, heads of the Kazan Tatar City Halls, and describes the activity of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly and its chairmen, the muftis.

In his depiction of the socio-legal position of the Tatar population, Marjani notes the arbitrariness of the authorities in the recruitment process. We know that various incidents of oppression against non-Russians was reported in the manuscript submitted for publication; it also contained a description of the Tatar revolt led by Ishbulat against the notorious missionary Luka Kanashevich, and included a biography of Imam Shamil. All of this was deleted by censor Smirnov [Gaziz, 1915, pp. 335–336; Yusupov, 2005, pp. 65, 120].

In *'Möstäfadel-äxbar fi äxvali Kazan vä Bolgar'* Marjani recounts for the first time sequentially the history of the Volga and Ural

regions, beginning with Volga Bulgaria, followed by the Golden Horde, the Tatar Khanates and ending with the 19th century, thus demonstrating a consistent and continuous unbroken line in its development. This is the conceptual approach he utilizes when considering the origins of the Tatar people. Comparing and analysing reports from his sources, this scholar comes to the conclusion that the medieval Turkic-speaking peoples of Eastern Europe, the Kipchaks, Khazars and Bulgars, represent one and the same ethnos [Märcani, 1885, pp. 42, 51–53]. After they were conquered by the Tatars, the Bulgars and neighbouring Muslim tribes began calling themselves Tatars [Märcani, 1885, p. 52]. The name of the ruler or the dominant people was adopted as a country's name and the collective name for its peoples: the Saqaliba country, Desht-i Qipchaq, the country of the Khazars, the country of the Bulgars, the country of the Tatars, Ulus Jochi, Yurt Batu, Barria al-Berke (the land of Berke), the country of Ozbeg and, correspondingly, the Kipchaks, Khazars, Bulgars, Tatars, Ulus Jochi people, the people of the Ozbeg country, etc. [Märcani, 1885, pp. 12, 17, 43, 52, 96, 98]. But it was the name 'Tatars' that became fixed [Märcani, 1885, p. 96; see also: Yusupov, 2005, pp. 228–251]⁸.

From the first pages of *'Möstäfadel-äxbar fi äxvali Kazan vä Bolgar'* Marjani addresses the reader with his famous question: 'Who are you, if not a Tatar?', and defends this name [Märcani, 1885, p. 6]. He rejects the typical association of ethno-cultural and religious identity characteristically made by Tatars; he considers it an association formed in response to national-religious oppression and manifested in the adoption of the term 'Muslim' as an endonym, which was no longer acceptable for a people trying to occupy its own place in history. The adoption of Bulgar identity was also incorrect, in his opinion, as it was too colored by untenable religious legends. As a scholar and

⁸ According to the American historian Yu. Shamiloglu, by proving and recreating the ethnic continuity of the Volga Bulgars—the Golden Horde—Kazan Tatars, Ş. Märcani has been deliberately crafting a new national identity [see Shamiloglu, 1991, pp. 22–27].

historian, he therefore chose the name 'Tatars' based upon historical reality, for under this name his people had been known for the several centuries. And as the ideologist-'founder of the nation', he believed it was the most widely known and integral ethnonym [Kemper, 2008, p. 618; Iskhakov, 1997, p. 73].

The most voluminous work by Marjani, 'Vasfiyyat al äslya täxiyät al äxläf', which was written in Arabic, consists of an 'Introduction' ('Mökaddimä'), published in 1883, and six hand-written volumes extant in a single copy. The manuscript is a bibliographical code, compiled in the format of an obituary, that is, it is similar to a traditional and popular genre of Arabic-Muslim historiography. It contains biographies of 6057 outstanding personalities from the Muslim world. For us, of special significance are the materials concerning Muslims of the Volga Region, although there are not many of them, only around 250 biographies [Garaeva, 1998, pp. 51–60]. The work not only contains valuable information about the history and prominent figures of the period, but also reveals ties between the Volga Region and the entire Muslim East, thus expanding the spatial and chronological framework of Bulgar-Tatar spiritual culture [Khalidov, 1998, p. 29]. Among Marjani's other historical works is his treatise entitled 'Görfät al-xävakın li arfati xävakın' ('Understanding the Karakhanids Through their Dwellings'), which was published in Kazan in 1864 and dedicated to a totally unexplored question, that is, the history of Central Asia during the Karakhanid epoch. Ahmet-Zaki Validi believed that this treatise by Marjani played as important a role in the study of the history of Central Asia as 'Möstäfadel-äxbar...' did in the study of the history of the peoples of the Volga region [Wälidi, 1914, p. 74].

There exists in manuscript form the first of a two-volume work about outstanding scholars in Egypt 'Ixtisar kitab än-nujum äz-zaxira fi äxval Misr vä äl-Qaxira' ('A Short Essay on the Bright Stars of Egypt and Cairo'), which was based upon a work of the same name by a 15th-century Egyptian historian, 1420–30s. Ibn Taghribirdi. Professors of Arabic at the

University of St. Petersburg, Sheikh el-Tantavy and Kh. Fäezxanov, provided supplemental information for it from the 19th-century work 'Al-Jabarti's Chronicle' [Fäezxanov, 2006, pp. 322, 327; Yusupov, 2005, p. 125]. Ibn Taghribirdi's materials were of interest in the study of the history of the Turkic peoples.

Marjani set forth his views on the methodology and philosophy of history in 'Mökaddimä' to 'Vasfiyyat al äslya...'. In this work, structured according to the traditional form of the similarly-named treatise by the Maghreb philosopher Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406), he sets forth the basic provisions of his philosophy of history. It was based, as we know, on two main principles: firstly, the principle of causality, according to which all events, historical included, are interrelated by causative connection, and secondly, the principle of authentic historical evidence, which is dependent on the honesty of the reporter and determined by the specifics of the epoch, that is, the assessment of an event should correspond to the spirit of the age [Yuzeev, 1999, p. 189]. In this manner, history is viewed as a system of knowledge constructed on the basis of a single theoretical method.

Marjani adopts Ibn Khaldun's principles of scientific classification and his notion that historical analysis belongs to the realm of science. He divides history into two types, the external and internal. External history describes the past: it provides us with instructive examples and reflects the condition of the world and its changes. Internal history discloses the essence and causes of events [Yusupov, 2005, p. 130]. Marjani also upholds Ibn Khaldun's views on the state as a social and political institution, creating and maintaining public harmony [Yusupov, 2005, p. 180]. As a scholar of Muslim tradition, Marjani not only assimilated and accepted the ideas of Ibn Khaldun, but also critically revised and creatively developed them. For example, Ibn Khaldun believed that the evolution of economic forms served as the basis of the historical process. According to scholar Marjani, social progress is, first and foremost, linked to the spiritual development of peoples, which is achieved through educa-

tion and knowledge. If Ibn Khaldun, in depicting particular historical events, could not go beyond the compilatory traditions of medieval historiography, then in his study methods of original sources, which M. Yusupov relates to positivist realism, Marjani was superior to some of his contemporaries and fellow scholars [Yusupov, 2005, pp. 151, 164].

Immeasurably broader and deeper was Marjani's view on the role of history in the development of society. He considered it a key field of knowledge, one that plays a role in the awakening of national awareness and the self-assertion of a people. He also considered it an effective weapon in the struggle for renewal and solving urgent socio-political problems.

Quite valuable, in our opinion, are the German researcher M. Kemper's comments on the degree of conceptual unity of Marjani's scientific-religious and historical works. Refuting notions of 'Bulgar' historiography on the sanctity of Bulgar that are tied to the Revelation through the legend about the adoption of Islam from the Prophet's companions, Marjani, according to M. Kemper, confirmed the uniqueness of early Islam as an imperative ideal for all times. History marches forward, and everything that has come after the 'Golden Age', cannot match it. The task for scholars is to understand change in the spirit of the Sunnah. For Marjani, its essence lay in overcoming the contradiction between Sharia and present-day scientific knowledge. In this respect, he suggested quite a religious understanding of history. On the other hand, having represented the Revelation as a 'suprahistorical', timeless ideal, and having divorced local history from the holy, Marjani turned it into something attainable, almost secular [Kemper, 2008, pp. 614–617].

Unlike Marjani, K. Nasyri was not a historian-researcher. He, first of all, K. Nasyri was a propagandist of historical knowledge and collected bits and pieces of the past. For example, he would place historical notes among various other information on the pages of desk calendars. His 'Legends of the city of Kazan', which were published in the calendar for 1881, represented a new stage in the development

of Tatar folkloristics. Here readers became acquainted with legends about the foundation of the city, the conquest of Kazan, Söyembikä Tower, Lake Kaban, information on historical topography, the history of slobodas, and about a lyric bait about the fall of Kazan. K. Nasyri also described the reigns of 'some of the most prominent Tatar Khans' (1873), and the history of Kazan mosques (1882). In a review published in the calendar for 1885, he entered into polemics with S. Marjani, defending H. Muslimi's Bulgar from what he believed to be groundless attacks.

K. Nasyri is also regarded as one of the first to popularise Russian history among the Tatars. He compiled chronologies of major dates and events in Russian history. These included: 'Russia's Beginnings' (1871); 'Memorable Events' in the calendars for 1872–1874; 'Memorable Events in Russian History Concerning the Accession of Russian Holdings' in the calendar for 1891. K. Nasyri translated N. Ustryalov's work and in 1890 published 'A Short History of Russia', the first book on Russian history in the Tatar language ('Zöbdäte min tävarixe är-Rusi'), although material from it had appeared previously in the 1872 calendar. In this work some of the most important events from Russia's past were presented in a concise traditional form, that is, focusing on the reigns of Russia's tsars from Rurik to Alexander II.

'A General History', on which the scholar had been working, remained unfinished [Gaziz, 1922, p. 96; Nogman, 1958, p. 18].

Manuscripts gathered by Nasyri in his native Sviyazhsk uyezd that contain historical and epigraphical information, as well as legends about the origins of certain villages, are of enormous scientific value [Kayum Nasyri, pp. 31–59]. They prove that the Bulgars established settlements in the region, which has been confirmed by present-day archaeological exploration [see: Fakhрутдинov, 1976, pp. 155–162].

Nasyri also prepared articles from a historical manuscript collection, compiled by merchant Muhammadzyan Aitov, for print (1823–1890). Although they remained unpublished,

Nasyri's manuscript entitled 'On Aksak-Karatun, Pugachev and Ishbulat-mullah' [Kayum Nasyri, pp. 19–30], was preserved. It allows us to become acquainted with this distinctive historian's work, whose knowledge was highly esteemed by Marjani. M. Aitov was the first in Tatar historiography to address the history of the Pugachev's movement. It was his father, in fact, who had begun gathering records about the recent past. A close friend of this family, the scholar and author of the first Tatar drama, G. Ilyasi, acquainted the members of SAHE (The Society of Archeology, History and Ethnography) with Aitov's materials on Pugachev's stay in Kazan in 1886; translations of them were later published by a local newspaper [Alishev, 1986, p. 101; Xäbibullin, 1977]. Another manuscript by M. Aitov remains to be studied, namely 'Tävarixe tatar' ('The History of the Tatars').

K. Nasyri was the first Tatar to undertake the ethnographic study of his people. In his work 'Popular Belief and Rituals of the Kazan Tatars' (1880), which was based on extensive folkloric material, he attempted to describe and classify mythological characters from legends and folktales, as well as popular omens, and examined pagan rites and incantations. A collection of earlier unpublished works by Nasyri was issued in 1926. It included his materials on Tatar ethnography, which contained detailed information about the dwellings, clothes, national cuisine and family traditions of the residents of the Tatar sloboda in Kazan [Kayum Nasyri, pp. 81–107]. This included descriptions of rituals, that later researchers would never have a chance of seeing or recording [Urazmanova, 1976, p. 165].

Shigabetdin Rakhmatullin (1853–after 1923), a translator of oriental literature and imam of a rural mosque, took over the job of compiling the annual desk calendars after Nasyri's death. Among the articles that appeared on the pages of the calendars he published between 1890 and 1901, one in particular entitled 'About Kazan' (1899, 1900) contained, besides other information, a chronology of the reigns of Kazan khans [Minnullina, 2006, pp. 84–85].

The writer, dramatist and calendar publisher F. Khalidi also contributed to the popularisation of historical knowledge. A work entitled 'The History of Bulgaria as Gathered from Trustworthy Sources' makes up the third part of the 1899 desk calendar. The publication is basically a layman's translation of the first chapters of Volume 1 of 'Möstäfadel-äxbar...' by Sh. Marjani. The same calendar also contains a chronicle of events from Kazan's history, as well as a history of the city's mosques.

In F. Khalidi's tear-off calendar for 1902, N. Katanov translated into Russian an essay on the history of Kazan, in which the establishment of the city, the confrontation with Moscow, the conquest of Kazan, and life in the Tatar city at the end of the 18th century–beginning of the 19th century are described [Katanov, 1904b, pp. 359–365].

In 1883 'Tävarixe Bolgariya' ('The Bulgarian Chronicles') by the Kazan imam Husain Amirkhan (1816–1893), the grandfather of the writer F. Amirkhan, were published in Kazan [Ämirkhan, 1883; Amirkhanov, 2010]. This work consists of an introduction, seven chapters and a conclusion. In the introduction to the book the author explains that he tried to organise reliable information from different sources, and compensate for the absence of books on the history of Bulgar. Following the example set by Abul-Gazi Bahadur-khan in his 'Şäcäräi törek' ('Origin of the Turks'), Amirkhan devotes the first chapters of his work to the origins of the Turkic peoples and their ancient history, to Chinggis Khan, the Chinggisids and Timur. Events in Bulgarian history are explained within the context of a criticism of Kisamutdin Muslimi's 'The Bulgarian Chronicles'. However, H. Amirkhan never demonstrated the kind of intolerance and self-righteousness in his appraisal of the book as Sh. Marjani had, and admitted that it some of the evidence presented by Muslimi might be accurate. Biographical information on 'Bulgarian sheikhs and ulamas'—Muslim leaders from the late 18–the first third of the 19th centuries—is unique and valuable. Legends form the basis of the last chapter of the book, which is devoted to Kazan. In it we

learn about the foundation of the city, its rulers, Kaban Lakes and the Black Sea, and the history of Tatar slobodas. There is also, among others, an extremely interesting source—a bait about Aksak-Timur written, according to the author, by the Kazan Khan Muhammad-Amin [Ämirkhan, 1883, p. 60]. Although these materials, as with the legends collected by K. Nasyri, contain errors and fiction, as do any works of folklore, they are, nevertheless, of historiographic value since they reflect the historical mindset of Tatar society.

While the truthfulness of some information from allegedly reliable sources that H. Amirkhan took on faith is doubtful, but his methodology is close, in many respects, to that used by K. Muslimi. Considered an intermediary work of Islamic historiography on the Volga and Ural regions, 'The Bulgarian Chronicles' by H. Amirkhan, nevertheless, demonstrated the long-standing need for the depiction of 'historical truth' [Frank, 2008, pp. 155, 166, 170–171]. In this regard, 'The Bulgarian Chronicles' are similar to a manuscript by the Sufi poet G. Chokry, 'Tävarixe Bolgariya, yaki täkribe Gariy' ('The Bulgarian Chronicles or an Approximate Explanation by Gari'), which he composed at the end of his life. In them he rejects Muslimi's history as a reliable source of information [Frank, 2008, 172–182].

In 1884 another historical work by H. Amirkhan was published entitled 'Şacäräi galiya fi bäyan äl-änsab' ('An Account of the Great Family Tree') also known in historiographic circles as 'Nöcümettavarix' ('Stars of History') [Ämirkhan, 1884]. This treatise was composed in accordance with the traditions of Islamic historiography. In it the author covers topics such as the history of the prophets and the deeds of their followers; the history of Islamic states and their rulers; the life and work of outstanding scholars.

Oriental studies in Russia played a role in the development of historical knowledge and the establishment of a national historiography for the Tartars.

In the first half of the 19th century Kazan University became the main center of orien-

tal studies in Russia. Even before Kh. Fraehn arrived in Kazan in 1807 and was appointed head of the Department of Oriental Languages, I. Khalfin had laid the basis for the teaching of oriental languages at the University. Through the publication of valuable Eastern texts, I. Khalfin received recognition and fame both in Russia and abroad. He laid, in essence, the foundation for a chronology of national culture. In 1818, he and Kh. Fraehn published the tarkhan yarliq of Temür Qutlugh. In 1819 I. Khalfin published the first Tatar textbook, a reader entitled 'Zhizn' Chinggis-xana i Aksak-Timura s prisovokupleniem raznyx otryvkov, do istorii kasayushchixsya...' ('The life of Chinggis Khan and Aksak-Timur, which includes various passages, up to the history of...') based on the texts of 'Däftäri Chingiz-namä' [Xälfın, 1819]. In 1825 the manuscript, 'The Genealogy of the Turks', which was written by Abdul-Gazi Bahadur-khan and prepared by I. Khalfin, was published by the Asian Printing House of Kazan.

In 1855, the Oriental department was transferred to St. Petersburg University. In 1857–1865, a disciple, close friend and like-minded fellow of Sh. Marjani, the inspiration of his historical research Kh. Faizkhanov (1828–1866) taught the Turkish and Tartar languages here. At his teacher's request he would send him the books he needed, make excerpts from the sources, and thus he helped him immensely in compiling works on history [Gaziz, 1915, b. 349; Şäräf, 1915, b. 114; Fakhretdin, 1993, b. 187–188; Fäezxanov, 2006, b. 327; Yusupov, 2005, pp. 79–80]. In his letters to his mentor Kh. Faizkhanov outlines and discusses his research tasks, and expresses his opinion on what has been written [Fäezxanov, 2006, b. 343–344, 350, 355, 366]. The key points, for example, of the Bulgarian and Tatar theory of ethnogenesis, were developed by them collaboratively [Fäezxanov, 2006, b. 371–373, 378–379]. Sh. Marjani was thankful for all his advice and remarks. Kh. Faizkhanov intended to have his teacher's works published in St. Petersburg [Fäezxanov, 2006, b. 350, 364, 366]. He became the link between the Orientalists of the capital and Sh. Marjani. In 'The Reserach

on the Tsars and Princes of Kasimov' (1863) V. Velyaminov-Zernov provides two letters of Sh. Marjani to Kh. Faizkhanov in which Sh. Marjani deciphers the texts of gravestone epitaphs made at the author's request.

Kh. Faizkhanov's contribution to the creation of the first scientific history of Tatars is also revealed by sources that have been re-acquired. The archaeographer R. Mardanov found Kh. Faizkhanov's manuscripts among the materials of Sh. Marjani's archive which had been given to the National Library of the Republic of Tatarstan in 1998 by the scientist's grandson Daniyal Amirkhanov. It turns out that our knowledge of the scientific legacy of Kh. Faizkhanov was incomplete. Moreover, a very important part of his activity as a historian and scientist had remained unknown. A notebook of 60 pages contains an incomplete draft for works on the history of the Kasimov and Kazan Khanates and descriptions of the epitaph texts from Bulgarian gravestones. We learn from the manuscript that he also composed the history of Volga Bulgaria [Märdanov, 2002; published: [Fäezxanov, 2006, b. 109–154, 228–272].

The comparison of the manuscripts with 'Möstäfadel-äxbar...' showed that Kh. Faizkhanov's materials had been included in Sh. Marjani's work in the form of passages or continuous text. Thus, his 'Kazan tarixı' ('The History of Kazan') and 'Kasimskij xanlığı' ('The Kasimov Khanate'), after several revisions, were fully included into the 'Möstäfadel-äxbar...' and made up over a half or nearly the whole text of the respective chapters of this book [Märdanov, 2006, b. 10–15]. Let us emphasise, the researchers are unanimous in this, that there was no chance that Sh. Marjani could have encroached upon the works of Kh. Faizkhanov, who had died before his time [Gosmanov, 2006, b. 33, Märdanov, 2006, b. 15–16]. They were bound by true and time tested friendship, this was a unique relationship between people who had chosen to serve a common goal. By collecting Kh. Faizkhanov's manuscripts upon his death and including them into his work Sh. Marjani had continued their collaboration.

Kh. Faizkhanov left his mark on the history of Russian Turkic studies. He systematised and finalised for publication extremely valuable sources on the international political history of Eastern Europe of the 16–18th centuries—diplomatic documents of the archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Turkic languages published under the editorship of V. Velyaminov-Zernov in 'The Materials on the History of the Crimean Khanate' (1864)⁹. In his work 'Three Bulgarian Gravestone Inscriptions' (1863) Kh. Faizkhanov proposed a method which made it possible to read correctly the epigraphic monuments of the Bulgarian period and laid the basis for Bulgarian and Tatar epigraphy [Gosmanov, 1990, b. 25–26].

The academic community of Kazan favoured the scientific activity of Sh. Marjani. He collaborated and was closely acquainted with the well known Kazan Turkologists I. Gotwald and V. Radlov. Marjani was a member of the Organising Committee of the 4 All-Russian Archaeological Congress (1877) for which he prepared the report 'Gılalät äzzaman fı tarıxe Bolgar vâ Kazan' ('The Curtain of Time Covering the History of Bulgar and Kazan') translated and recited by Radlov [Marjani, 1884, pp. 40–58]. The information from this work, both valuable and reliable, was used by I. Gotwald, S. Shpilevsky, N. Ashmarin.

At the initiative of the Congressional participants a Society of Archaeology, History and Ethnography (SAHE) was founded at Kazan university. 48 works by 24 authors on the history, culture and life of Tatars were published in the periodical collection of the Society—'Izvestiya OAIE' ('News of SAHE') [Khabibullin, 2006, p. 99].

Until October 1917 the active members of the Society were 15 Tatar scientists and intellectuals were: Sh. Marjani, K. Nasyri, S. Aitov, M. Zaitov, G. Ilyasi, G. Akhmarov, Kh. Atlasy and others [Xäbibullin, 1977]. While collaborating with SAHE they became familiar with Russian and European historical science,

⁹ The participation of the latter in the creation of this major collection was limited by the introductory article.

methods of scientific inquiry and research. On the other hand, the participation of Tatars in the activities of SAHE helped to introduce a wide range of written, epigraphic and folklore sources, including unknown ones (for example, the sources of research conducted by Sh. Marjani), or those unavailable for the majority of Russian scientists for scientific use.

From the 19th century the traditional genres of local historical literature underwent certain changes. They included genealogy-shadjara, histories of parishes and villages, biographies, autobiographies, etc. The national clan tradition took on a new character—one-name genealogy¹⁰ turned into a set of genealogies and, further were taken as a basis for establishment of folk regional history of villages (*avıl tarixları*) which received wide-scale development from the 80s of the 19th century [Shaykhiev, 1990, pp. 17, 29]. In one of the earliest examples of the regional natural history literature published by V. Radlov under the title 'What Ilyas-mullah heard from his father', was based on a separate genealogy integrated with local legends, as the history of Ust-Ishim was told [Ilyas mullah]. Works that revealed the history, ethnography, toponymy of the small motherland appeared [Shaykhiev, 1990, p. 29]. Among the most significant writings are 'The History of the Aul Tyuntyar' by M. Shamsutdinov, 'The History of Paranga' by A. Barangivi, 'The History of New Tinchali' by A. Gizzatullin and others. The first regional history work published in the Tatar language was 'The History of the Aul Sterlibashevo' by M. Tukayev which came out in Kazan in 1899.

The so-called vakaig-name, or year by year records of historical events, based on 'Chapters of the Novel on History' 'Däftäri Chingiz-namä' became wide spread. For example, the vakaig-name from the collection of the archaeographer S. Vakhidov which was compiled in the family of the Kazan merchants Zamanovs and represented the chronology of his-

torical events of Russia, Kazan and local life during from 1703 to 1855 [Dmitrieva, 1965, pp. 69–70].

Along with introduction of parish registers, local vakaig-names came up when the most important annual events started being entered into the register. Authors of regional history works often made references to this data after that. Some village histories were direct continuations of the vakaig-names [Shaykhiev, 1990, pp. 24–25]. Historian-amateurs referred to epigraphic monuments and folklore, used documentary sources kept by the residents, such as purchases, land tenure in a fortress.

National regional history literature developed under the influence of Tatar educators, Kazan oriental studies, in general, and along with establishment of the Tatar historical science it developed in strong interrelation with it. Even I. Khalfin, in his introduction to 'The Life of Chinggis Khan and Aksak-Timur..' advocated for the collection and preservation of written sources and historical monuments of the local area [Xälfin, 1819, b. 4, 7–8]. K. Nasyri's manuscripts preserved materials on the histories of the villages of Sviyazhsk uyezd [Nogman, 1958, b. 14; Kayum Nasyri, b. 31–59]. In 1878, under the hand of the supervisor of Tatar, Bashkir and Kyrgyz schools of the Kazan Educational District orientalist V. Radlov, and, obviously, on the instruction of the Society of Archaeology, Ethnography and History, a form was sent to mosque imams containing questions on the origin of the village, its name, on the presence of antiquities in the neighbourhood, legends and tales from history. As mentioned by many researchers, interest in writing regional histories was growing under the direct influence of Sh. Marjani's works, especially the second half of 'Möstäfadel-äxbar..' in which he included materials from histories of villages [Gosmanov, 1998, b. 20; Yusupov, 2005, pp. 125–126]. At the beginning of the early 20th century R. Fakhretdin popularised regional history research in the magazine 'Şura'. He provided information on the regional history works he was familiar with in one of the periodical's issues [Fäxretdin, 1915, b. 44–49]. Regional history traditions from the

¹⁰ Traditional Tatar shadjara was written in the form of a genealogy tree (later in the form of a table), where individual names were surrounded with short data on the dates of birth and death, several facts of biography worth mentioning from the point of view of the writer.

pre-revolutionary era continued in writings of the old Tatar intelligentsia and clergy up to the 60s of the 20th century.

The Tatar historical literature of the 19th century was diverse, but the vector of its development was evident and was aimed at teaching the actual history of the people. The two-volume work 'Möstäfadel-äxbar...' by Sh. Marjani became the first scientific research on the history of the Tatar people, that is research based on comprehensive analysis and scientific criticism of a wide range of sources. It determined the range of problems concerning further works, the main principles and peculiarities of bringing to light the past of the

Tatar people. It was a starting point for establishing the historiographic system—a collection of works united by common objectives and goals, consistent with the main approach towards interpretation of the national history. Thus, it is appropriate to speak about the beginnings of forming the historical science of Tatars, the establishment and development of which primarily refers to the period after the first Russian revolution. The followers and successors of the founder of this science—the outstanding Tatar thinker Sh. Marjani—were R. Fakhretdin, G. Akhmarov, Kh. Atlasy, Kh.-G. Gabyashi, A.-Z. Validi, G. Battal and others.

CHAPTER 8

Traditional Educational Establishments and Education with New Methods

Alta Makhmutova

The Revival and Development of the Education System of Muslim Tatars

The fact that Kazan Tatars lost their nationhood in 1552 and the policy of Christianisation carried out by the Russian state after that meant destruction of both the material and spiritual wealth, as well as leading groups of people. An especially heavy blow was inflicted on Muslim Tatars in the 1730s–1740s, when violence became the main and the only weapon of missionaries and the state policy in Christianisation of non-Russian peoples of the Volga region and Siberia. 'Over 150 years of colonial policy towards these peoples failed to integrate them totally into the economic and spiritual area of Russia.... The prospects for commercial exploitation of the natural resources of the Urals and Siberia, plans for further conquests of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, the Crimea and Caucasus strongly required ultimate spiritual colonisation of the conquered peoples of the Volga region. This task was especially pressing with regard to Muslim Tatars' [Islaev, 1999, p. 9].

Despite the persecution and the policy of Christianisation, a significant part of the Tatar population kept on adhering to their traditional religion—Islam. Such endurance was due to the fact that the nature of the Islamic doctrine was adjusted to the needs of common people and that mullahs were appointed by election [Khabutdinov, 2008, p. 21]. The reasons for Islam's strength was not only the fact that the majority of Tatars remained faithful Muslims in an Orthodox state but also the fact that the everyday life of the population was regulated by the Sharia laws, and the Islamic clergy which had to replace temporal power was very authoritative.

'Besides the Russian Orthodox Church viewed Islam as its natural competitor that was strong enough to fight for its influence among pagan peoples... According to missionaries, the destruction of mosques (obviously—*A.M.*) should have resulted in the destruction of the Islamic clergy, and consequently of Islam itself.... The decree from 19 November 1742 became the legal foundation for the total destruction of mosques' [Islaev, 1999, pp. 25–27]. As a result, within a short period of time, in Kazan and the uyezd 418 out of 536 mosques were destroyed, in the province of Siberia 98 out of 133 mosques were destroyed, in the province of Astrakhan 29 out of 40 mosques were destroyed [Istoriya, 1937, p. 152]. Thus, the New Baptismal office which was created in 1731 inflicted a major blow to the centres of spirituality and education of Tatars—the mosques. Along with the mosques educational institutions belonging to them also were eliminated. The succession and traditions in education that had been developed by Islamic schools of the Volga, the Urals, and Siberia were being lost.

In circumstances where rural Islamic communities were isolated and lacked unity it was abyzes who maintained the traditions of national Islam. As it is stated in the Tatar regional historical literature, the people fell into absolute ignorance [Bikkolov, s. 86].

The status of Muslims in Russia began to change from the middle of the 18th century. From 1756 the construction of mosques and their schools was permitted in villages with a Muslim population [Xronologicheskij, 2000, p. 315]. The Russian government, especially during the reign of Catherine II, began to realise that 'Tatar society functioned mostly on

the universalist links of Islam and remained a strong potential locus of separatism inside Russia. Therefore it was necessary to work out more efficient mechanisms that were designed to involve Tatar society into the Russian state system, rather than forced Christianisation' [Mukhametshin, 2005a, p. 28].

So, what was done?

In 1764 New Baptismal office ceased its activities. In 1773 the Synod issued an edict on tolerance towards all confessions and on the prohibition of interference of bishops with life and activities of people of other faiths. This meant that public religious persecutions ended. The status of Islam was also changing—the persecuted religion was turning into a tolerated religion.

As a result of implementation of the new system of governmental measures, Russian Muslims were included in the structure of the Russian state while at the same time autonomous Islamic structures were being created under governmental control. Kazan and Orenburg (Seitov Posad—Kargaly) began to turn into concentrated centres of active forces of Tatar society. The merchant class (bourgeoisie) and clergy had become stronger, that is the conditions for the formation and sustained development of new leading social groups were created. Religious and educational institutions which had been almost totally eliminated by that time received an opportunity to resume functioning. The change in the status of Islam in Russia in the late 18–early 19th centuries gave rise to the intensive construction of mosques and the establishment of respective schools, so-called madrasahs, in all territories populated by Tatars.

Madrasah (from the Arabic—a *place where people are taught*)—an educational institution which appeared in the Islamic world as early as during the period of the spread of Islam. For a long period of time, the main and often only subject taught in it was Islamic law. Gradually, other subjects of theological and ethic and legal nature were added to it. The whole complex science of Islam was included into the madrasah curriculum had been established in the Islamic world as early as in the 12–13th

centuries and remained almost unchanged to the end of the 19th century.

Since this educational system of the Tatars had been destroyed during many centuries of persecution, and there was no single centre that could have guided its revival, the initiators of this task had to act independently, using their own judgment. This meant that they borrowed teaching methods and tricks which they received from their teachers in Islamic countries. The personality of the mudarris (teacher, the founder of the madrasah) became crucial for the revival of the educational system. 'Due to the absence of printed works, the destruction of manuscript legacy in endless fires in the villages we do not have accurate information on teaching ways and methods during the times of our close and remote ancestors,—R. Fakhretdin noted.—We only know that after the Kazan state had disappeared our grandfathers who lived in villages began to restore education first using the experience of Dagestan scientists, and later they borrowed teaching methods from Bukhara [Fäxreddinev, 1993, b. 238].

The works of Sh. Marjani and R. Fakhretdin provide summaries on several mudarrises who brought to the Tatar environment, teaching methods and skills they had adopted in Dagestan, Bukhara and other places. Thus, Muhammad ibn Ali ad-Dagestani (?–1796) in the 18th century established his own madrasah in the village Kondurovka near Orenburg (it was founded in 1744 by the Astrakhan Nogais resettled according to the edict of the Empress Elizabeth Petrovna), he was the first to resume teaching the Arabic language to shakirds. This attracted students from the entire Volga and Urals region to the madrasah. His first disciples were the akhund Kargaly, the first mufti M. Khusainov (1758–1824); the mudarris of the Kargaly madrasah near Orenburg, the Sufi sheikh, poet Valid b. Muhhamad-Amin al-Kaibychi al-Kargali (1753–1802); a religious leader, pedagogue Abdurrahman ibn Muhammad-Sharif al-Kirman (1743–1826) and others.

They followed the example and methods of their teacher, occasionally went to Bukhara

to improve their skills, they established their own madrasahs where they taught new pupils, sending the best of them to Bukhara to complete their education. Thus, the Islamic education chain of Tatars which was almost broken started to be restored. Sh. Marjani and R. Fakhretdin pointed out that these and other mudarrises made a great contribution to the revival and establishment of classical Islamic education in the Volga and Ural regions, especially concerning transfer of their knowledge in law, Hadith studies, rhetoric, and the Arabic language [Märcani, 1989, b. 243–244; Fäxreddin, 2006, b. 19, 53–54, 75, and others].

The would-be mudarrises, who studied in Bukhara, adopted not only the religious examples and educational innovations, but also the formal aspects of the Bukharan way of life. 'Islamisation to a certain extent touched all activities of the Tatars. Sh. Marjani claims that the everyday Sharia norms were established in the Umma thanks to the efforts of individual graduates from Central Asian madrasahs' [Zagidullin, 2008, p. 165]. Particularly, Sh. Marjani associates a number of innovations in the everyday culture of urban Muslims with the personality of mullah Ibrahim bin Hudzhashi who gained knowledge in the training centres of the Caucasus and after returning to his country in 1783 he became the imam of the 1st mosque of Kazan in 1793 [Märcani, 1989, b. 266–269].

What is noteworthy is the unique influence of the Bukharan education system with its scholastic principles and dogma. 'The main advantage of the Central Asian cultural influence was the return of the Tatars to the scholastic Islamic tradition. The folk Islam of abyzes gave way to scholastic Islam. According to Erwin Panofsky scholastics can be defined as 'explanation postulate for the sake of explanation itself'. In 1908 R. Fakhretdin postulated that scholastics led to the stagnation and destruction of peoples who used it' [Khabutdinov, 2008, p. 35].

It is next to impossible to identify the date of foundation and duration of existence of many madrasahs that emerged in the second half of the 18–beginning of the 19th centuries,

as well as their total number. The reason for this was not only the absence of collecting of statistical data in the country but also the fact that madrasahs were founded by individuals (mullahs) or the parish society as schools at the mosques, were not registered anywhere and operated autonomously. As a rule, the madrasah was named after a mullah, not the place of its origin. The duration of the existence of a madrasah and the scope of its teaching directly depended on the mullah. If he was destined to live and work at one location for a long period of time, then his madrasah could make this place famous. If he had to roam (and this, for various reasons, happened very often at the turn of the century), and there were no followers of his mission at the former place, in this case the madrasah disappeared there as well (however, it emerged at a new location).

For example, Ibrahim bin Abdullah al-Nukratiy (?–1780), a disciple of the famous mudarris and Sufi of the first half of the 18th century Murtaza Gali bin Kutlugush as-Simeti who, in his turn, had received his education in Dagestan, taught (had a madrasah) in many villages. In the reference notes at the end of his books that were re-written by his disciples Sh. Marjani states that in 1753 his madrasah was located in the village of Khasanshaekh, in 1764—in the village of Tashkichu, in 1768—in the village of Kazaklar, in 1771—in the village of Shashy, in 1772—in the village of Urbar of Kazan uyezd. Ibrahim Hazrat is famous both for his profound knowledge in Islamic sciences and a great number of disciples (Sh. Marjani's grandfather Subhan Hazrat was also among them) [Märcani, 1989, b. 241]. The absence of other sources makes it impossible to determine whether any madrasahs remained in the villages abandoned by the mudarris.

The earliest information on Islamic schools in Russia was occasional and did not cover all these schools in total. Thus, 'The News on the Tatar Schools in Orenburg guberniya' (based on the data of the Ministry of National Education) was published in 1811 in issue 21 of 'Vestnik Evropy' (The Newsletter of Europe) reported the following about the schools of Seitov posad near Orenburg: 'Each mosque

(and there were 7 mosques made of stone and 2 made of wood.—*A.M.*) has a separate Tatar school, partly in the rooms downstairs, partly in separate buildings. The establishment of schools began 30 years from this point. The teachers are learned akhunds and mullahs, and partially private individuals; the students are, besides the locals, those coming from other parts of Russia, and even from Khiva, Bukharia and other Asian principalities. At schools they study the Tatar alphabet, the Arabic language in all its length, and Persian, as well as arithmetic, geometry, the basics of physics, philosophy according to Aristotle's works, sacred history of the Mohammedans, reading and expounding the Alkoran, and the sacred rituals of the Mohammedans'. It was also noted that the books used for instruction were all handwritten and mainly supplied from Bukhara, and that up to 150 people studied in each of the best schools.

A short description of five Kazan madrasahs is contained in the report of the senior teacher of the Main Kazan National School A. Pyatov which was submitted to the School Committee at the Kazan University on 15 May 1816. The report explains that 'all Kazan Tatar schools started in a similar way. Some rich Tatar being driven by his love of the sciences, but more often just to keep his word, gives away his house for school purposes, the parish mullah usually induced by zeal accepts voluntarily the position of a teacher, young Mohammedans express a desire to learn once they find out about it—thus a school is founded. Those are supported by charitable contributions or dependence of their pupils, some of whom live in their homes, others, the poorest ones, are accommodated in the school building itself where they often work as guards' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 977, inv. Sovet, file 318, s. 9].

A. Pyatov also pointed out the absence in Kazan madrasahs of any rules, regulations indicative of a systematic learning model. 'All education in such schools is confined to learning to read and write in Turkish, Arabian and Persian languages, learning the Mohammedan law. However, in some schools the follow-

ing subjects are taught: a part of mathematics, geodesy, astrology, logics, philosophy, grammar, rhetoric, morals and Koran pronunciation rules,—he noted.—In general, mullahs-teachers stick to their old habits in teaching. But really, can one expect something else from them? They were brought up among their unlearned brothers, had no other close relations with Russians than trade, their Russian was poor and as a result they had no means to achieve the appropriate degree in education. Therefore they get by with the books published in their language long time ago. But since even these books are shared between them in manuscripts, very few of them have anything else except the Quran. However, the voluntarily established schools and frequent trips to Bukharia and other places prove that Mohammedans had a zeal for the sciences' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 977, inv. Sovet, file 318, s. 9].

According to this document, the madrasahs were established at the initiative of the Tatar population itself, often by the representatives of the merchant class and clergy, and the schools were maintained at their expense. No permission to open a school was required, because according to the old Sharia canons teaching Sharia norms and rules were the mullah's responsibility. The scope of instruction depended on the scope of knowledge of the mullah-teacher. And they taught with the books at their disposal (as a rule, these were handwritten copies made during their studies). Re-writing or copying various books needed for further work was a part of the education and required great pains from a shakird.

This list does not include all schools of the Kazan guberniya existing during that period. We can assume that the number of Tatar schools was greater according to the report of the regular keeper of the Laishevo uyezd school: 'The uyezd I am in charge of has no educational institutions except Mohammedan schools at the mosques in almost every settlement where children of Mohammedans are taught by mullahs to read and write in the Tatar language' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 160, inv. 1, file 33, s. 14].

The researcher on the life and customs of the Tatar population during the first half of the 19th century Karl Fuchs underscored: 'Tatars who cannot read and write are resented by their fellow countrymen, and as citizens are not respected. Therefore every father tries, as early as possible, to enroll his children in school where they could learn at to least read and write and learn the fundamentals of their religion' [Fuchs, 2005, pp. 212–213].

The scientist does not provide any statistical data on the number of schools, but his information shows how literacy was spread among the Kazan Tatars and proves that the system of the Tatar and Islamic education had been totally restored.

More complete information refers to the middle of the century. Data from the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly provided by the Religious Directorate to the Department of Religious Affairs of Foreign Faiths: as of 1 January 1856, it was in charge of 1,729,858 citizens of both sexes, 3,478 mosques, 934 madrasahs and maktab, 5,607 clergymen (260 mudarrises among them) [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1093, s. 1–7].

Thus, the procedure for receiving education by Tatars which had been established by the Mid-19th century copied in many aspects the Bukhara system of education. The fact that the Kazan Tatars adopted, as an example, the Central Asian system of up-bringing and education, can evidently be explained by both domestic and international policy. If the Caucasian war closed the paths to receiving an education in the Caucasus even for those rare seekers of knowledge in foreign lands, then the strengthening at the end of the 18–the first half of the 19th centuries of trading, economic and diplomatic relations with the states of Central Asia in which Tatar Muslims played an important role, opened the way to Bukhara for young people who strove for knowledge.

The point of these studies was as follows. Every mullah who was appointed by the society at the same time accepted responsibility to teach the fundamentals of Islam to boys. He led classes either at his home or in a separate building at the mosque. By the way, Tatar

schools had not yet been divided into maktab (primary schools) and madrasahs (secondary and high schools). Such divisions were only established at the turn of the 20th century. Regardless of the education level, schools had a common name—madrasah, which means 'a place where people study', although the word 'maktab' (a place where people write) also was used [Makhmutova, 1982, p. 13].

The education may consist of several stages. First, boys (as a rule, from the ages of 5–8) became familiar with alphabet, learned to read, and sometimes to write and acquired elementary religious skills. The first step of education was learning the rudiments of the complicated Arab alphabet. (It was complicated because 29 letters of the alphabet had several letter forms thus making up to 118 letters in total, the number of vowels was not sufficient, special symbols were used to denote them; instruction was held in an unknown language, etc.).

After they learned how to combine letters (this could take two-three years, and even five or more depending on the interest and capabilities of the teacher and the pupil), pupils started reading religious didactic works, such as the 'Iman sharty' ('Conditions of Faith') and 'heftiyak' ('The seventh part of the Quran'). The instruction was individualised: 'Every pupil undergoes a training course separately from other pupils. He had his own lesson to learn which was different from that being learned by the pupil sitting next to him. The pupils learned their lessons out-loud as if they were trying to out shout the other. There is noise and hum in the school, so that it is hard to make out separate sounds' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 150, file 420, s. 9 reverse]. Since such a method did not make it possible to teach all the pupils at the same time, the teacher-mullah appointed his assistants from among senior pupils called 'khalifa'.

A primary education was almost mandatory both for the mullah and for boys' parents regardless of their financial status. Further education depended on the willingness and capabilities of the boys and their parents, as well as of the mullah. Opening a madrasah did not require any special building or school equip-

ment, nothing that is necessary to establish a contemporary school. The boys, who managed to complete the primary education and demonstrated capabilities, continued their education at the same madrasah or transferred to a nearby madrasah, provided their parents could afford it.

The Kargaly madrasahs in the Orenburg region became a major centre for the comprehensive religious education of Tatars in the last third of the 18th–the first third of the 19th centuries. Sh. Marjani and R. Fakhretdin while giving a character reference to famous Tatars who lived at that period of time, there are around one hundred madrasahs, where those individuals received an education or were the founders of those schools. The Tatar madrasahs usually arose in trading settlements far from the governorate centres. For example, there is information about the existence of the following madrasahs in the 18th century: in the settlements Adayevo, Bereske, Bubi, Karile (Karelin), Kyshkar, Machkara, Or (Ura), Simetbash, Tashkichu, Tyunter and others, in Trans-Kazan, Ovechy Ovrage in the Nizhny Novgorod region, Taysuganovo and Sterlibash in the Trans-Kama Region and others.

Thus, at the end of the 18th century–the first half of the 19th century one of the famous madrasahs was the one in the village Machkara of the Kazan guberniya. Its 'Golden Age' was associated with the names of the mudarrises Muhammad-Rahim bin Yusuf al-Ashyti (died in 1818) and Abdulla bin Yakhya al-Chirtushi (died in 1858), as well as the 1st guild merchant Gabdulla Utyamyshev (died in 1832) who ensured the financial blossoming of his home village.

M.-R. al-Ashyti received his primary education at the madrasah of his father, imam and mudarris Yusuf bin Gabdulkarim. For three years he helped his father to train shakirds. Then he went to Dagestan in search of knowledge, where during 10 years he was taught by scientists who were well-known at that of time. Having returned to his homeland in the early 80s of the 18th century. M.-R. al-Ashyti was appointed imam and mudarris by the merchant Utyamyshevs, owners of the mosque and the

madrasah of the village Machkara. The fame of his teaching attracted a lot of young men who strove for knowledge from the entire Volga and Ural region to Machkara. Nearly all of them founded then their madrasahs and became well-known mudarrises. His disciples were the scientist-reformer G. Kursavi, imams and mudarrises of the Machkara madrasah Abdullah al-Chirtushi, the Kyshkar madrasah Yakub bin Yahya ad-Dubyazi, the Husna madrasah Sh. Marjani's grandfather Subhan al-Marjani, the founder of the mudarris dynasty of the Sterlibash madrasah Nigmatulla bin Biktimer Tukaev, the founder of the clan of imams and mudarrises Amirkhanovs, F. Amirkhan's great-grandfather Amirkhan at-Talkyshi and others [Märcani, 1989, b. 263–264; Fäxreddin, 2006, b. 83–84].

Abdullah bin Yahya al-Chirtushi, another mudarris of the Machkara madrasah, was from the Chistopol uyezd and had been taught by the mudarris M.-R. al-Ashyti before he went to study in Bukhara. Upon returning to Machkara he married his teacher's daughter at the end of 1812 and for the next six years he helped his teacher and father-in-law. In 1818 leadership of the madrasah was completely transferred to him. According to Sh. Marjani he had worked at Machkara for over 40 years, was the most famous mudarris of his time and had many disciples who became mudarrises. The well-known disciples among them were Mohammad Karim at-Takanashi, Gabdulvali an-Nurmawi, Yarulla as-Satyshi, Nigmatulla Bubi and others [Märcani, 1989, b. 319–321]. In the second and third quarters of the 19th century, graduates of the Machkara madrasah led the key parishes of Kazan at the Apanayev, Burnaev, Galeev, Sennaya, Rizovaya (Pink) mosques [Khabutdinov, 2009, p. 44].

In the Orenburg guberniya, at the end of the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries, the Sterlibash madrasah, founded in 1720 rose to fame [Tukaev, 1899, p. 5]. Its zenith is associated with the activities of the Tukaev dynasty of imams and mudarrises—Nigmatulla Hazrat (1772–1844), his sons Kharris (1810–1870) and Kharras (1814–1871), Khabibulla's grandson (1856–1897), Kharris' son. Nigmatulla bin

Biktimer Tukaev as-Sterlibashi (his grandfather Tukay bin Urmanay had migrated to the Bashkir lands from the Salavych Malmyzhsky uyezd) received a theological education in a madrasah of Kazan and Machkara and set out to Bukhara in search of profound knowledge. There he became a disciple and follower of the renowned Sufi Niyazkuli-ishan at-Turkmani. Upon receiving the title of sheikh Nigmatulla-ishan returned to his motherland and led a mosque and madrasah in Sterlibash. Sh. Marjani noted: 'His world was wide, he had many disciples. He became extremely renowned in his homeland. He advocated the views of his friend the mullah Abdinasir al-Kursavi. An interest in him was aroused in his mosque' [Märcani, 1989, b. 245–246]. According to R. Fakhretdin, during the period when mudarris Nigmatulla was the head of his madrasah, the Sterlibash madrasah 'reached the level of a higher educational institution' [Fäxreddin, 1906, p. 78].

Thus, the revival of the Tatar system of education and sciences led to unexpected results for the government: 'The intensive construction of mosques and establishment of maktab and madrasahs at the end of the 18–beginning of the 19th centuries were used by Tatars to create a system of national education independent of the official ideology' [Mukhametshin, 2005a, p. 29].

Traditional Educational Institutions of Tatars.

By the Mid–60s of district 110th century, around 1.5 thousand educational institutions

were under the supervision of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly existed in Russia. All of them were typical Islamic schools (Table 47). The forms of their organisation were determined by the religious traditions established at that time, that is why they were similar to other educational institutions in the Islamic world. 'Even 25 years ago, when entering a maktab or a madrasah in Algeria, Constantinople or Prusa, I had the feeling as if I was transferred to a place in the Volga region: to a great degree, the general picture was that identical',—an official of the Ministry of National Education, N. Bobrovnikov noted in 1913. He was an expert on Islamic schools [Bobrovnikov, 1913, p. 228].

In reality, each mullah was a legally capable teacher. When he took the position, he immediately promised the village community assembly that he would not only perform religious rites, but also teach children to read and write Arabic and the basics of the religious doctrine. The classes were held either in a special room in the mosque or at the mullah's house. 'As a rule, parishioners strictly controlled mullahs' teaching and in case of negligence, evasion from the activity or dissemination of the bookish word, notified the Spiritual Assembly thereof and even decided to elect another spiritual leader for the community' [Farkhshatov, 1994, p. 55].

As private or public educational institutions attached to mosques, maktab and madrasahs had no officially approved programmes or charters. With few exceptions, these schools

Table 47

Information about mosques, madrasahs, clergy and communities under the jurisdiction of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly

[by: Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 1101, s. 2–5; inv. 1106, s. 2–6; inv. 1110, s. 3–5; inv. 1115, s. 2–5; inv. 1118, s. 2–7; inv. 1122, s. 2–7; inv. 1132, s. 2–4]

Year	Mosques	Madrasahs	Clergy	Communities
1859	3559	1034		1800966
1860	4525	1075	6188	1838218
1862	3591	1404	6326	1854909
1863	3591	1404	6326	1854909
1864	3550	1569	6096	2074182
1865	3550	1569	6096	2074182
1868	4052	1396	6513	2104190

had no single specific training curriculum. Each mullah-teacher taught what he knew and as he had been taught himself. 'The time of a maktab course was not defined, and there was no division into classes; teaching periods were calculated from the time of mastering one book, such as the 'Iman Sharty' ('Conditions of Faith,' *A.M.*), to moving on to another book, such as the 'Kheftiyak' (the seventh part of the Quran.—*A.M.*)—this was equal to the transition from

one class to another' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 173, file 102, s. 225]. The duration of the studies depended not only on the teacher, but also on the performance and capabilities of each student: 'If diligent, students could complete a course in a maktab and madrasah in 10 years, but usually it took a longer period' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 150, file 420, s. 9, reverse].

The state, as well as city and rural authorities did not fund Islamic schools. However, establishment of a Tatar school was considered a holy deed; therefore, it was financially supported by various social groups. Merchants actively participated in the maintenance of a number of madrasahs. Such schools usually possessed several buildings, with residential and educational rooms separated from each other. For example, one of the most successful madrasah in the middle of the 19th century, the Sterlibash Madrasah in Ufa guberniya, had 25 buildings. In the latter half of 19th century several buildings were owned by such madrasahs as Usmania and Marjania in Kazan, Khusainiya in Orenburg, Bubi in Viatka guberniya, Abdulvagapov in Chistopol, etc. [Makhmutova, 1982, pp. 20–21]. However, the traditional method of maintaining the majority of maktab and madrasahs using only parishioners' contributions provided only a meagre existence.



Building of the former Kul Buye (Lakeside) madrasah at Apanayev Mosque in Kazan. Modern-day 28, Marjani Street. Photo, 2010

Most of the schools were located in buildings, which did not meet sanitary and hygiene requirements. The director of the public schools of Kazan guberniya noted in his application to the administrator of Kazan educational district on 19 December 1891, 'A significant number of maktab and madrasahs are located in the houses of local mullahs, and only relatively few of them—in special public houses or leased apartments. These rooms are very narrow; therefore, students wash and pray outdoors both in winter, and in summer, in the cold and wind, as a result, there are many ill students who remain to study among healthy children' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 19380, s. 34,–35].

The overall picture was commented by the inspector of public schools for Astrakhan guberniya: 'Moreover, Islamic schools are deprived of any signs of a normal school environment: there are no tables, no uniforms, and no seats. All students spend their study time standing on their knees on the floor; thus they read holding books near their eyes, thus they write laying the copybook, but mostly some sheet of paper on one knee; only few of them have a small, low casket', and the director of public schools for Vyatka Guberniya: 'Maktab are usually placed in the kitchens of local mullahs and sometimes in cattle huts (as in Sarsaz village) under the most unfavorable

hygienic conditions' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 19380, p. 22, 40, reverse].

However, the traditional form of people's support allowed to establish schools even in the poorest villages. In the conditions of the imperial Russia, this was the only possible form of existence for hundreds of Tatar educational institutions. As pointed by R. Fakhretdin, while in the latter half of the 19th century there were schools of primary education—maktab, practically in each parish, there was one madrasah for each 30–40, and sometimes 100 parishes. Shakirds were controlled and taught by well-known, educated mudarrises. Shakirds were from all over the country, and they lived in the same buildings of the madrasahs where they studied [Fakhretdin, 1993, b. 239].

Most rural schools were attended by a small number of students. Thus, based on the data about the number of students in 441 Islamic schools in Ufa and Orenburg guberniyas, it was found that 'in 1867–1868, the largest group (144 schools, or the 30.9% in Ufa guberniya, and the 33.5% in Orenburg guberniya) consisted of schools that had 11–20 students. Only 10 schools had more than 100 students. On average, one school in Ufa guberniya had 35.4, and in Orenburg guberniya—20.5 students' [Farkhshatov, 1994, p. 64]. This situation applied not only to rural, but also to urban madrasahs. For example, in 1869, there were only 387 students in seven Kazan madrasahs, and 100 boys studied only in one—Mustakimov—madrasah [Medrese, 2007, p. 23].

The number of students in schools depended on the level of education and popularity of mullahs, who headed them, as well as on the financial support of such madrasahs. Thus, as the number of schools and students was increasing, there were both schools with barely ten students and madrasahs having several hundreds of shakirds. For example, at the end of the 19th century, Kazan madrasahs—Apayev's (Priozerny), Bagautdinov's ('Marjania'), Galeev's ('Muhammadiya')—had 150–400 shakirds each [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 173, file 102, s. 234]. In

the 60's–80's, Sterlibash Madrasah in Ufa guberniya had 500–600 students, and Sterlitamak Madrasah—200–600 students [Farkhshatov, 1994, pp. 59, 60]. The age of students studying in Islamic schools also significantly varied: in maktab—from 5–6 to 16 years, and in madrasahs—from 10–11 to 30 years (sometimes even older) [Makhmutova, 1982, p. 16].

An academic year in Muslim educational institutions usually began in September or October, upon completion of the autumn harvesting time, and ended in April before the beginning of the spring field work. But there were madrasahs, where shakirds took lessons all year round. A school day was arranged as follows: 'Students go to school at 7–8 a.m., depending on the season, and study up to 2–3 p. m., with an hour-long break at about 12 o'clock. However, maktab often let the youngest students go home at 12 o'clock, while senior students necessarily continue their studies after the break up to 2–3 p. m. As to madrasahs, students attend them in the evening as well' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 150, file 420, s. 5].

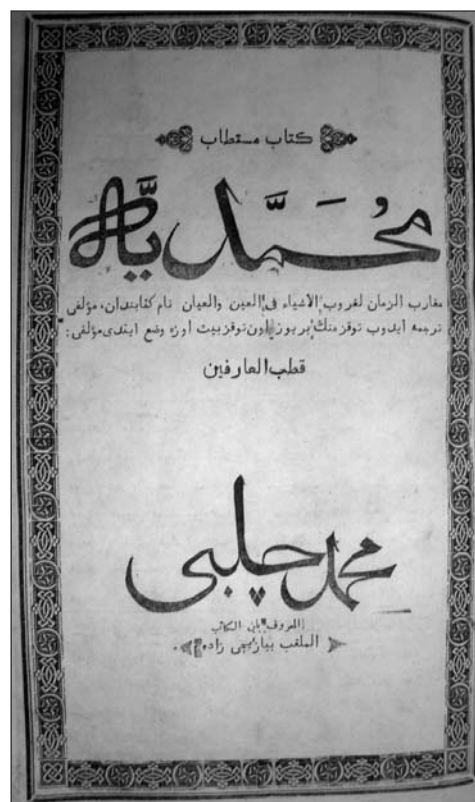
The Tatar education and upbringing was aimed at preparing a true Muslim living under the Sharia laws. 'The majority of the Tatar population is... still at a stage of their cultural development, when their religious mood penetrates and affects the entire life of the people, when questions of the faith prevail over all others,—M. Pinegin, the director of public schools in Kazan guberniya, noted at the beginning of the 20th century,—...notions of studying and learning religion are combined by the Tatars into one concept and are even denoted by the same word. Therefore, the majority of the Tatars have understood education as studying religion' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 801, s. 45 reverse].

The activities of Muslim schools, irrespective of their location, had much in common, which was connected with their traditions. 'All Islamic schools taught a certain number of sciences in one way or another, at least some sections of these sciences' [Koblov, 1916, p. 15]. The education may consist of several stages. As the education system was recovering, es-

pecially when new-method schools appeared, there was an established division of the Islamic school into a lower one—maktab, and higher one—madrasah, although these names could be used in relation to the same educational institution.

Organisation of educational activities at a school was determined by its purpose. The ultimate goal of an Islamic school—was ‘to teach Muslim children to read and write, to acquaint them with the basics of Islam, to impart good moral in them and show them a way to achieve earthly and heavenly wellbeing and thus contribute to peace and tranquility in the state’ [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 133, file 466, s. 57]. According to this purpose, a maktab’s curriculum provided for studying to read and write in Arabic (which took a year or more), read and write in the Turkic language, basics of the faith and initial information on arithmetic. Having mastered a rather complicated mechanism of letter combination, boys began reading religious and didactic works in the Turkic language: ‘*Akhir Zaman Kitabi*’ (‘Book on the End of the World’) by S. Bakyrğani (died in 1186), ‘*Qısai Yosif*’ by Qol Ghali (end of the twelfth—beginning of the thirteenth century), ‘*Mohammédia*’ (‘Devoted to Prophet Muhammad’) by M. Chelebi (died in 1451), ‘*Risalei Gazize*’ (‘Tale about Gaziz’) by T. Yalchigulov (1768–1838), ‘*Bedavam*’ (‘Constantly Repeat’) and ‘*Kisekbash Kitabi*’ (‘Book about a Cut-Off Head’) by unknown authors, etc. [Tatar *ādābiyatı*, b.115–157, 273, 282, 443–452].

Studying of these books played an important role in the religious and moral education of the students: the students gradually got inspired with the ideas and doctrines of Islam in the form of dialogues, jokes, colourful and vivid scenes. At the same time, getting acquainted with the best examples of Islamic didactic literature, students received some information on history, geography, ethics, and aesthetics, which contributed to their mental development. For the majority of children studies in a maktab ended with reading several works of the Tatar and oriental literature. Reading and writing skills obtained in this way, with no ap-



Front page of M. Chelebi's 'Mahammadiya'.

plication in everyday life, were gradually lost after completion of studies, and although the vast majority of children actually received initial education, the adult population was gradually transferred to the category of illiterates.

We tend to connect the results of the first universal census of the population in 1897 on literacy of the Tatar population in the provinces of the Volga and Ural region with this very circumstance¹¹.

Only a few maktab located in larger villages and towns had a second department (usually a three-year one), where they taught the basics of the Arabic language, Islamic ethics

¹¹ According to the 1897 statistics, the general average rate of native language literacy among the Muslims was: in the Kazan Guberniya: 20% (22% among men, 18% among women), in the Simbirsk Guberniya: 10.8% (15% and 6.6%), in the Samara Guberniya: 24.5% (26% and 23%), in the Saratov Guberniya: 14.6% (18.8% and 10.5%), in the Ufa Guberniya: 19.3%, in the Orenburg Guberniya: 21% (25% and 17%, respectively) [Gibadullina, 2008, p. 107, Table 7].

and law. Such departments prepared students for madrasahs.

A madrasah was an educational institution of a higher stage and had a goal of 'preparing muezzins, imams, khatyps, fakihs, galims, mugallims, mudarrises, ghazis and muftis who would be familiar with both the requirements of the time and the science of faith and life, in order to have the ability to show a path to them for others' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 133, file 466, s. 57 reverse side], that is, these were religious schools aimed at preparing theologians, experts in the Islamic law and Muslim spiritual leaders. Officials compared the best madrasahs with Russian theological seminaries and academies [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 785, s. 5 reverse; f. 733, inv. 170, file 263, s. 303 reverse; National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 10464, s. 17].

As everywhere among Muslims, the complex of sciences studied in Tatar madrasahs was traditionally divided into two groups. The first one was comprised of '*shargiya*' sciences, that is, disciplines related to the study of Sharia, or in other words, '*nakliya*', that is, based on tradition. The second group consisted of mental sciences—'*gakliya*'. In their turn, they were divided into '*arabiya*', related to the study of the Arabic language and '*khikmiya*'—sciences of the so-called 'human wisdom', that is, philosophical sciences [Velidi, 1998, p. 35].

All these sciences were studied under a certain scheme, on the basis of a century-immutable complex of manuals, which, according to J. Validi, 'almost acquired the authority of the Quran'. Each such textbook 'consisted of a combination of several books, however, not independent, but parallel or concentric. This stemmed from a unique, so to say, medieval book compilation system. The fact is that an expert or scientist put up a book briefly stating the basics of his science; then the followers of this scientist, in their turn, wrote their commentaries to this book. The first of these works was called '*maten*' (summary) in Arabic, and the second one—'*sharh*', that means a comment. The comment by itself did not constitute

an independent book, but was closely associated with the *maten* [Velidi, 1998, p. 35].

Sometimes the '*sharh*' had a comment to it—'*sharhi-sharh*' or '*khashiya*'—interpretation of individual places of the first two works. 'Thus, a short *maten* consisting of just ten pages could be expanded with all the commentaries to it up to a multi-volume book' [Velidi, 1998, p. 35]. It was assumed that in a madrasah, shakirds should study, that is, practically memorise, the main works with several major comments, and independently master the rest of the interpretation¹².

The training programme at a madrasah began with studying the morphology, grammar and vocabulary of the Arabic language. The most authoritative textbooks, which were widespread in Tatar madrasahs, included '*Enmuzezh*'—a grammatical and lexicographical work by famous Mahmud Zamakhshari (1075–1144) and '*Kafiya*' by Ibn al-Hajib (died in 1249) about the verse structure. Students had to learn about ten interpretations. When shakirds reached the '*Kafiya*', the programme included books on the Islamic law (*fiqh*), prosody (*gilm aruz*) and disputes (*munazara*). Typically, this was '*Mukhtasar el-vikaya*' by Gubaydulla Sadr al-Sharia (died in 1344)—a short course on the Islamic law, which was a summarised version of a large legal code. There were comments '*Zhamig eromuz*', '*Sherhe Vikaya*', etc.

The next stage consisted in studying logic (*mantyk*). The major textbooks included '*Isaguzhi*' by Hassan al-Kati (died in 1358), with commentaries called '*Sherhe Isaguzhi*' by

¹² A further description of items and ways of studying in madrasa is based on: Akhmerov Sh. Kazanskoe musul'manstvo (The Kazan Islam) // Gorodskoj i sel'skij uchitel'. Kazan, 1897. Edition 2; Validov J. Ocherk istorii obrazovannosti i literatury volzhskikh tatar (do revolyuczii 1917 goda) (Essay on the history of education and literature of the Tatars of the Volga Region (Before the revolution of 1917)). Kazan, 1998; Koblov J. Konfessional'nye shkoly kazanskikh tatar (Confessional schools of Kazan Tatars). Kazan, 1916; Khanykov N. Opisanie Bukharskogo khanstva (Description of Bukhara Khanate). Saint Petersburg, 1887; Madrasahs of Kazan 19—early 20th centuries: Collection of documents and materials. Kazan, 2007 and others.

Jamalutdin al-Suyuti (died in 1505), and 'Shemsiya' with commentaries called 'Sherhe Shemsiya', and 'Kheshiyai Qutbi'. Then they proceeded to the interpretation of Islamic dogmas (*kalam*). The main textbooks were the 'Gakaid' by Nazhmeddin Abu Hafs Umar Nasafi (1068–1142), with commentaries by Sagduddin Taftazani (1322–1389) called 'Sherhe Gakaid en-Nasafi'. Numerous interpretations to them were studied by shakirds independently. Further study of logic was based on a work by Taftazani, called 'Tehzyyb' with a lot of commentaries, with 'Sherhe Tehzyyb' by Jalyaleddin Davvani (1426–1501) being the main one. They also studied fiqh on the basis of 'Sherhe el-Vikaya' consisting of two sections: 'Vikayat er-Rivayat' by Mahmud Taj al-Sharia and commentaries thereto by Ubeydullah ibn Masgud Sadr al-Sharia (died in 1346), which was called 'Shørhe Vikayat er-Rivayat'.

Students then proceeded to studying 'Khikmet el-Gayn' by Najmeddin Umar al-Katibi (died in 1276). 'Gakaid el-Gazdiya' by Gizeddin al-Iji (died in 1355) was the next textbook on Kalam, with commentaries by Jalyaleddin Davvani, called 'Mullah Zhelyal', which, in its turn, had an interpretation by Khanakahi and commentaries called 'Tatimma', 'Kheshiyai Kelam' and many others. These basic textbooks could be supplemented by a number of secondary books on subjects related to 'Arabiya'—rhetoric, the rules of word harmony, speech construction, etc. After getting acquainted with these books, followed the third large book on fiqh—'Hidaya' by a well-known lawyer Burhaneddin Ali Marginani (died in 1197), with commentaries and an interpretation thereto called 'Kifaya', 'Nihaya', 'Feth el-Kadir', etc. At the same time, they began to study the foundations of fiqh according to the book 'Tenkyyh el-ysul' by Sadr al-Sharia with his own interpretation called 'Teuzyyh el-ysul', a series of commentaries by Taftazani, etc.

At the last stage they began to study *hadihs*—the sayings of Prophet Muhammad and legends about his life. The main source was 'Mishkyat esh-Sherif', with an interpretation called 'Mirkat'. A special role was played

by the so-called science of division of inheritance—'*Gyylme Feraiz*', which is essentially one of fiqh sections taught as an independent subject. Simultaneously, they studied the rules of reading the Quran—'*Gyylme Kyraet*', arithmetic—'*Gyylme Hisab*'. The course taught in a madrasah was completed with studying the interpretation of the Quran according to the textbook 'Tefsir' by Baydavi Nasreddin Abdullah ibn Umar (died in 1286) with a lot of commentaries.

In total, the course could include more than a hundred of books written by outstanding experts in various fields of Islamic sciences, who lived and worked mainly in the 11–15th centuries. A full training course in a madrasah had no defined term: 'Students live and study in a madrasah as long as the teacher or they consider themselves as knowing the course of Islamic sciences, ten or more years' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 150, file 420, s. 13].

Of course, a systematic study of these scholastic sciences required a lot of time, and shakirds usually finished their studies and took the position of a mullah at the age of 30–35 years. However, only few people could afford studying in a madrasah for such a long time. Studying the morphology and the syntax of the Arabic language, logic, kalam, jurisprudence and the fundamentals of Sharia was considered the most important. Therefore, many shakirds, having mastered these 5–6 courses, considered themselves well prepared for spiritual activities. This was also confirmed by Gabdulla Bubi in the 1870s–1880s, who studied in a madrasah of his father, '...many shakirds did not reach the middle of the training course or even did not go beyond the introduction' [Buby, s. 18]. A significant number of shakirds graduated from the madrasah having studied there for 5–6 years. Thus, in 1896, out of 200 students studying in the first madrasah of Sterlitimak Mosque, 63 (31.5%) studied during the first year, 32 (16%)—the second, 30 (15%)—the third, 23 (11.5%)—the fourth, 26 (13%)—the fifth, 16 (8%)—the sixth, 6 (3%)—seventh, and 4 (2%)—more than 7 years [Farkhshatov, 1994, p. 70]. Thus, 9 of 10 shakirds, who start-



Marjania Madrasah
in Kazan. 2nd half
of the 19th century
Modern-day 4,
Z. Sultan Street.
Photo, 2010

ed studying in a madrasah, finished their studies in the first 5 years.

A traditionally used method of teaching in a madrasah was as follows: 'Taking a book in any branch of science created several centuries ago, and almost always in Arabic, a mudarris translates the Arabic text and provides all kinds of text comments taken from similar old books, standing in front of his audience sitting in front of him in a semicircle, on their knees. It is not allowed to express a personal view, nor develop issues in a way other than in the commentary' [Akhmerov, 1897, p. 77].

J. Velidi described the learning process in a madrasah in the following way: 'Every madrasah had several halfas, each of whom had his own students belonging only to him... Halfa gave lessons in the following way: he invited all students of the same level for a certain time, and at first asked them the previous lessons... After that, he began teaching a new lesson, which had to be attended by students of senior levels in order to repeat their previous lessons or, by virtue of their duty, to help their junior comrades in studying lessons' [Velidi, 1998, p. 38].

A mudarris gave lessons for senior shakirds. 'Students of all halfas attended his lectures; he did not question the students and rarely checked their knowledge. One of the students read a book, and in a few words (and sometimes even with each word), the mudarris interrupted him and began to sedately explain the meaning of what he had read and

sometimes got so inspired that could deliver a whole lecture regarding only one word... Students had the right to interrupt the lecture and oppose anything said by the mudarris; another student had to respond to this objection; but that who objected was not satisfied with his answer and objected again. Thus, an academic contest started, in which other shakirds intervened, with none of them listening to his opponent; all of them interrupted each other from various sides, which led to such a chaos... 'Calm down,—the mudarris's imperious voice was heard,—calm down, you crazy, you have really gone mad, haven't you'—he said, being satisfied with the fact that his shakirds are able to show themselves, when necessary' [Velidi, 1998, p. 39].

Thus, shakirds moved to 'the sphere of higher concepts', and the student 'felt able to resolve issues of knowledge and being, and was aware, although vaguely, of the meaning of such issues'. Disputes, even though they were scholastic, worked out in shakirds the ability to think logically and to convincingly express their thoughts, that is, they demanded the 'application of full mental abilities'. The meanness of reasoning in the scholastic philosophy 'could not but promote the development of critical analysis, and a wide range of various scientific and philosophical concepts made it possible to more or less freely operate in the field of abstract thought' [Velidi, 1998, p. 42]. Contest disputes called '*munazara*' were arranged between shakirds or dif-

Table 48

Bubi and Marjani Madrasah Programmes

Disciplines	Textbooks used in madrasah Bubi	Textbooks used in madrasah Marjani
Arabic Morphology	Bidan, Sharkhe Gabdulla	Sharkhe Mulla
Syntax	Kavagiyd, Gavamil, Anmyzaj, Mula Jami	Kafiya
Logic	Isaguji, Shamsiyai Mirsaid, Sullam kazi	Shamsiya, Sharkhe Takhziyb al-mantiyk, Sullam al-golum
Kalam	Gakaid, Mulla Jalal, Akhun Yosyf	Mulla Jalal, Takhziyb al-kalam, Sharkhe Gakaid Nasafi
Oratory	Talkhis	Talkhis
Law Studies	Mokhtasar, Khidaya	Mokhtasar al-vikaya, Khidaya
Fundamentals of Sharia	Zabdat al-asrar, Tauziykh, Talvikh	Tauziykh
Ethics	Gayna al-giylm, Tarikai Mahammadiya	Gayna al-giylm, Tarikai Mahammadiya
Hadith	Mishkyat al-masabikh, Sakhikh al-Bokhari	Mishkyat al-masabikh
Ancient Philosophy		Khikmat al-gayn
Tafsir	Kazyi Bayzavi	
Rules of Heritage	Siraziya	Faraiz
Counting	Kholasat al-khisab	

ferent halfas and even different madrasahs. While in the era of the education system revival, the majority of madrasahs were founded by the Tatars who had received education in Islamic countries abroad, in the middle of the latter half of the 19th century, graduates of actual Tatar madrasahs became founders and leaders of madrasahs more often. At the same time, the volume of the subjects taught was approximately the same. They were famous madrasahs named after their leader and mentor. If a mudarris proved to be a competent teacher, who knew how to engage his students in their studies, develop a persistent pursuit of knowledge in them, his fame spread rapidly, leading to an increase in the number of his students, who came to him from everywhere. This was the case in both rural and urban madrasahs. Naturally, the madrasahs, whose leaders-mudarrises seriously treated their obligation of teaching the youth, became famous.

Such leaders included Sh. Marjani, who studied in Bukhara and created his own madrasah in Kazan. 'Marjani taught very carefully, paying great attention to his lessons, and spent a lot of time in the madrasah',—Sh. Sharaf, his biographer, noted [Marjani, 2010, b.94].

Such leaders also included Gabdulgallyam Nigmatullin, who studied in local madrasahs and in 1857 recreated a madrasah in Izh-Bubi village of Sarapul Uyezd of Vyatka Guberniya 'While shakirds of many madrasahs were forced to content themselves with one lesson in two or three days or even in a week, our father did not deprive his shakirds of daily lessons,—his son Gabdullah Bubi noted.—For no reason he would miss his five-time prayers in a mosque, but never forced shakirds and even us (his sons) to visit a mosque. He taught lessons from half past nine to twelve in the morning, and from two to five in the afternoon, and in winter, when days were short, he went to his

madrasah after the evening prayer and taught lessons to shakirds up to nine or ten o'clock' [Buby, s. 18].

The comparison of subjects (books) studied in Kazan madrasah of Sh. Marjani and the rural madrasah of Gabdulgallyam Hazrat, who worked at the same time—in the 50–80s, demonstrates the similarity of subjects in these madrasahs (Table 48) [Makhmutova, 2003, p. 40].

Despite some differences in names, it can be argued that both madrasahs used the same books (for example, 'Sherhe Gabdulla' and 'Sherhe Mullah', 'Sullyam Kazi' and 'Sullyam el-Golum', etc.). Names of the textbooks show that these madrasahs used quite authoritative books of medieval authors that were widespread in Tatar madrasahs. Both hazrats adhered to a traditional training method, which undoubtedly was of a scholastic nature. Social consciousness of the Tatars, which was part of Muslim traditions, did not allow opposing the bases of education. Even Sh. Marjani, who understood the need to improve Tatar madrasahs, could not overcome the resistance of both shakirds and the society. Sh. Sharaf expressed a concern, 'For some reason, hazrat Marjani, having criticised the teaching methods in Bukhara and having shown them the ways of transformation, including writing special books about it, did not manage to streamline his own madrasah and his lessons' [Marjani, 2010, b.112–, 113]. However, he further explained, 'Hazrat Marjani expressed a concern that his thoughts about the need of change remained unnoticed, and that he had just a few helpers in the implementation of his ideas. He sometimes complained, "Trying to be like all madrasahs—Kyshkar, Buinsk, Kazan—[shakirds and halfas.—*A.M.*] destroyed my madrasah. They destroyed all the plans as to the lessons, which I had worked out in Bukhara. They waste their lives. They do not teach the necessary things. But nothing can be done; we live in such a time. I would teach none of these [scholastic sciences—*A.M.*]", thus, clearly explaining his dissatisfaction with the training procedure. However, irrespective of his dissatisfaction, he taught as he was forced by the time' [Märcani, 2010 b.115].

Progressive-minded mudarrises and their assistants—teachers (halfas and mugallims) started to more clearly understand the need of changes, and could not get reconciled with the reign of scholasticism. The richest and well-equipped Sterlibash madrasah in Ufa guberniya became particularly famous in this field. There was a garden, a water supply system, and a rich library. His mudarrises Haris and Harras and Biktimirovs (Tukaevs) and then the son of Haris, Habibullah Tukaev, had a profound theological education, spoke oriental languages, were interested in poetry and literature [Märcani, 1989, b.254, Tukaev, 1899, pp. 8–9]. They not only maintained a high standard of education at that time, but also introduced some changes into the process of studying. Thus, already in 1869, Hazrat Haris introduced a course of the Russian language into the educational curriculum. He believed that 'knowledge of the Russian language, which is a state language, is obligatory for Russian Muslims' [Fakhretdin, 1909, b.506].

Missionary N. Ilminsky noticed the great popularity of the Sterlibash Madrasah among Muslims and reported to K. Pobedonostsev, the Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod: 'Sterlibash Madrasah, like a strong underground root, provides support and strength to various Mohammedan movements' [Pis'ma, 1895, p. 142]. The then future academician V. Bartold, who visited this madrasah in the early 20th century, called it 'one of the living centres of Islamic science in Russia' [Farkhshatov, 1994, p. 59].

Tukaevs attracted talented, highly educated teachers to work in their madrasah. Such poets as Sh. Zaki and G. Chokry successfully worked there. They also invited a brother of Gabdulgallyam Nigmatullin, hazrat Gabdulla (1838–1884), who, after graduating from his brother's madrasah, improved his knowledge in Istanbul, Hijaz, Beirut, and Cairo for seven years, where the education reform had been already unfolded. Apparently, hazrat Gabdulla had a critical opinion regarding the traditional Tatar education system and tried to do his best to improve it.

G. Bubi reported as follows regarding the views of hazrat Gabdulla and the subjects taught by him in the madrasah, 'In Sterlibash, he even tried to teach geography, a subject that had never been taught by our Tatar damellas at that time, and the name of which had not been known to them. In addition, he did not teach the morphology and the syntax of the Arabic language in the Persian language, as it was taught in all madrasahs, but taught in Tartar, thus making a big step towards reforming the method of teaching the Arabic language. A book by uncle Gabdulla on the Arabic morphology and syntax written in the Tatar language is now lying in front of me. However, it is not like the books written in the present times. But what work can be perfectly correct at the very beginning? No educated person would agree to call teaching Arabic morphology and syntax a minor business that does not require a lot of courage, at a time when Tatar mullahs called geography prohibited, considered writing in Tartar as a great offense, and deemed learning Arabic grammar mandatory for all.... I remember uncle Gabdulla: he was a big man with a big beard, very soft and very patient. When he came to visit us, he always had a book or a pencil in his hands, always read books, or wrote' [Buby, s. 6–7]. Hazrat Gabdulla left seven written, but unpublished books, including several commentaries to books on theology, full rules of Arabic grammar and Arabic syntax in Tatar [Makhmutova, 2003, pp. 42–45].

In general, it can be said that there were famous madrasahs not only in Kazan, Orenburg and Ufa Governorates, but also in every region, where Tatar Muslims compactly lived. As a rule, they were opened on the initiative of education devotees, the most educated mullahs, who received a teacher's title of mudarris in the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly. Let us take a madrasah in Kasimov of Ryazan guberniya as an example. It was founded in 1808 on the initiative of Abdulvahkhut Davlikamov, an imam-khatib of the Khan's Mosque (?–1855), with financial support of rich parishioners, such as Shakulovs, Maksudovs, Davletkildeevs, etc. The madrasah was

successful and prosperous thanks to the financial support of Kasimov merchants and the activities of an imam and mudarris dynasty of Davlikamovs, who headed this institution for more than a century. The madrasah was particularly successful when it was headed by Fazlullah Davlikamov (?–1866), who became the second imam and mudarris in 1827.

In 1847, there were three departments in the madrasah: the first—Turkic one—was attended by 27 people, who studied the alphabet, the basics of the faith, the Quran and the Sharia; the second—Arabic one—was attended by 23 shakirds, who studied sciences associated with the Arabic language; the third one, called 'Persian', provided a course of the history of Islam, the history of prophets, interpretation of the Quran, geography and other subjects (6 students). A small number of students were apparently explained by the fact that the madrasah was located in the Davlikamov's house at first. Most of the shakirds were from Tatar villages of Moscow, Ryazan, Tambov, Penza and Simbirsk guberniyas. At the turn of the 19–20th centuries, Davlikamovs continued to remain faithful to orthodox traditions of the Kasimov theological school, and did not yield to the new trends [Salikhov, 2006, pp. 171–175].

By the end of the 19th century, there were already many mullahs, who realised the need for change. Some of them had a critical view as to the school scholasticism coming from Bukhara, which reflected the changes in their world outlook under the influence of social and economic changes in the post-reform Russia, a spread of rationalistic and enlightenment ideas of G. Kursavi, G. Utyz Imyani, Sh. Marjani, K. Nasyri, Kh. Faizkhanov and under the influence of changes, which began in the Islamic world. The 'sacred' Bukhara ceased to be a symbol of education for them. Senator M. Kovalevsky, who visited Kazan, Orenburg and Ufa guberniyas in 1881, noted, 'For the local Muslims... Bukhara has lost its charm, having been replaced by Constantinople, and especially Cairo' [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 6, file 785, s. 5, reverse].

Followers of Tatar enlighteners were characterised by their desire to expand the tradi-



Newspaper 'Tärjeman' ('Translator'). 1885.

tional curriculum of Islamic schools, erudition, love to classical eastern literature, history and philosophy. Their fame did not spread far beyond their region, but they were the predecessors of the future generation of reformers, who prepared a foundation for their appearance, but most importantly—created conditions for their development.

New-Method Education. In the post-reform period, when there was broad modernisation in Russia, conditions for progressive changes in all spheres of spiritual and material life began to form in the Tatar society. Although the actual content of the forthcoming transformation was mostly unclear, in the middle of the 19th century there was a desire to critically review the traditional, Islam-consecrated values that seemed unshakable to the previous generations and the majority of contemporaries. The ideas of Sh. Marjani, K. Nasyri, Kh. Faizkhanov, where a significant role was played by the idea of obligatory transformation of traditional Islamic educa-

tional institutions, found more and more supporters. They had already tried to partially start the restructuring of the education system, but the attempts to reorganise traditional madrasahs undertaken in the 60s–70s failed, because social forces interested in the changes were just being formed at that time.

The need for the cultural and spiritual renewal of the Tatar society, indigenous changes that objectively reflected the bourgeois development trends, started to be realised by its best representatives as an urgent task requiring a solution in the 70s–80s, when a large Tatar commercial and industrial capital started to form. Its brightest representatives financially and spiritually supported the idea of 'European-like' education. The most active participants in the implementation of the ideas of reorganising the Islamic school included brothers Khusainovs, merchants and manufacturers from Orenburg. They were followed by Galeevs, Aitovs, Apanayevs from Kazan, Yaushevs from Troitsk, Rameevs from Orsk, Akchurins from Simbirsk,

etc. Their charitable and educational activities aimed at such reorganisation played a positive role in awakening the national consciousness.

The main participants and ideologues of the movement for transforming confessional schools included progressive mullahs-mudarises, mugallim teachers, writers, and public figures. They were united by a desire for freedom of thought, progress and humanism, intolerance to medieval scholasticism and dogmatics, a belief in a culturological mission of the renewed Islam, education and the power of knowledge, the desire to overcome the backwardness of the Tatar people and equate them with the most advanced peoples of the world, conviction of the national narrow-mindedness and religious estrangement, promotion of broad cultural contacts with other peoples.

A major role in realisation of the urgent problems faced by the Tatar community was played by the activities of I. Gasprinsky. This outstanding Crimean and Tatar public figure and educator belonged to those intellectuals who were the first to recognise the need for extensive reforms in the public and political life of Muslims. 'We believe that the essence of the transformation should consist in the introduction of elementary, general subjects in the Tatar language in the madrasah curriculum (a limited course on geography, history, science, arithmetic and planimetry, basics of pedagogy and brief Russian jurisprudence),—he wrote in 1881,—...In eleven years, Russian Muslims would have developed clergy and educated ulems instead of the current, ignorant clergy; well-trained and developed teachers instead of the current blunt teachers (khojas)... Thus universal, humane ideas and knowledge... would quickly penetrate into the masses. Once awakened curiosity would provoke a conscious desire among the Tatars to receive education' [Gasprinsky, 2006, p. 82].

In 1883, I. Gasprinsky began to publish the *Terzheman* newspaper ('Translator') in the Russian and Tatar languages in Bakhchysaray (Crimea), which became a mouthpiece of enlightenment ideas in the entire Turkic world. The main objective of the newspaper was 'to awaken and renew the outlook of Russian Muslims' [Tärceman, 1890, 31 December].

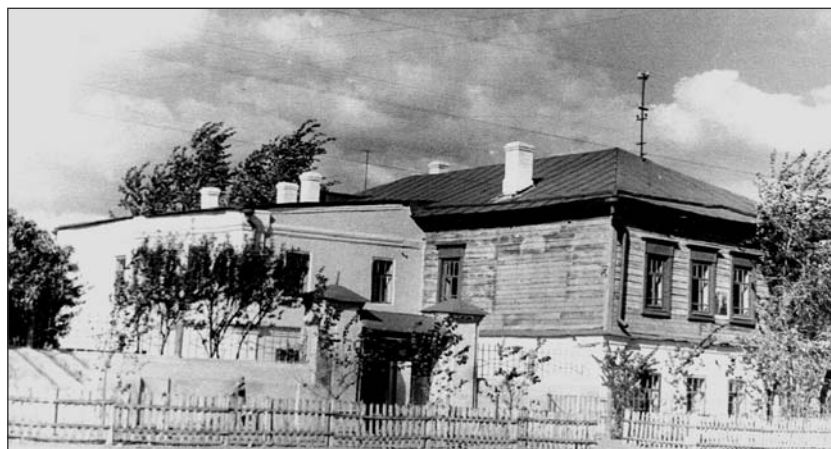
The educator decided to start these transformations with a reform of the primary Islamic school. It was based on the 'ysule jadid' (the new method). 'The new method' of I. Gasprinsky first of all included a phonetic method of studying a language and introduction into the curriculum of primary Islamic schools of the foundations of general (secular) subjects, such as arithmetic, geography, history, etc., which had not been previously included in the curriculum. It was intended to supersede the 'ysule kadim' (the old method), based on a cumbersome alphabetic method and cramming of religious texts in Arabic, a kind of 'Latin' for Muslims.

A special role in spreading of the phonetic method was played by a primer composed and published by I. Gasprinsky in 1884 and called 'Khuzhai Syybyan' ('Teacher for Children'). This was a manual 'with samples of writing and instructions how to teach under the new method', which was constantly advertised in the newspaper. For example, the author of an article 'New maktab', propagandising the manual, emphasised, 'We do not doubt that children will acquire the skills of reading, writing and counting in Tatar, reading the Quran, and will know the basics of faith and theological rules in nine months' [Tärceman, 1890, 23 November].

'The active social activity of Ismail Gasprinsky, his undoubted achievements in publishing and educational business fall within an epoch, when Muslim and Turkic peoples of Russia, including us, the Tatars, having began to liberate from a social stagnation, a state of slow and closed thinking, quickly reached incomparable success in education, various areas of spiritual culture and, most importantly, in a rapid growth of the national liberation consciousness formed at that time', academician M. Usmanov noted, 'while a sound basis for these changes was created by the maturity of intellectual needs of these people, ideas and thoughts of Gasprinsky constituted a strong spiritual force uniting scattered attempts and directing them to the right path' [Gosmanov, 2001, p. 164].

So, the end of the 80s–90s was a time, when the seeds sown by I. Gasprinsky started to

Rasuliya Madrasah
in Troitsk.
Photo from the middle
of the 20th century.



sprout: new primary schools appeared in various territories of Russia, where Muslims lived. It happened everywhere in a similar way: a young mullah-mudarris, having decided to follow I. Gasprinsky's call, personally or through a student sent to Bakhchysaray, directly or indirectly, got acquainted with the teaching rules in his model primary school and created his own new-method school. In this case, not only the teaching method was changed. The purpose, the internal organisation, the content of education and training, the role and place of school in the social and cultural sphere were changed as well. This time can be called an initial stage of a bourgeois reform of archaic Islamic schools, their transformation into national educational institutions, a beginning of the formation of a secular education system.

A special energy and interest in the progress of the nation was shown by brothers Ahmed and Gabdelgani Khusainovs, who intrinsically headed the business of restructuring Islamic schools in the inner Russia. On the initiative and with the financial support of brothers Khusainovs, about 100 men and 20 women new-method primary schools were founded in the period from 1893 to 1902.

The name of G. Khusainov is associated with the appearance of a completely new phenomenon in the Tatar society—three-month teachers' courses. In 1899–1901, at the 9th cathedral Kargaly mosque built at Khusainovs' expense, all-Russian summer courses were organised, where teachers were trained for teaching at new-method schools. Here they

studied the Turkic (Tatar) grammar and syntax, the Quran and theology, mathematics, history, geography, basics of pedagogy and education. In 1899–60, in 1900–70, in 1901–80 mullims¹³ attended the courses; G. Khusainov undertook not only all the costs of the courses. He paid the travel expenses, food and accommodation of the students, was engaged in employment distributing them to various regions of the Russian Empire, monitored the effectiveness of their teaching activities, and paid salaries to them [Şäräf, 1913, b.19–21, 24, 72–73, 132–156, etc.]. This was the beginning of the preparation of the teaching staff to reform schools in central Russia.

The new-method primary school providing only a primary level of training set a task to the Tatar society to continue reforms in the education system. Acquaintance with Russian, European and Turkish education systems, as well as with the ideas of Jamal al-Din Afghani, Muhammad Abduh and other modernisers of Islam made the advanced representatives of the Tatar society understand the need to transform the school system under European standards, but using centuries-old traditions of the Tatar Islamic school. Thus, there appeared the idea of new-method madrasahs. In the 90s, such madrasahs as 'Khusainiya' in Orenburg, 'Muhammadiya' and 'Kasimiya' in Kazan, 'Rasuliya' in Troitsk, 'Usmaniya' in

¹³ They represented the Orenburg, Vyatka, Kazan, Nizhny Novgorod, Perm, Penza, Samara, Simbirsk, Saratov, Tobolsk, Ufa guberniyas, and Dagestan.

Ufa, Bubi in Viatka guberniya, etc. started to implement a reform. Making the first steps on a new path, they reviewed the primary education at first. The madrasah generally remained traditional, not differing from an old kadimist madrasah. It was not clear, what madrasahs would become in the nearest future, when the first generation of students studying in primary schools would graduate.

Therefore, first changes in madrasahs were external: there was a transition to the class-lesson system; they introduced a schedule of lessons, and exams at the end of a school year. The subjects studied still included the etymology and syntax of the Arabic language, logic, dogmatic, Islamic law and ethics. There were few general subjects, they were of auxiliary nature and had to serve to the better understanding and mastering of the doctrine. To reform the madrasah, there was neither ready curriculum, nor a list of subjects or textbooks. There were no subject teachers, who would be prepared to teach general subjects that were new for madrasahs or even to teach theological sciences under the new conditions. Leaders of the new-method madrasahs 'intuitively made their way in the jungle' of scholasticism and dogmatism that were established in traditional madrasahs. Let us briefly discuss three of the most successful madrasahs.

Brothers Ahmed and Gabdelgani Khusainovs were the first to create a new-type madrasah, they realised the need of the society in developing education, crafts and sciences, which were necessary for its development in the bourgeois conditions. Although the madrasah at the 6th Orenburg mosque constructed by the brothers had operated since 1889, the Khusainiya Madrasah was officially opened on 1 January 1891 in a specially purchased two-story stone building. In autumn of 1906, the new building of the madrasah was opened.



Shakirds of the Muhammadiya madrasah. Photo from the early 20th century.

In a three-storyed stone building with water heating and electricity, there were classrooms, a library, a hospital, a boarding school and a dining hall. It was adjoined by the mosque, an imam's house, a two-storyed house for teachers and servants [Vakyt, 1906, No. 25, 13 May].

The creators of the Khusainiya Madrasah faced organisational challenges at the very beginning: first, those were connected with a lack of personnel, who would create curricula and teach shakirds new subjects. There were no textbooks corresponding to the requirements of the time. All these began to appear only in the late 90s, when young people studying in Istanbul and Cairo returned, and Khusainovs tried to attract them to work in their madrasah. However, the curricula and the programmes created by them for the Khusainiya Madrasah were not stable, they were constantly changed, with some subjects replaced by others, and the ratio of academic hours changing. When the brothers died, leaders of the madrasah still continued to work on improving education programmes and curricula.

Writer G. İsaqiy, who taught the Russian language, the basics of the natural science and other subjects in this madrasah in 1902/03 academic year after his graduation from Kazan Tatar Teachers' School account, replied to this event in a newspaper called 'Tan Yoldyzy' ('Morning Star', Kazan) with his two articles. 'In terms of its schedule and availabil-



Galimdzhan
Barudi.
Photo,
1906.

ity of rules, the Khusainiya Madrasah is the first among our Tatar madrasahs. Shakirds sit at their desks there, and teachers receive remuneration for their work. Judging by the programmes, a lot of subjects are taught there. However, over the 15 years of its existence, this madrasah has served people very little, has hardly helped people to treat their diseases. Although much more funds are spent on it as compared with other madrasahs, the results hardly surpass that of the old madrasahs',—he wrote [Tañ yoldızı, 1906, 10 August].

Frequent rotation of mugallim teachers and absence of qualified professionals to replace them led to the fact that 150 people worked there over 25 years of its existence, which could hardly contribute to the creation of a stably operating school.

Muhammadiy in Kazan is another well-known new-method madrasah, and it also passed many stages of its development.

In the middle of August of 1882, a 25-year-old Galimjan Galeev (Barudi) returned to Kazan after seven years of studies in Bukhara. In an article devoted to the 25th anniversary of the beginning of G. Barudi's activities, Yu. Akchura indicated that in the first years, the mudarris, who founded the madrasah, attempted to introduce changes in the traditional way of teaching, paying great attention to teaching theological sciences and sciences related to the Arabic language. 'But after that, realising that a reform was impossible without reforming the

maktab, he started to teach in accordance with the new method in 1309 on the day of Mawlide (Prophet Muhammad's birthday, falls 4 October 1890—*A.M.*' [Akchura, 1998, p. 58].

The Muhammadiya Madrasah existed for 35 years. The period of its activities can be divided into 5 stages:

Stage 1—1882–1889—the time of formation of a madrasah of a young mullah, when Galimjan Galeev (Barudi) gathered students and tried to introduce changes into the old, traditional teaching method. A building for the madrasah was constructed, and a solid material base for the educational institution was created.

Stage 2—1890–1904—the primary new-method school appeared and got stronger, but the madrasah itself still remained a traditional theological educational institution, which caused dissatisfaction among shakirds wishing to continue changes in the madrasah.

During this period, G. Barudi developed as a theologian and reformer, a mudarris and public figure, one of the leaders of the emerging Jadid movement. The desire to awaken the Tatar society, which was in a state of medieval stagnation and closedness demanded incredible strength, courage, firmness and undertakings in many spheres from his ideologists. Thus, the new teaching method required new textbooks. G. Barudi, as well as other leaders of Jadid schools started to create new textbooks. Already in 1890, he published 'Gyylme et-Teuhid' ('Doctrine of Monotheism'), in 1891—an ABC book 'Sevadhan' ('Diligent Student'), a textbook on arithmetic 'Nemunei Hisab' ('Examples of Counting'). This work was continued by G. Barudi thereafter. Only in the 1890s he wrote and published more than 10 textbooks. These textbooks were repeatedly reprinted in thousands of copies and were widely used in Jadid schools before the appearance of Soviet textbooks.

Naturally, not only the maktab (lower grades), but also the madrasah itself (middle and senior school) required changes. And G. Barudi, as well as the leaders of Khusainiya in Orenburg and Izh-Bubi in Vyatka Guberniya, had to search for their own methods, their own

ways for education reforming. In the late 19th century, he carefully began to put the educational programme of the madrasah in order, trying to free theology from scholasticism. In the same period, G. Barudi was also occupied with construction, as the madrasah had burnt down during the Great Fire in 1898.

In the early 20th century, the disapproval of G. Barudi's activities grew. The majority of the Tatar community disapproved of his novelties, while the shakirds who had tasted new knowledge began to demand including secular disciplines and the philosophy of the religion into the educational process.

The third stage—from 1904/05 to 1908—was characterised by great changes in the Muhammadiya Madrasah.

The Tatar national movement developed under the circumstances of the beginning revolution. It was partly formed by the shakird movement for madrasah reforming, and the initiators were the shakirds of Muhammadiya. Due to their demands, the educational system in the madrasah altered in a core way. New secular disciplines were included into the programme, the changes dealt with theological disciplines as well. To introduce new disciplines, skilled mugallim teachers, were needed. In 1905–1906 about 20 mugallims taught in the madrasah. The majority of them had been G. Barudi's shakirds. Such public persons as Yusuf Akchura (Political History), lawyer Saidgarai Alkin (Law), doctor Abubekr Terkulov (Hygiene), Fatikh Amirkhan (History of Political Parties, Geography) and others were also involved in the madrasah. So, new disciplines and teachers had appeared, but the timetables and programmes were still unstable. The disciplines and mugallims were constantly changed (the disciplines of the madrasah in that period will be discussed later, in comparison with the timetables of Bubi's madrasah). The fourth stage—1908–1912—was the time of G. Barudi's absence, when he had been sent out of Kazan, and his brother Gabdrakhman Galeev and mugallim Ahmetzyan Mustafin, in fact, only preserved his achievements in the new-method madrasah forming. On returning to Kazan in 1910, G. Barudi began to seek

the permission to resume his imam, mudarris and editor activities. It was only in January 1912 that he was allowed to resume teaching in the madrasah, and in December—in the journal. During the fifth stage—1913–1918—the Muhammadiya Madrasah flourished, and became the alma mater of Tatar intellectuals along with the Galiya Madrasah in Ufa and Khusainiya in Orenburg. In those years considerable changes took place in the madrasah. Since 1913–1914 the madrasah had worked on the basis of a new, constant programme. That programme implies that the madrasah encompassed a preparative year; primary and secondary schools, each taking six years; and three years of high school; so the full madrasah course lasted 16 years. And that programme let us call it a Tatar university [Mäxmutova, 2012, b.64–76].

However, the mentioned period is beyond the given Volume, so we will proceed to the third Jadid madrasah famous in the early 20th century, that is the madrasah in Izh-Bubi village of Vyatka Guberniya. The changes here from the very beginning differed from the changes in other madrasahs, if we talk about their extent and volume, despite the much pitier finance and personnel opportunities than in towns. We can say that the Bubi brothers who followed the path of reforming a little bit later, in 1895, not only had equaled to their predecessors very soon, but had also become pioneers in many education reforms.

Probably thanks to Gubaidulla Bubi, who had received a secular European education in Turkey, the brothers were more accurate than other Jadid mudarrisses to define how and where it would be better to proceed. The brothers' attempts were supported by their father, a respected in the area imam and mudarris, whose knowledge, infallibility and almost sanctity were indisputable for the population of the region. The Bubi brothers were much braver and much more decisive in achieving their goal, having taken as an ideal the Turkish gymnasium reformed in the French style—the one Gubaidulla had graduated from. Being full of enthusiasm and knowledge about the madrasah reorganisation in the European

(Turkish) way, the brothers began making their village a centre of secular male and, a bit later, female education [Makhmutova, 2003, pp. 66–95].

The primary school was opened in a specially built edifice, and each of the four classes had its own teacher. In the same year, an educational scheme was worked out for it, which was a completely new, earlier unknown phenomenon¹⁴. The major part of the time was devoted to disciplines of general education (62 hours out of 98 per week, that is the 63% of the timetable).

The reforms dealt with religion studies as well. In a traditional school, after learning the Arabic alphabet and all possible combinations of letters mechanically, they passed to an equally mechanic reading of the Quran in the unknown to students Arabic language; at the same time, students were not taught the rules of how to read the Sacred Book. Now, special hours had been defined for it. The reformer himself described the results of such a step as follows: 'For none of the old madrasahs, including ours, taught the reading of the Quran, shakirds preparing to become mullahs lacked even the knowledge needed to read salah in the right way. That was why none of the mullahs at first believed that eleven- and twelve-year-old boys would know how to read the Quran in the right way. Only afterwards, during the examination, were they astonished and could not but admit that 'the new method seems to have good points, too' [Buby, 1913, s. 26].

Having launched a primary Jadid school for boys in 1895–1896, the brothers began to create a female school and to reform senior classes (of the male madrasah): 'The Arabic department was also reformed little by little¹⁵.

¹⁴ It included phonics, reading, and writing in the Tatar (Turkics) language, four operations of arithmetic, basis of religion and the Quran, geography, the history of the Prophets and Islam. The duration of the teaching (4 years) was determined, as were the number of lessons per week (24 lessons in the 1st and 2nd classes and 25 in the 3rd and 4th), the subjects to be studied and the number of lessons in them.

¹⁵ It was called a madrasah because subjects related to the study of the Arabic language formed the basis for education, in some form or other, in the higher classes.

In the essence, it was impossible, even scaring, to make changes into Arabic departments at once,—G. Bubi explained.—For it would have been difficult to make shakirds learn the new order at once, as they were used to the old and had seen nothing except their old school. It would have been especially difficult to make their fathers accept the novelties, as they thought everything old to be sacred. If all the novelties had been introduced simultaneously, the mullahs' sons could have just left the place. So, two our halfas have abandoned the madrasah because of the new order in the primary school. That was why we had to act discreetly, in no hurry' [Buby, 1913, s. 23].

The madrasah reforming took seven years. By 1902–1903, Izh-Bubi village had become a cradle of male and female teachers, a centre of new-method schools and new intellectuals in general. In 1907, the Bubi brothers worked out a new programme for the male madrasah which definitely showed the secular development of the educational complex. The Bubi educational complex went on perfecting further. However, it was destroyed by the government in 1911, and the Bubi brothers were put on trial for the creation of a secular educational institution [Makhmutova, 2003, pp. 231–362].

Table 49 compares week timetables of the Bubi (1907) and Muhammadiya (1906) madrasahs. Both madrasahs initially implied six-year studies (the educational period was supposed to be later extended up to 8–10 years). To become shakirds of those madrasahs one had to first finish a four-year new method primary school or to pass the corresponding exams, so, at the given stage, both madrasahs implied ten-year studies [Makhmutova, 2003, p. 171].

Both madrasahs payed special attention to secular disciplines. But we can see differences in arranging the disciplines. In the Bubi Madrasah 25% of the timetable was devoted to natural sciences and maths (46 hours out of the total 179). And in the Muhammadiya Madrasah much less time was meant for such disciplines (18 out of 130), moreover, they were not very diverse. A great amount of hours devoted to the Russian language in Bubi (72

Table 49

The hourly schedule for a week in the Izh-Bubi and Muhammadiya madrasah

Disciplines	Izh-Bubi							'Muhammadiya'						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Arabic	3	3	3	3	2	2	16		7	7	7	8	4	33
Turkic (Tatar)	3	1					4	6	3	3	2			14
Persian	1	1	1				3							
Geography	2	2					4	1	2	2	2	2		8
General History		2	2	2	2	2	10	1	1	1	1	2		6
Ethics	1	1	2	1			5	1	1	1	1			4
Logic			1				1						2	2
Arithmetic	4	4	4				12	2	2	2	2	2		10
Algebra				2	2	1	5							
Geometry				2	2	2	6		1	1	1	1		4
Physics	3	3	2				8							
Astronomy					2		2							
Natural Science				2	2	2	6	1	1	1	1			4
Zoology					1		1							
Botany						1	1							
Chemistry					2	2	4							
Minerology						1	1							
Oratory						1	1					2		2
Muslim Law		1	1	1	1	1	5					3		3
Dogmatics (kalam)				2	1	1	4	1	1	2	3		2	9
Art of Discussion		1	1	1			3							
Calligraphy	1	1	1				3	2	1	1	1	1		6
Hygiene					1	1	2	1	1					2
Russian	12	12	12	12	12	12	72	Studied in Russian-Tatar schools						
Quran and Interpretation of the Quran								3	2	2	1		3	11
Hadith								1				2	3	6
Pedagogy													2	2
Law													1	1
Political History													1	1
History of Philosophy													1	1
Economics													1	1
Total (hours)	30	32	30	28	28	31	179	20	23	23	22	22	20	130

hours or more than a third of the total timetable) dealt not only with the aspiration for giving the shakirds a good knowledge of it, but also with the fact that those were hours of the Zemstvo Russian-Tatar school, specially financed by Sarapul Uyezd Zemstvo. In the same way, we can explain the lack of hours devoted to the Russian language in the Kazan madrasah, for shakirds studied it in a separate Russian-Tatar school.

There was a considerable difference in hours defined for theological subjects: 26 hours in Muhammadiya, and only 4 hours in the Bubi Madrasah. However, we can also include the Muslim Law and its Methodology (5 hours), Eloquence (1) and Dispute Arts (3) here. Although those disciplines could be called theological, they gave at the same time the knowledge needed not only for clerics, but for educated people in general. We can probably explain the few hours devoted to theology in the Bubi Madrasah by the fact that fundamental studies of the Quran, of its reading orthoepical rules (*tajweed*) and melodic (*maqam*) were provided by the primary school programme. Besides, the complete course of the Bubi Madrasah was to encompass eight years.

The comparison of the two madrasahs' programmes shows how differently the Bubi brothers and G. Barudi viewed the goals of the Tatar education system reforming. While the former intended to create an educational institution for national secular intellectuals, the latter viewed his madrasah as an educational institution that, first of all, trained theological scientists. So we believe this is how it should be explained why so many hours were devoted to religious disciplines and the Arabic language in the Kazan madrasah. Of course, the difference in the mudarrises' training also had its influence: The Bubi brothers enhanced traditional theological education in their father's madrasah with the European secular system, while G. Barudi had studied intricacies of Muslim sciences in Bukhara.

Female schools of a new type also appeared thanks to the new-methodists' activities. However, the few female new-method schools,

that had been opened almost simultaneously with the introduction of new reading and writing methods in male maktabas, gave elementary literacy at best, which was obviously not enough to prepare future 'mothers of the nation'. The majority of girls having studied the 'course' could only read certain religious and moral books, and they had learnt the necessary prayers by heart, which was revealed when public exams were established in such schools [Makhmutova, 2006, p. 127].

Matters stood similarly in female new-method schools of Magruiy Barudi, where reading had been taught by ear since 1891 in Kazan, and in Fatima Adamova's school in Orenburg, opened in 1897, in Galimatelbanat Biktimirova school in Yaubash village of Kasimov uyezd that appeared in the Mid-90s, in female schools of Simbirsk Governorate, opened thanks to the Akchurins' founding, and in others. In 1898, women (*abystai*) were even trained to teach by ear in Orenburg and Kargaly, which was financed by G. Khusainov. But, because of the low level of the women's education, 'the result was rather humble' [Şäräf, 1913, b.36, 111].

There was a need for an institution where girls aspiring for knowledge could get a real education. The Bubi brothers also got down to creating a female college to train *darelmugalimat* teachers in Izh-Bubi. A female four-year primary school was created at first. It was well-equipped having desks, boards, geographic maps, globes, along with other educational and demonstrative materials. Here, along with dogmas, Reading, Writing and Grammar of the Turkic (Tatar) language, Arithmetic, Geography were taught. The most part of the timetable (about 60%) was devoted to disciplines of general education. In 1901–1902 there appeared the 5th and the 6th years as well, during which Natural Science, World History, the Arabic and Persian languages, Hygiene, Calligraphy, Housekeeping, Needlework were taught. In that period, it was the only Tatar female school that could be called a college, according to the level of education as well as the extent of organisation [Makhmutova, 2006, pp. 60–61].

The madrasah
in Tare, Tobolsk
Guberniya.
Photo from the early
20th century.



Specially trained by the brothers young women of their family taught in the school. 'We, brothers, ourselves put this school in order, systematised the methods and ways of learning. And we gave two lessons in it every day,—Gabdulla Bubi wrote.—But our sister Mukhlis Bubi, my brother's wife Nasima and my wife Khusnifatima worked at the school with all their heart, all their skills; they sacrificed everything to make the female school prosperous. The three of them learnt from us in the evening, taught in the school all day, and trespassed unbelievable, earlier unseen obstacles. In the sake of Russian women following the path of knowledge and enlightenment, they doomed themselves to many woes and difficulties, hearing very rude accusations, and without any salary, only for the nation, they invested huge efforts...' [Buby, 1913, pp. 34–35].

In 1908, Sarapul Educational Council gave the Bubi brothers the right (license) to hold exams for female teachers (*mugallimas*) for the Tatar primary college and to give them certificates, which meant that the female madrasah created in Izh-Bubi had been officially recognised as an educational institution that trained female teachers for Tatar schools. Thus, the first *darelmugallimat*, a female teachers seminary, in Russia appeared [Buby, 1913, p. 34].

In the early 20th century, the amount of new-method female schools grew more rapidly than the amount of similar male schools. It was most probably the consequence of the fact that the Tatars had actually lacked a system of female education before, so new things

could be introduced a little bit faster as there was no need to spend time breaking or altering the old order. Representatives of the Educational Council also noted the appearance of female schools. Thus, inspector of public colleges A. Goryachkin, who had an eye on the Tatar press by the order of Kazan Educational District curator, highlighted in his report of 12 October 1909: 'The new methods are developing surprisingly fast among the female Muslim population as well!...The Muslims have managed to create such a solid organisation of female new-method *maktabs* that it would be extremely difficult to struggle with in the Russian interests' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 2, file 10735, s. 53–54].

The emergence and establishment of the Tatar new-method education system took, thus, about 20 years [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 800, s. 322]. The process developed under the circumstances of the First Revolution. That era in the Tatar secular education development was, first of all, characterised by the appearance of new textbooks and timetables, new *mugallim* teachers, and by a steep growth in the amount of new-method schools, male and female. Everywhere among the Tatar settlements, schools appeared. They were created by graduates from new-method madrasahs, who believed enlightening people and teaching them at least elementary literacy to be their duty.

New method schools opened in that period were at different stages of the transition from

confessional to secular education. The majority of those schools were still completely confessional. They differed from the traditional schools only in teaching with a new, phonetic method, which made the educational process twice or thrice faster. Others also introduced a class system that was very often understood in a peculiar way—classes were defined according to the titles of books studied by the disciples. Those schools, still confessional, meant only the beginning of abandoning the completely confessional education. Becoming literate fast, conscious reading of texts written in the mother-tongue, not in the unknown Arabic language, taught disciples to love reading, contributed to their development, aroused their thoughts and minds. There were hundreds of schools of those two types.

At the next stage, schools began introducing the dawn of secular disciplines—reading and writing in Tatar and Russian, arithmetic, geography, history, and so on. Those disciplines were introduced into school programmes at the expense of religious subjects, step by step, in order not to raise drastic disapproval of the population used to view schools only as cradles of confessional education.

The mere theological education was changed in those schools—comprehension studies were suggested instead of scholasticism and dogmatism, there were made huge efforts to work out new perspectives on education and training. Such schools can be considered secondary semi-confessional institutions, and each region with a compact Tatar population had them. They include the Apanay Madrasah, Amirkhaniya, Marjania, the female Madrasah of Lyabiba Khusainova in Kazan, Rasuliya and Akhmadiya in Troitsk, Usmaniya in Ufa, the Madrasah of Munir Khadi in Chelyabinsk, four Kargaly madrasahs in Orenburg guberniya, the madrasah in Safadjay village in Nizhny Novgorod guberniya, and many others.

Finally, there were several schools that had become real cradles of enlightenment in those years. They included male and female madrasahs in Izh-Bubi village, Khusainiya Madrasah in Orenburg, Muhammadiya in Kazan, Galiya in Ufa, which offered high theological and secular education. Disciples from all parts of Russia came to those madrasahs. In fact, all Tatar intellectuals of the first half of the 20th century graduated from those madrasahs that were often called Tatar universities.

CHAPTER 9

School Education of Baptised Tatars and Nagaybaks

Radik Iskhakov

The reforms of Alexander I in the early 19th century led to certain positive changes in the sphere of public enlightenment, but hardly dealt with the educational system of Baptised Tatars. In 1800, newly-baptised schools in Kazan were closed [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 26, No.19455], and they had been the only educational institutions created for the baptised non-Russian peoples of the region. It led to a long break in the tradition of special confessional 'strangers' education in the Volga-Urals region. According to the Charter of Educational Institutions of 1804, an Orthodox parish or two had to establish at least one of parochial school, teaching in which was the duty of the local Orthodox clergy, but such educational institutions by national parishes were not spread enough [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 28, No.21501, pp. 118, 119]. It was hindered by the lack of consistent governmental steps, of a precise state founding system (the locals had to provide for a parish), of the citizens' intentions to develop an alien education in the unknown to them Russian language, which, moreover, imposed considerable financial duties on the country communities [Prokopiev, 1905, pp. 5–6; Kedrov, p. 78]. The same reasons, to a huge extent, led to the failure of another Alexander project, initiated by curator of Kazan Educational District M. Magnitsky in 1822. It was devoted to organising in the Volga Region and Siberia Lancaster movable schools of mutual education, the main aim of which, according to the author, was to spread literacy and Christian views among non-Russian peoples of East Russia [Primogenov, p. 81].

Only under Nicholas I did considerable changes in school enlightenment of Baptised Tatars take place. The first step in develop-

ing state primary education among the multinational rural population of the Volga-Urals region was the approval of 25 October 1828 'Charter of the Country Colleges in Appanage Estates' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 3, No.2377] that regulated the order of school opening in appanage settlements. Based on the appanage schools experience, a project on volost colleges for state settlers was approved on 24 December 1830, and encompassed, at first, Petersburg and Pskov guberniyas [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 6, No.4219b]. According to the project, primary educational institutions for state peasants had to be established by volost administrations in order to train lower local rural administrators (clerks). Mostly parish Orthodox clerics—priests and, less frequently, deacons—were appointed teachers; they had a small salary for their work. Those schools had to be financed with public, Zemstvo, duties.

In the Middle Volga Region that type of primary educational institutions began to spread in the late 1830s and the early 1840s¹⁶, which was related to the establishment of the Ministry of State Property (1837) and the reform of the state country management that was implemented by its first minister P. Kisilyov. According to the decrees of 27 June [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 17, Part 1, No.15794] and 25 November [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 17, Part 2, No.16248] 1842, all the earlier created volost schools were changed into of

¹⁶ The first educational establishment of this type in a baptised Tatar (mixed Russian-Tatar) settlement was the school in the village of Yukachi in the Mamadysh Uyezd of the Kazan Guberniya, which was opened by a local priest in 1833 and later transferred to the local chamber of state properties.

parochial schools subdued to the Ministry of State Property. Instead of training clerks, those educational institutions had to spread religious and moral principles and literacy among the state peasants. One of the reasons to abolish volost schools was their extreme unpopularity among the locals. As priest S. Nurminsky who had finished one of such schools, noted, volost schools, over the whole period of their existence, had not managed to establish an educational system for the native peoples of the territory and had left ill memories among rural population; and their graduates, on becoming clerks, showed the worst qualities typical for the Russian bureaucracy [Nurminsky, 1864, p. 220]. Such situation was due to the low teaching level, scholastic methods and teaching in Russian which limited to a mechanic learning of texts from the Holy Bible, reading and writing. Changing those schools, the Ministry of State Property aspired for improving general education in rural primary schools, for making state peasants more interested in getting primary education. While implementing the project special attention was paid to the development of confessional education among the Baptised Tatars. Discussing in the governmental circles the problem of mass Orthodox 'denial' by the Newly-baptised Tatars in the early 1840s, Nicholas I expressed his opinion, according to which it was necessary to enhance the Baptised Tatars' school enlightenment as an important condition for their stable consolidation with Orthodoxy; and it led to launching a net of MSP colleges in the Baptised Tatars parishes [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 383, inv. 7, file 6190-a, s. 1, file 6190-b]¹⁷.

Thanks to the attention of the Governorate Chambers of State Property and the participation of the local Orthodox clerics, spacious edi-

fices with a capacity of 30–50 disciples were built for of parochial schools in the Baptised Tatar settlements. They were equipped with good school furniture, libraries with educational and church books [Ilminsky, 1856, pp. 10 and 11 reverse]. The main subjects were: God's Law, Arithmetic, Reading and Grammar taught in the Russian and Church Slavonic languages. The educational process in schools was controlled by the clergy (rural deans) and secular administration (staff supervisors and district officials).

There were attempts to abandon the compulsory acquisition of parochial schools, but the Old-baptised Tatars' reluctance and fear of sending their children to those educational institutions aroused from the previous negative experiences, related to the primary rural schools network, led to the necessity of literally taking future disciples away from their parents. At the same time, officials rather often used such actions to get richer, as parents had to pay volost seniors and clerks money and bring them gifts so that their children would not be taken away [Timofeev, 1887, pp. 10–11]. It was easy to understand why the Baptised Tatars were unwilling to send their children to those schools. The education was free, but parents had to pay for lodging and food for the disciples, which entangled extra, often unbearable costs for peasants' households. Besides, the Baptised Tatars had no trust in schools created without taking into account the needs of the locals, with 'russifying methods' of education and training. Upon entering school, disciples were separated from their families for a long time and plunged into a completely unknown atmosphere. They did not speak Russian, so had to read 'by ear' repeating after the teacher and being unaware of the substance. The majority of teachers were local priests, they were highly occupied with pastor duties and sometimes had no opportunity to teach properly, they had to visit schools 'from time to time' or to entrust children's learning to the lower clergy of a parish [Ilminsky, 1856, pp. 10–12]. Naturally, such teaching methods hardly led to considerable results. After a short stay in school, a lot of disciples from Baptised Tatar families were expelled because of their 'incapacity' (or ran away, or were taken away

¹⁷ By the Mid-1840s there were a total of 3,719 functioning parish schools in the Russian Empire, including 45 in the Kazan Guberniya, six of which were located in the settlements of the 'old-baptised' Tatars (Abdi, Yukachi, Uryas'-Uchi, Oshormo-Yum'i, Chura in the Mamadyshsky Uyezd, and Karabayany in the Laishev Uyezd). In addition, the children of baptised Tatars studied at schools located in the Russian parishes [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 797, inv. 15, file 5644, s. 18].

by their parents), not having mastered 'the Russian literacy'. Very few disciples completed the educational course. It is clear enough that those schools lacking the support of the local rural communities could not have developed properly. They gradually closed down in the second half of the 1850s and in the early 1860s due to the lack of founding and disciples [Ilminsky, 1856, pp. 11–12].

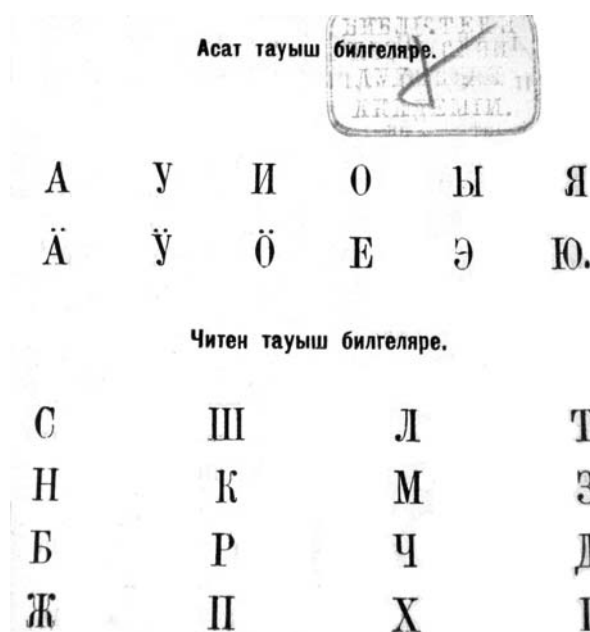
Despite the rather humble results of the schools and the general unsatisfactory level of education in them, which was noted in the majority of pre-Revolution studies [see Ilminsky, 1856; 1859; Nurminsky, 1864; Timofeev, 1887; Iznoskov, 1909; Rozhdestvensky, 1912], we cannot but mention their important role in the development of school education among the Old-baptised Tatars. To a large extent, thanks to those educational institutions, the first literate people appeared among the Baptised Tatars, and they rose their educational, and sometimes social, status afterwards. The former graduates from those schools became the first enlighteners and missionaries. Thanks to the development, though rather limited, of school education in Nicholas era, along with socio-economical changes in the Middle Volga countryside during the Great Reforms era, Old-baptised Tatars took interest in education and realised that raising the literacy of the young generation was necessary. Parochial schools created a basis for improving and expanding the primary educational system of the Baptised Tatars in the post-Reform period; their experience, mostly negative, was used by the enlighteners to work out new educational programmes and methods that became the foundation of the religious and educational system of N. Ilminskiy.

The post-Reform period was a new page in the history of the Baptised Tatars enlightenment. Shifts in the school policy of the state and in the Russian Orthodox Church's methods of Christian enlightenment in the early 1860s led to drastic changes in the system of primary and secondary education. A most important factor in the development of the Old-baptised Tatars' school education was the activity of Orthodox missionaries. According to the new

educational ideology worked out by N. Ilminsky (1822–1891), confessional schools were to become the main missionary institutions of the Orthodox Church in the Volga-Urals region; and the young generation educated religiously should have been a stronghold of the Church in the region, bringing Christian ideas to the senior generation. Realising that it was impossible to achieve drastic changes in the perception of Orthodoxy and raising the level of literacy among the Baptised Tatars in the unknown to them Russian language, the reforming missionaries suggested teaching children in primary confessional schools in their mother-tongue. In 1862, N. Ilminsky and V. Timofeev (1863–1893) composed the 'Primer for Baptised Tatars with Short Christian Prayers and Dogma Articles'¹⁸ that first used the Cyrillic alphabet for the sounds of the Tatar language. Henceforth, on the basis of the new alphabet, the authors translated the Orthodox Church books into the colloquial Tatar language, and they were the main learning materials in the Baptised Tatars' schools.

Working out the alphabet and composing first textbooks on its basis enabled N. Ilminsky to enhance his activities considerably and to open the first specialised educational institution for Baptised Tatars in 1863 in Kazan. A great part in its establishment belonged to V. Timofeev coming from an Old-baptised Tatar family of Nikiforovo (Chiyabashi) village in Mamadysh Uyezd. After leaving the MSP Teveleyevskaya Parochial School, he moved to Kazan to become a novice in the Convent of St. John [Voskresensky, 1904, p. 1]. In Kazan, he met N. Ilminsky, who suggested that they collaborated on the translation of religious books into the Tatar language. In 1863, thanks to his protection, V. Timofeev was taken on to KSA as an intern of the Tatar language. Having received funds for living and acceptable housing conditions, he proceeded to realising his

¹⁸ This first work of N. Ilminsky later became a basic training manual for Kryashen schools and the most popular book for the baptised Tatars. There were 16 editions of the book between 1864 and 1910, with a global circulation of 38 thousands copies [Xronologicheskij, 1910, pp. 17–18].



V. Timofeev. Photo from the second half of the 19th century

The alphabet made by N. Ilminsky for baptised Tatars.

missionary and pedagogic ideas—in the first autumn, he allowed three boys from his native village into his flat and began to teach them reading, writing and basic Christian dogmas [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 2340; Ilminsky, 1867, p. 293].

In order to develop the school further, N. Ilminsky applied in August 1864 to the MPE for the permission to open a private primary school in Kazan for Baptised Tatar children, headed by V. Timofeev. The proposal was upheld by KED curator P. Shestakov. In 1864—1865 the school began to function as an officially registered educational institution [Vitevsky, 1892, p. 13].

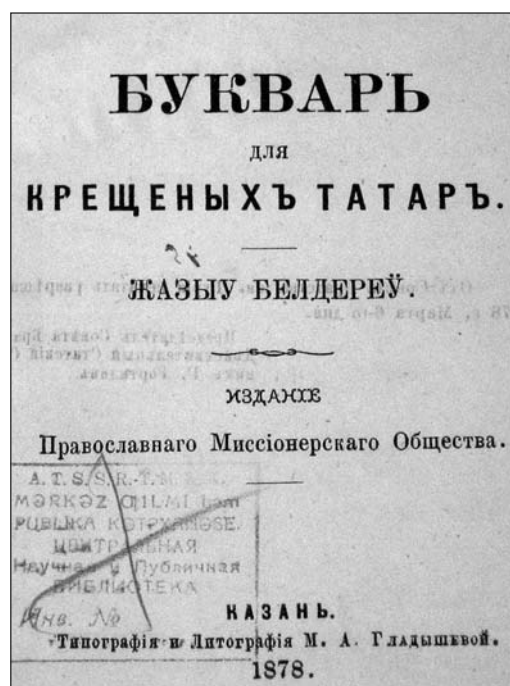
It was initially a small private boarding school where only three boys studied in the first year, living with their teacher and his family in a basement room of a house in Arsk Field, but it soon became a rather large educational institution. In the second year of its existence, 20 children studied here, and in 1866—40. A steep growth of the disciples number brought about the agenda of organising the educational process in the right way and providing material basis for the school. Thanks to N. Ilminsky's efforts, curator of KED P. Shestakov's and Kazan Archbishop Antonius's (Amfiteatrov) sup-

port, in 1867 the school got a separate edifice built in Arsk Field by Kazan merchant Arefyev, which was expanded in 1870 due to the MPE founding. In 1867—1868 the Kazan Central Christian Tatar School (KCCTS) was divided into two separate departments, a male and a female one [Gorokhov, 1941, p. 106].

Being the first educational institution sticking to the N. Ilminsky system, KCCTS became a laboratory where new pedagogic and missionary methods were tested and worked out by N. Ilminsky and V. Timofeev in the course of their first-hand teaching experience. Initially KCCTS had no precise educational plans and staff, which was grounded in its founders' position; according to it, the educational process itself should have indicated the way of teaching and the necessary subjects. Highlighting the empiric character of his system, N. Ilminsky believed it was important not to limit V. Timofeev's teaching activities with a strict framework of confirmed programmes, and tried to free the educational process from excess bureaucratic regulation as much as it was possible. As a result, despite state financial support, KCCTS, throughout its whole existence, had remained a private educational institution not subdued directly either to the

MPE or to the Educational Council of Synod. Its administration was rather independent in taking decisions on educational and upbringing matters, which allowed the school to react to religious and educational needs of the Baptised Tatars promptly. There was only a certain informal subordination of the school and its administration to the headmaster of Kazan Seminary for Non-Russian Teachers established in 1872. But even that linkage was first of all based on special confiding relations between the leaders, V. Timofeev and N. Ilminsky, and after both of them were gone—between their successors, T. Egorov and N. Bobrovnikov.

Deriving from the fact that the graduates would be mainly involved in Christian enlightenment among their compatriots in the future, the religious education prevailed. The main subjects in the school were God's Law, Orthodox Prayers, Holy History and Brief Catechism. Basic Orthodoxy was introduced from the first days of studies. Having learnt the Primer, disciples proceeded to reading the Book of Genesis, the Wisdom of Sirach, the Gospel According to Matthew translated into the Tatar language [Vitevsky, 1892, p. 14]. Since 1871, when a house church was built by KCCTS, disciples had been obliged to attend services, morning and evening prayers. Special attention was paid to church singing, which, according to N. Ilminsky's grounded position, had a great emotional impact on Baptised Tatars not ingrained in the Orthodoxy, attracted them to serve in the Church. In 1864–1865 V. Timofeev organised the first disciples' choir. Along with religious subjects, the Russian language, Basic Arithmetic (the course was limited to integer numbers), they also taught Drawing and Geography here. Primary education was carried out in the disciples' mother-tongue. After getting acquainted with Orthodox literature translated into Tatar, having learnt reading and writing in the mother-tongue, disciples began studying Russian. The school used a 'translating' method, according to which Russian grammar was studied on the basis of the Self-Practice Grammar Book for the Kazakhs, then the 'Holy History' composed by priest N. Popov and the Gospels in Russian were read. Reading was accompanied by oral

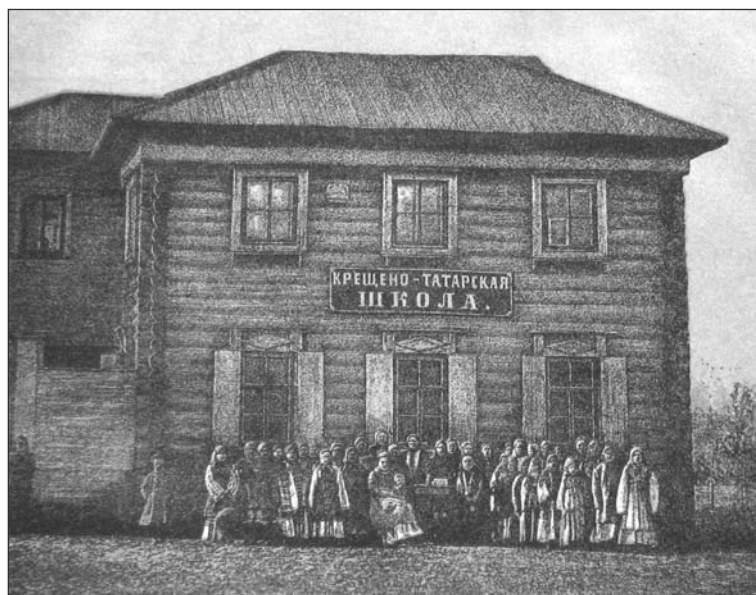


Cover of the 'ABC-Book for Baptised Tatars' (Kazan, 1878).

translation into the mother-tongue. The initial period of school education wasn't defined precisely and depended on disciples' successes and talents [Speshkov, 1904, pp. 10–10 reverse].

Placing children's upbringing above education, N. Ilminsky and V. Timofeev aspired for a family atmosphere in the school, gave up corporal and other types of punishment. In order to popularise the enlightenment ideas among Baptised Tatars, V. Timofeev went to Baptised Tatars' settlements with his disciples during summer vacations. Thanks to it, the school became widely known and popular. Now Baptised Tatars' children not only from Kazan guberniya, but also from Ufa, Samara and Vyatka guberniyas studied here. Along with the Tatars, the Tatar-speaking Udmurts, Mari, Chuvash and Mordvin people entered the school. By 1904, that is throughout the 40 years of its existence, the school had given education to 3394 boys and 1472 girls, 696 of them (14.3%) finished it certificated as public college teachers.

In 1878, KCCTS educational programme was expanded—it now corresponded to two-



Building of the Kazan Central Christian Tatar School. Picture, 1972.

year rural colleges of the MPE, which was related to the general unification trend in the educational system of the Empire. In order to give successful graduates privileges in military service, opportunities to become teachers in Zemstvo and the Ministry primary colleges, the school educational schemes had to correspond to the MPE programmes, and its graduates had to pass an obligatory attestation and final exams. According to the new programme, the number of subjects increased, the staff grew, the position of Law Teacher was introduced and taken by V. Timofeev. In 1883, a third year was introduced in the school, in 1901—a fourth one, which gave an educational level not lower than in a two-year parochial teachers' school. According to the new programme, Russian History, Natural Science, Physics and Drawing were introduced, studying the Russian and Church Slavonic languages became more profound [Otchet Kazanskoj Czentral'noj Kreshcheno-tatarskoj shkoly', 1904, pp. 1–2].

Since its foundation, KCCTS was meant to be an educational institution training teachers for Baptised Tatar primary missionary schools. In 1865–1866 its first graduates opened their own schools: a female one—in Nikiforovo village, mixed ones in Arnyash village (Mamadish Uyezd) and Apazovo settlement (Kazan

Uyezd). Those first schools were directly subdued to KCCTS and, according to P. Znamenskiy, were its 'small colonies' [Znamenskiy, 1892a, p. 196]. In order to raise the qualification of the graduates who, because of limited scientific and pedagogic training, insufficient duration of the course, not always managed to become teachers, KCCTS had been carrying out annual educational (pedagogic) courses since 1868. The courses paid special attention to getting teachers acquainted with new educational methods,

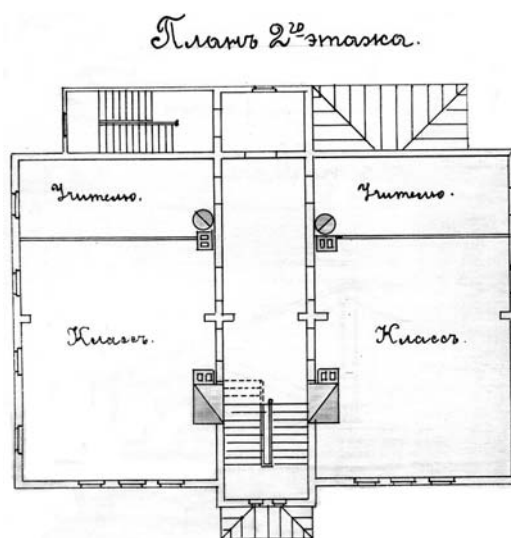
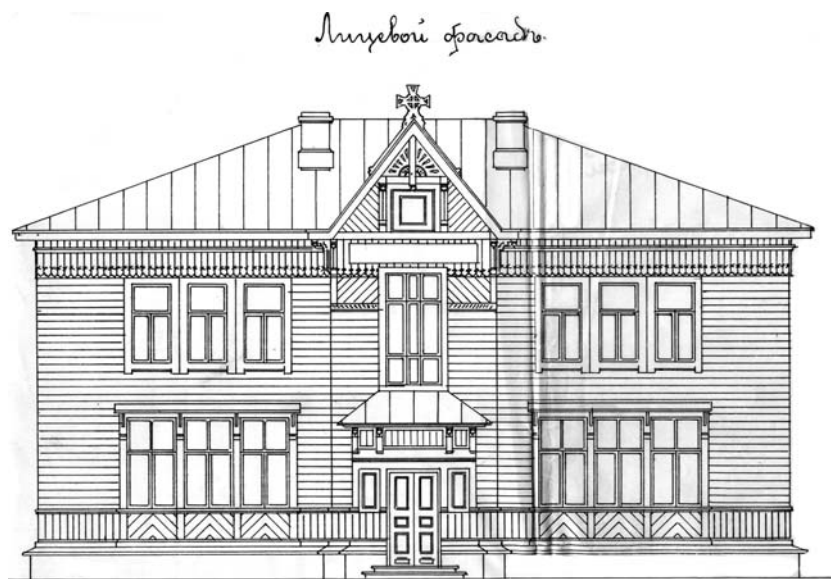
learning Russian and studying 'missionary sciences' [Otchet Bratstva svyatogo Guriya, 1884, p. 11]. Since the 1890s, teachers of primary non-Russian national schools had come here from the whole Volga-Urals region [Gorokhov, 1941, p. 110].

According to N. Ilminsky's ideas, KCCTS had gradually become not only an educational, but also cultural and religious centre; in addition to children's education and teachers training, here church and educational literature was translated into Tatar and centrally spread, Christian ideas were popularised among the majority of Old-Baptised Tatars [Budilovich, 1904, p. 5]. Thanks to its special status and coordinating role among the local primary schools, teachers training and control over their activities, KCCTS—when there were no other significant cultural and religious institutions among Baptised Tatars—performed communicative functions between separate, earlier hardly interlinked, groups of Old-baptised Tatars, contributed to their consolidation and the establishment of a single cultural and informational space. And its graduates, becoming teachers and Orthodox priests, were the main figures of the school enlightenment and missionary work among their compatriots. Almost all the Baptised Tatar intellectuals that appeared

in the second half of the 19th century and in the early 20th century were KCCTS graduates preserving close contacts with the school and its administration even after leaving it.

The development of the primary and secondary education system of Baptised Tatars in 1870–1905.

The official recognition of N. Ilminsky's system as the main method of school and Christian outreach activity among the baptised people of Eastern Russia, the use of new practices in the school and missionary routines, legally secured in the 'Regulation on Measures to Educate Foreigners Living in Russia', dated 26 March 1870 [Svod glavnejshix, 1882, pp. 42–45], contributed to the improvement of the school education system of the Baptised Tatars. In order to train qualified teaching staff for national schools operating under the new system, in 1872 a teachers (non-Russian) seminary was founded in Kazan (Kazan Seminary for Non-Russian Teachers), where N. Ilminsky was appointed as director [Akt, 1872, p. 1]. Along with Russians, it was open for representatives of indigenous peoples of Russia, who, after graduation from the Kazan Seminary for Non-Russian Teachers, were appointed as teachers at national colleges [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 93, inv. 1, file 4, s. 8–9]. In line with 'Regulations on the Kazan Seminary for Non-Russian Teachers', dated 1872, the following subjects were studied at the seminary: The Law of God (12 hours per week), the Russian and Church Slavonic language (19 hours), Natural History (5 hours), Arithmetic and Geometry (8 hours), Russian history and Geography (16 hours), the Basics of Pedagogy and Didactics (11 hours), Writing and Drawing (12 hours). Later combined lessons of singing, gymnastics and handicraft production were in-



Project for a wooden school building in the village of Ureevy-Chelny, Kazan guberniya, 1900.

cluded into the curriculum [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 93, inv. 1, file 4, s. 10]. While the Kazan Central Christian Tatar School became a centre for training Baptised Tatar teachers for missionary schools, the Kazan Seminary for Non-Russian Teachers turned into an alma mater for Zemstvo¹⁹, ministerial

¹⁹ The Kazan District School for Female Teachers (the Kazan Teachers' School for Women), opened by the Kazan Zemstvo [District Council] in 1871, played an important role in the preparation of teachers at local schools for baptised Tatars during the period under

(The Ministry of National Education) and parochial schools [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 968, inv. 1, file 83]. In total, from the moment it was founded until 1904, 104 Baptised Tatars graduated from the Kazan Seminary for Non-Russian Teachers²⁰ [32 godovshhina, 1904, p. 11].

Thanks to the implementation of new teaching techniques, creation of a system for training national teaching staff, a system of primary confessional education for the Baptised began to form since the middle 1860s. A major role herein was played by missionary associations—societies and brotherhoods, founded in the late 1860s to the early 1870s. The 'Brotherhood of Saint Gury at the Kazan Cathedral', which was founded on 4 October 1867 in Kazan and mainly focused on the promotion of missionary-clerical education among the local people, can be regarded as the most important missionary institution. By the end of 1867 the brotherhood had opened 23 schools, 7 of them were for Baptised Tatars, where more than 300 people studied [Iz- vlecheniya, 1869, p. 93]. The number of schools for Baptised Tatars kept growing steadily. By the end of the 19th century, there were 60 brotherhood schools in the Kazan Governorate with around 2 thousand Baptised Tatar students [see: Otchet Bratstva svyatogo Guriya, 1899].

Brotherhood schools were organised according to the organisational chart of the Kazan Central Christian Tatar School. Assignment and distribution of teachers to new educational institutions was controlled directly by N. Ilminsky, the teaching staff was selected entirely from graduates of the Kazan Central Christian Tatar School. The teachers of the school were

subject to parish clergy, who was responsible for observing the proper organisation of the school system. Brotherhood schools were two-year schools of reading and writing with a national component. Only in the late 1870s to the early 1880s a four-year education program was introduced in some of them. In accordance with the 'Draft Regulations for Primary National Schools of the Brotherhood of Saint Gury', developed by N. Ilminsky, the four-year education program of these schools included: 1) in the first academic year—initial teaching of children to church singing and saying Orthodox prayers, learning sounds and signs of sounds; exercises for correct spelling of letters on cards; exercises for counting to 10. During the first academic year, children had to learn the Russian names of elementary objects, to count to 20, read and sing Orthodox prayers in their mother-tongue; 2) in the second academic year they had to master correct reading, oral retelling of the read, arithmetic calculations within the first hundred, and calligraphy; 3) the third academic year was dedicated to the translation of Orthodox prayers from the mother-tongue to Russian, detailed study of Bible, retelling of the most important aspects of the Sacred History, learning prayers in Russian and the Church Slavonic language, arithmetic calculations, dictating certain sentences; 4) in the final academic year, students focused on consolidation of the Russian language skills, learning the Church Slavonic language, reading and translating the Gospel from Church Slavonic to Russian, retelling certain sentences in Russian [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 968, inv. 1, file 16, s. 36–38].

These educational institutions were marked by extreme simplicity of education process organisation and its missionary scope. Such schools were small, usually located in a simple village house, headed by a 'teacher-simpleton', a peasant like other locals, who didn't always have profound knowledge, but was sincerely loyal to Orthodoxy, eager to teach children and carry out Christian outreach activities among his compatriots. Giving instruction in the native language and the family atmosphere, created at the school, contributed to the organic

the consideration. From the middle of 1875, as a result of an increase in the number of local primary schools in the national settlements, N. Ilminsky's system was applied at the school, and the study of the Mari and Chuvash languages was introduced (such famous proponents of the Chuvash and Mari enlightenment as A. Rakeyev, I. Yakovlev, G. Komissarov, and F. Vasilyev worked here at different times), which attracted local non-Russian peoples, including the Kryashens. Before the Russian Revolution of 1905 a number of girls from amongst the 'old-baptised' Tatars attended this school and later worked for organisations of the local Zemstvo.

²⁰ These included several baptised Bashkirs.

embedding of these schools into the rural environment, the perception of them by local population as their cultural and religious institutions, and increasing their popularity. Low operating costs (on average 60–100 rubles per year) allowed to open them everywhere, making confessional education available for the significant part of the Baptised Tatar youth [Koblov, 1915, pp. 214–219 reverse].

Apart from the Kazan Governorate, by the end of 1870s the Brotherhood of Saint Gury expanded its activities to the adjacent Ufa guberniya. In 1868, it opened a missionary school for Old-baptised Tatars in the village of Melekesy, in 1870—in the village of Mazino, in 1871—in the village of Baydankino of Menzelinsk Uyezd of the Ufa guberniya [Spassky, 1900, p. 116]. In 1875, on the territory of the Ufa Governorate there were 12 brotherhood schools with 270 students [Otchet Bratstva svyatogo Guriya, 1876, p. 11]. Following the establishment of Zamstvo and missionary organisations in this region, these schools came under their charge, saving the missionary scope of the activity and close ties with Kazan missionary institutions. By the end of the 19th century there were 34 schools for Baptised Tatars and combined schools for Russian and Baptised people in the Menzelinsk and Belebey Uyezd of the Ufa guberniya.

The Brotherhood of Saint Gury had a significant influence also over other missionary organisations in the region. The closest ties were established between the Brotherhood and Vyatka Committee of the Orthodox Missionary Society, that began consistent practical implementation of the developments of Kazan educators. As a result of massive 'fall aways; of the Baptised Tatars of the Yelabuga and Mamadysh uyezds from Orthodoxy in 1870–1871, the council of the Vyatka Committee of the Orthodox Missionary Society asked the Brotherhood to help with the arrangement of Christian outreach activities. For this reason, the Kazan Central Christian Tatar School graduates Ivan Matveev and Aleksey Grigoryev were sent to Kazan, and they founded the first missionary schools for the Baptised Tatars in the Vyatka Krai [Otchet Vyatskogo komiteta, 1872, pp. 20–21]. For

training teachers, the Vyatka Committee started to send the most capable students of its missionary schools to the Kazan Central Christian Tatar School [Otchet Vyatskogo komiteta, 1878, p. 9]. By the end of 1870s, 4 schools for Baptised Tatars (103 students) were opened in the Vyatka Guberniya, by 1904 there were already 20 schools with 509 boys and 122 girls [Budilovich, 1904, p. 61 reverse].

On the example of the Kazan, Ufa and Vyatka guberniyas, missionary schools were opened also in other regions of Eastern Russia. Since the 1870s, such educational institutions had been opened in the Orenburg guberniya, Troitsk, Verkhneuralsk and Orsk uyezds, densely populated by a group of Old-Baptised Tatars, related to the Cossacks (Nagaybaks). In the Orenburg region the first school for Baptised Tatars, based on N. Ilminsky's system, was a missionary college, opened by a graduate of the Kazan Central Christian Tatar School Ignaty Timofeev (V. Timofeev's brother) in 1871 in the village of Fershampenuaz. By 1895 there were 7 schools for Baptised Tatars, where instruction was given in the Tatar and Russian languages [Sevastyanov, 1896, p. 20]. Following the establishment of a special deanery and the Preobrazhensky missionary camp (1901), the beginning of the 20th century was marked by a significant expansion of the Nagaybak school network. In 1904 there were 4 missionary, 16 village schools and 1 school of reading and writing with 596 male and 432 female Nagaybak students in the Orenburg guberniya [Budilovich, 1904, p. 105 reverse].

Although since the 1870s Zemstvo and ministerial colleges started opening in the Baptised Tatar parishes, it was the missionary school that became the main type of educational institutions among the Baptised Tatars. In total, by the end of the 19th century missionary schools (including parochial schools and schools of reading and writing) accounted for 76% of all schools for Baptised Tatars, Zamstvo schools accounted for only 13%, ministerial schools—11%. This was due to the special importance given by secular and spiritual administration to the missionary scope of the school system of the Baptised Tatars. In this re-



Ecclesiastical school in the village of Sluzhilaya Shentala
in the Chistopolsk uyezd, Kazan guberniya (praying before studying).
Photo from the early 20th century.

gard, up to the early 1890s the primary schools, being subject to Zamstvo organisations and the Ministry of National Education (for the most part being a one-year national college), even though formally weren't aimed at performing missionary functions, actually functioned in the same framework as the brotherhood schools (this term was enshrined in the approved in 1893 'School program for Baptised Foreigners of Eastern Russia' [Programma, 1893]).²¹ Also, they mainly focused on religious education, the teaching staff was recruited from pupils of N. Ilminsky and V. Timofeev, religious and missionary literature was used as the main teaching material, translated into Tatar by the Kazan Central Christian Tatar School and the 'Translation Commission of the Orthodox Missionary Society of the Brotherhood of St. Gury'. Schools of Baptised Tatars were a kind of Christian centre of 'school-church', where congregation 'must clearly learn and embrace Christian religion and its ritual practice' [Otch-

²¹ In parish schools and schools for basic literacy N. Ilminsky's curriculum was officially introduced on 12 January 1896 [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 796, inv. 177, file 879, s. 3].

et Bratstva svyatogo Guriya, 1873, p. 15]. By the example of the Kazan Central Christian Tatar School, students of these schools organised choirs all over the place, for locals on Sundays and on holidays they held church services in Tatar, along with prayer services, and pastoral counseling. Only in 1890s secular disciplines were first introduced in a number of schools, where they studied the basics of agriculture and agronomy, handicraft production and others. In 1893, the first special 'Non-Russian Agricultural School' was opened in the village of Shemorbashi (Shemortbashi) of the Laishev Uyezd of the Kazan guberniya [Inorodcheskaya, 1893, p. 50].

The education system established among the Baptised Tatars in the post-reform period and focused on religious education, had also some drawbacks due to the limited scope of school education and training. Clericalisation of the learning process and the lack of attention to the study of secular disciplines, characteristic of both primary and secondary education²², laid by the Orthodox missionaries, restricted the possibility of getting a secular profession and further study at the institutions of higher education for the Baptised Tatars²³. As a result, no layer of secular intellec-

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²² Besides studying at the Kazan Seminary for Non-Russian Teachers and the Kazan Central Christian Tatar School, from 1889 baptised Tatars were given the opportunity to attend missionary courses organised by the Kazan Theological Academy and theological seminaries from the Mid-1890s.

²³ One of the few baptised Tatar figures to succeed in pursuing a higher education was R. Dauley, who in 1903 graduated from the Missionary Anti-Muslim Department of the Kazan Theological Academy [Dauley, 1903, pp. 1–4].

tuals was formed among the Baptised Tatars up until the First Russian Revolution in 1905 (it was entirely represented by the Orthodox clergy and missionary teachers). However, it is necessary to emphasise the importance of missionary schools in the cultural development and school education of the Baptised Tatars. The wide expansion of schools, based on N. Ilminsky's system, allowed to make confessional education wide-scale and generally accessible for the younger generation of Baptised Tatars [Chicherina, 1904, pp. 1–2]. In order to understand the scope of the educational work performed by missionaries among the representatives of this confessional group of Tatars, it is enough to say that in the majority of large Old Baptised localities, in the Kazan guberniya in particular, by the end of the 19th century 50–60% of male population had attended these schools [see: Narodny'e uchilishha, 1888; Bobrovnikov, 1899, pp. 3–21]. There were examples of higher level literacy. For instance, in a relatively small village of Nikiforovo of the Mamadysh Uyezd (in 1897

the population was 779 thousand) 80% of male and 30% of female population had primary education, and 30 natives of this village at different times had studied at the Kazan Central Christian Tatar School, the Kazan Seminary for Non-Russian Teachers and attended the Missionary Courses in Kazan [Pamfilov, p. 30 reverse]. Overall, by the end of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th centuries, by the proportion of people who received elementary, primary education, the Baptised Tatars were a bit ahead of other indigenous people of the region, which was an unchallenged achievement of N. Ilminsky's system, used in the outreach and educational activities among the Baptised Tatars. Due to the new education system, the post-reform period for the Baptised Tatars was marked by significant changes in the cultural and religious life, a gradual transition from the patriarchal-clan to bourgeois society, which allowed them to successfully adapt to the new socio-economic and political realities of Russia at the beginning of the 20th century. A cultural and religious elite was formed.

CHAPTER 10

Institutes of Russian Language and Secular Education for Tatars and Bashkirs

§ 1. Pre-reform Period

Svetlana Basyrova

In the late 18th and first half of the 19th century the development process of Russian education system underwent significant changes, related to the initial stage of the formation of the system of state educational institutions. An integral part of this process was the local distribution of schools, including the outlying regions of the Empire, distinguished by their mixed ethno-confessional population. The school policy of the government was determined, first of all, by an acute need of the government establishments of competent specialists and staff. On the other hand, the state aimed at the integration of local communities of the country in a united sociocultural organism.

Military Department. On the territory of the Orenburg Krai, which was a border region of the Empire and was marked by its nature of military management, it was the military department that 'set the tone' for engaging Muslims into Russian educational institutions. It was associated with training of various specialists for the needs of the Bashkir Meshcheryak troops. For this purpose in 1825 was opened the *Orenburg Neplyuev Military College* named after the first governor of the krai²⁴.

In 1830 students were divided into two departments: European and Asian. The first department mainly focused on the study of Euro-

pean languages and military subjects, while the second one, on the study of oriental languages. The curriculum of the college, which in 1844 was converted into cadet corps, was repeatedly changed later on.

The Neplyuev Military College was an educational institution, where along with others there also studied Muslim children. As of 1842 it targeted: '1) children whose fathers serve or have served in the irregular troops of the special Orenburg corps; 2) children of Asians who are not in a strong allegiance; 3) children of all free people' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 39, No.29770]. Apart from children of mainly Russian Cossacks of the Orenburg and Ural Cossack troops, under the first category fell also the children of Bashkirs and Meshcheryaks, serving in the Bashkir Meshcheryak troops, under the second category, Kazakhs. Out of the first 16 graduates of the Neplyuev College, 7 were of Tatar-Bashkir decent, 2 were Kazakhs, and 7 were Russians [State Archive of the Orenburg Region, f. 6, inv. 4, file 10037, s. 149–150].

Children whose fathers served in the Bashkir Meshcheryak troops initially were accepted to the college on a common basis and studied as a rule in the Asian department. The lack of vacancies did not allow all comers to enroll in the college. Following the conversion of the college into cadet corps, out of 200 college places 30 were given to the children of officers of the Orenburg and Ural Cossack troops, the Bashkir Meshcheryak troops (they had to be trained at the expense of 'military funds'), and the children of Kazakh sultans, beys, seniors, the rest of the vacancies were intended for the children of military and civilian officials of the

²⁴ The academy became a successor to the school of 'Tatar students' established in Orenburg in 1744 under the direction of Governor I. Neplyuev. This school, which had existed under the auspices of the Orenburg Boundary Commission until the 1820s, prepared translators, dragomen, and clerical workers who were familiar with the Old Turkic ('Tatar') language, predominantly from amongst Russian soldiers and Cossacks.

governorate [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 20, addition to the Vol. 19, No.17962a]—that is, these school became privileged.

In the Orenburg cadet corps studied mainly the children of nobility and officers as well as the sons of 'warrant'-officials. The vacancies were entirely occupied in 1848 [State Archive of the Orenburg Region, f. 6, inv. 10, file 5515, s. 270; Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–2, inv. 1, file 5245, s. 11, 19]. 10–13-year-old boys were accepted to the corps. The Nepluyevsky Cadet Corps was popular among the Muslims of the region, especially among its social elite, because the graduates got proper professional training and after graduation had an opportunity to get a rank. What was also important is that Muslim students had an opportunity to study 'Mohammedan faith' and oriental languages. In total 70 Bashkirs and Meshcheryaks graduated from this educational institution in the period from 1831 to 1907 [Asfandiyarov, 2006, p. 378]. The social origin had a significant impact on the fate of cadets as it determined the rank with which a student graduated from the educational institution²⁵.

Thus, the Nepluyev Cadet Corps, which focused on training an officer personnel for the troops of the Orenburg region, engaged repre-



The Nepluyev Military College in Orenburg. Modern-day 7, Parkovy Prospekt.
Photo from the early 20th century.

sentatives of the Muslim population into the Russian culture.

Representatives of the Bashkir troops studied at *the Orenburg Military College*, which was opened in 1859 and primarily intended for children of soldiers, officials, and clerks. This special educational institution focused on training junior officers for troops and staff of military departments; its course was close to 'the course of uyezdz colleges with some special subjects' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 32, Sect. 1, No.29770; Russian State Military Historical Archive, f. 324, inv. 1, file 511, s. 22, 24 reverse]. The college was established due to the liquidation of the military cantonists, that's why children whose fathers served in the Bashkir troops and who earlier studied at the Orenburg battalion were transferred to this college. There were 5 of them in August 1859, 32 by the end of the year, and 20 in February 1860. They were equalised with other pupils in uniform and food, even though they were kept on 'united duty' collected from Bashkirs and Meshcheryaks [Central Historical Archive of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–2, inv. 1, file 10120, s. 95; Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 35, Sect. 1, No.35485]. The education of Muslims at the military college was aligned with the govern-

²⁵ Children of noblemen and owners of non-taxable estates left the school as officers. Children of 'brevet' officials became 'brevet' officers in the armies in which their fathers served. The owners of taxable estates could be given the rank of non-commissioned officer, whereas common Cossacks, Bashkirs, Teptyars, and Mishar Tatars received the rank of 'uryadnik' [rural police sergeant]. They could be appointed to the rank of an officer for a period of two to eight years.

ment policy, aiming at expanding the Russian culture among local peoples and training Russian speaking officials out of them. The college was not popular among Muslims because there, just like at the battalion of military cantonists, were no lessons on the Muslim faith.

The feldsher school of the Orenburg Military Hospital, opened in 1826, also made its contribution to the expansion of Russian culture among Muslims of the Orenburg Region. Initially there were 25 cantonists (children of soldiers) at the school and Bashkir and Meshcheryak boys selected at the cantons. In 1838 feldsher schools at the military hospitals were abolished. However, the military governor of Orenburg V. Perovsky, referring to the acute need of the region for health workers due to high incidence of diseases in the irregular troops, especially among Bashkirs and Meshcheryaks, managed to retain this educational institution. In 1841 the feldsher school of the Orenburg Military Hospital was opened exclusively for the irregular troops; its course and contingent were significantly expanded [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 2, No.14792]. It was designed for 40 boys from the Bashkir Meshcheryak troops, 20 from the Orenburg, 6 from Ural, 2 from Kalmyk troops. 12–14-year-old boys were selected by local managers and accepted to the school without a preliminary Russian test. Christian and Muslim Faith, Russian and Latin Languages (reading, writing, grammar, translations), Arithmetics, Basics of Anatomy, Pharmacology, Formulation, Surgery, etc., were taught at the school. In the 1840–1860s there were three classes graduated from the feldsher school. It is known that 72 representatives of the Bashkir Meshcheryak troops graduated from the school by the end of the 1850s [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–2, inv. 1, file 10618, s. 68 reverse–69]. Graduates of the feldsher school received the rank of junior feldshers, corresponding to the rank of a sergeant.

The irregular troops of the Southern Ural needed health workers of even higher qualification. Doctors were in demand especially in the Bashkir Meshcheryak army because Muslims,

as a general rule, did not go to Russian doctors. For this reason the military governor of Orenburg P. Sukhtelen back in 1831 expressed an idea, which was supported by the authorities, about training Bashkirs on medicine at *the Kazan University* [State Archive of the Orenburg Region, f. 6, inv. 4, file 10037, s. 5–6]. Representatives of the Bashkir Meshcheryak army, who studied at the Neplyuev College, were selected to be sent to Kazan²⁶. Since 1836 in the Kazan Gymnasium and Kazan University 20 permanent vacancies were established for 'Mohammedans of the Orenburg Guberniya' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 11, Sect. 1, No.8771]. In line with the accepted rules, in August 1836 twenty 10–11-year-old boys, selected by the management from the Bashkir and Meshcheryak cantons, were sent to Kazan. In the gymnasium they had to go through a seven-year course, pass exams and only then, become students.

The lack of an advance preparation of children significantly reduced their learning efficiency. Out of 50 boys, who were selected in 1836, only 10 were accepted to the university by the end of 1849. Three of them graduated from the linguistic faculty, and only two graduated from the faculty of medicine, the rest were either still studying or expelled from the university due to illnesses. Apart from that, not all of the vacancies were occupied on time. For instance, in 1845 in Kazan instead of 20 boys studied 12 [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–2, inv. 1, file 6154, s. 36–38 reverse, 46, 49]. Not the best way out was found: in 1849 'in the Orenburg

²⁶ The first scholars of the Bashkir Meshcheryak army in Kazan were B. Subkhankulov (son of a subaltern officer), M. Muslyumov, Kh. Sharipov (sons of Mishar petty officers), and S. Kuklyashev. By 1832 the latter was already working as a dragoman for the Orenburg Boundary Commission. In March 1832 they came to Kazan and were provisionally placed in the First Kazan Gymnasium (upper secondary school) [State Archive of Orenburg Region, f. 6, inv. 4, file 10037, s. 61]. In 1833 they were joined by S. Nigametullin, who replaced M. Muslyumov, who lacked the necessary capacity to study. The boys studied various subjects at the school, including oriental languages, but they focused in particular on the study of Russian and Latin.

Krai the possibility of student transfer from the faculty of medicine to other faculties was banned' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 24, Sect. 2, No.23616], as a result, many Muslims, who studied at the gymnasium and did not have medical inclination, lost the opportunity to become experts of a different profile, to graduate from the university. This extremely unpopular measure was abolished only in 1860 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 35, Sect. 2, No.35946].

In order to improve the learning outcomes of Bashkir and Meshcheryak boys in Kazan, in 1849 it was decided to pre-train them at the Orenburg Battalion of Military Cantonists. However, this decision was not implemented in the period under review²⁷.

In total around 25 representatives of the Bashkir Meshcheryak army studied at the Kazan University in 1832–1861. After graduation, most of them became doctors in the army, but among the graduates there were also candidates of eastern philology, lawyers, etc. In 1860, 8 graduates from the Kazan University and 4 graduates from the Kazan Gymnasium served in the Bashkir cantons [State Archive of the Orenburg Region, f. 6, inv. 12, file 2173, s. 13 reverse–14]. The latter, of course, as the university, made a considerable contribution to the education of the Bashkir-Tatar population of the Southern Ural: its graduates, coming back to the homeland, became translators and held various positions in the canton offices.

In the pre-reform period the military department was also training other specialists for the needs of the population under its jurisdiction. For instance, in 1842 at the Drawing Department of the General Staff of the Separate Orenburg Corps along with others studied two Bashkir boys out of the Kazan Gymnasium students. In 1848 their number was increased to 10 because the Bashkir Meshcheryak army experienced an acute need of surveyors [Cen-

tral Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–2, inv. 1, file 4969, s. 4, 83, 131]. In 1857 the vacancies in the army at the General Staff were eliminated, but a drawing school was founded in the Bashkir army itself designed for 10 students [Obrazovanie v Bashkirii, 1862, p. 52].

By the middle of the 19th century the government set a broad task to expand the Russian culture among the peoples of the Ural. In this regard, following the changes in the system of tax collection, in 1852 the government decided to allocate funds for the establishment of schools in the Bashkir cantons. The canton schools were designed to weaken the influence of Muslim schools, allegedly 'paralysing the moral strength of people,' to become a powerful tool for the destruction of the Mohammedan propaganda and fanaticism [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–2, inv. 1, file 10808, s. 5]. Another purpose of the establishment of these schools was the training of competent professionals with knowledge of the Russian language for the administrative apparatus. The first schools in the Bashkir cantons appeared in 1860. They were designed for a four-year course of study divided into two grades. In the first grade for two years students read Russian and old-Turkic books, manuscripts, learned to write, studied the numbers. Russian calligraphy, the first four arithmetic operations, the Mohammedan faith were taught in the second grade [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–2, inv. 1, file 7865, s. 23–30]. By 1862 in the army there were already 28 Russian-Bashkir schools with 498 students [Asfandiyarov, 2006, p. 379].

Thus, the military department in the pre-reform period was actively spreading the Russian literacy among the Muslims of the Southern Urals. On the eve of the abolition of serfdom, representatives of the Bashkir army (Bashkirs, Meshcheryaks) in the Orenburg Krai had 110 vacancies in the educational institutions of the military department, which were occupied almost all the time. Apart from that, cantons were marked by the start of the pro-

²⁷ Twenty boys started their studies in 1853 alone [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–2, inv. 1, file 6154, s. 139, 154].

cess of establishment of schools teaching the Russian language. This indicated that a part of Muslim population (mainly the social elite) tried to learn the Russian language in one way or another, which opened the way to European science, knowledge, career, etc. However, the desire to study in a Russian school directly depended on whether or not it taught Islam, whether or not the state infringed on the feelings of the Muslims.

The Ministry of National Education. In the pre-reform period a chain of educational institutions free of religious and national restrictions, though with the absolute domination of the Russian Orthodox population, was developed as part of the education department. Teachers of the Kazan University P. Kondyrev and I. Zapolsky, who audited public colleges in the Orenburg Krai in 1809, noted that there were many Tatars, Bashkirs, Udmurts, Maris in these schools [Bulich, 1887, part 1, p. 585].

Mainly Russians studied in the uyezd colleges of the Orenburg Guberniya, which were founded in the late 1810s to the early 1820s on the basis of public colleges and acted under the charter of educational institutions of 1810, because these schools were established in the uyezd cities. This situation persisted even after their reorganisation in 1835 [Mirsaitova, 2000, part 2, p. 79].

In the late 1850s authorities began to accept Bashkir and Tatar boys to the parochial schools to train clerks for governing bodies. These were temporary measures: the Bashkir army did not have enough funds to open specialised canton schools. In 1858 in the Ufa, Orenburg, Chelyabinsk, Sterlitamak, Troitsk, Menzelinsk, Birska, Bugulma parochial schools at the expense of the Bashkir army studied 90; in 1859, 100; in 1860, 60 boys; 250 students in total for three years. 196 out of them were Muslims; 54, pagans representing, respectively, around 20% and 5% of all students of these schools [Mirsaitova, 2000, part 1, pp. 64]. A part of graduates of the lowest type primary educational institutions continued to study at the uyezd colleges, regardless of their ethnicity.

Teachers, teaching Russian literacy to Bashkirs and Tatars at the colleges, tried to avoid

using 'The Russian Alphabet Book,' containing Orthodox prayers, but used more neutral Lancasterian charts instead. V. Zolotov's phonetic method of teaching literacy was used as well. Regular keeper and teacher of the Ufa Uyezd college I. Sosfenov had developed an Alphabet book for Bashkirs and Tatars called 'Initial acquaintance with Russian literacy' [Asfandiyarov, 2006, p. 380]. It was forbidden to force Muslims to listen to the basics of Christianity. Parents of the boys who studied at the Chelyabinsk, Orenburg, and Birska colleges took advantage of their right to call a mullah to teach Islam at their own expense [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I-2, inv. 1, file 9776, s. 36].

8–13-year old boys, mainly children of officers and also orphans, were selected out of the Bashkir army to study at Russian primary schools. However, soon the children of ordinary Bashkirs, Meshcheryaks, Tyeptyars also started to study at these schools. On the eve of 1861, 102 Muslims and 12 pagans studied at the uyezd colleges, the parochial schools had 147 and 55 students, respectively (18.2% and 5% of all students of these schools), not including parochial schools of the Sterlitamak and Bugulma uyezds [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I-110, inv. 1, file 874, s. 10–11].

However, the government policy was not always successful and consistent. For instance, the efforts of the governorate authorities to train Bashkir boys in crafts, away from the homeland in 1836–1842, can be considered as not quite successful. The boys were selected by the canton managers mainly from orphans or big poor families and sent to Moscow, Petersburg, Kazan, Izhevsk, and other industrial cities of the country for five-six-years. Out of 264 boys, who were sent, only 148 came back as graduates [Mirsaitova, 2000, part 2, p. 27].

Peasant and Mining Schools. In the 40s of the 19th century on the territory of the Southern Ural they began to create a network of primary schools for state and demesne peasants, who were represented in the region not only by Russians but also by Tatars, Chuvash people, et al. In 1860 in the Orenburg Guberniya

there were 38 schools (1,336 students) under the jurisdiction of the Moscow State Mining University and 16 colleges (282 students) of the demesnil department [Central Historical Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I–110, inv. 1, file 860, s. 179; Russian State Historical Archive, f. 515, inv. 8, file 2310, s. 5, 15–20]. These educational institutions gave elementary knowledge to students: here they taught the Law of God, reading, writing, the first arithmetic operations; sometimes Calligraphy, Cursive, Accounting, etc., 'were added' because volost offices needed competent staff.

Rural schools in the Cis-Ural Region were marked by a 'mixed' ethnic composition of students [Orenburgskie gubernskie vedomosti, 1846, No.12]. The children of Muslims prevailed in the rural colleges opened in 1850–1851 in the villages of Zirgan and Buzdyak [Cheremshansky, 1859, p. 247]. There usually worked secular teachers, graduates from the uyezd colleges, non-Orthodox priests.

In the rural villages peasant boys were trained to become vaccinators and volost clerks at the expense of public tax. In 1844 the Moscow State Mining University was planning to open a special college for 20 people in each volost of the Kazan Guberniya, populated by Muslims and pagans, for training clerks and translators. They were aimed at teaching Russian literacy and four arithmetic operations, without lessons of religion. Eventually, only one clerk training school was opened in the uyezd city of Mamadysh in 1849 for Ta-

tars, Mari, and Chuvash people. For the maintenance of the school 900 rubles of silver was allocated annually from the economic capital. The language of study was Russian; cramming prevailed at the lessons [Materialy', 1936, pp. 455–456; Druzhinin, 1958, p. 254].

A contribution to the expansion of the Russian literacy among the Muslims of the Southern Ural was also made by *the schools of mining department*. By 1861 in the Orenburg Guberniya there were 10 primary factory schools (611 students). Those were two-grade schools that taught primary literacy, even though some of them, adapting to the factory needs, were also engaged in elementary professional training of students—the future workers and artisans. People, not associated with the mining department, including representatives of the Bashkir army, who were kept at the expense of the army, also got primary education at factory schools. It is known that more than 100 Bashkirs studied at the educational institutions of the Zlatoust District from 1858 to 1867 [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 44, inv. 3, file 252, ps. 15–17; Chernoukhov, 1998, p. 124].

Thus, the pre-reform development of the school system was marked by the multi-departmental character of state educational institutions represented by different types of schools. War Ministry was very successful in this field, which at the expense of funds collected from Bashkirs and Meshcheryaks sought to provide the local administration with middle-ranking executives and competent staff.

§ 2. Post-reform Period

Chulpan Samatova, Alfiya Yusupova

Russian Educational Institutions. Russian public schools aiming at religious and moral education of students, were unpopular among Muslims. In the latter half of the 19th century cities of the Cis-Ural Region were marked by the biggest number of Muslims at the secondary educational institutions. The biggest group of Tatar nobility was settled in the Ufa Guber-

niya. They sought to integrate into the Russian community and prepared their children for an officer's career. There were groups of Muslim children, mainly Tatars, who studied at the gymnasiums in Ufa, Troitsk, and Uralsk [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 817, s. 37]. There were 52 Muslims at the all-boys gymnasiums and pro-gymnasiums, in-

cluding 20 in the Kazan Educational District, 1 in the Kiev, 25 in the Vilensk, 2 in the Saint Petersburg, Moscow, and Odessa educational districts [Appendixes, 1869, pp. 154–155]. In subsequent years leadership in the number of students at the secondary educational institutions belonged to the Orenburg Educational District established in 1874: in 1878, 48 out of 127 gymnasium students studied here, 10 in the Warsaw, 8 in the Moscow, 6 in the Kazan Educational District, 5 in the Saint Petersburg, 2 in the East-Siberian, 32 in the Vilensk, 3 in the Kiev educational districts, and 10 in the Turkestan Krai.

In 1884 there was one Muslim in every all-boys and all-girls gymnasium in the Kazan Educational District [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 821, inv. 8, file 817, s. 35 reverse]. In 1890 there were 35 Muslim students at the Orenburg Gymnasium, mainly Kazakhs who stayed at the gymnasium dormitory by means of 30 scholarships for the indigenous population of the Ural, Turgai Regions, and Bukey Horde [Belavin, 1891, p. 98]. The early 20th century was marked by a steady increase in the number of Muslims entering gymnasiums. In 1902 in the Orenburg Educational District they accounted for up to 2% of gymnasium students, their number was more than two times bigger than the number of co-religionists in the Kazan Educational District (less than 0.5%).

Urbanisation processes, the development of capitalist relations, and establishment of Zemstvo facilitated the accelerated formation of a network of secondary and the lowest professional colleges, training staff for industrial, artisan, agricultural productions, commerce, and other branches of national economy. In the early 20th century groups of Muslims were present in real colleges of a number of cities. In 1902 they were enrolled in the real colleges of the Kazan (18 people), Orenburg (10 people), and Moscow educational districts (10 people).

The small number of Muslims in Russian universities was a characteristic feature of the post-reform period. For instance, in 1884 out of 5,747 students of Russian universities only 6 were Muslims (4 in the Kazan, 1 in Saint Petersburg, and 1 in Warsaw educational districts)

[Belavin, 1891, p. 358]. In 1873–1896 in the Kazan university with an average number of 595 students there were 5.6 Muslims on average, or the 0.9% of all students [Mikhaylova, 1979, Tables 22, 23, 24, pp. 338–340].

The early 20th century was marked by the increased aspiration of Tatars to study at higher educational institutions. However, by their number they were still a 'microscopic inclusion' in the confessional and ethnic structure of the Russian student community. 61 Muslims studied at the universities in 1899–1900 (0.4%). Technological, polytechnic, mining, agricultural institutions were also marked by a small number of Muslim students: there were just 17 Muslims in 1900–1901 (0.3%), 57 in 1907–1908 (0.4%) [Ivanov, 1999, Table 14, pp. 197, 198]. 92 Muslims studied at the Kazan University in 1899–1917: 19 Azerbaijanis, 10 Bashkirs, 21 Kazakhs, 41 Tatars, and one native of the Middle Asia; 28 successfully graduated [Mikhaylova, 1979, pp. 258, 333–335, 338–340, 347].

Thus, Russian secondary and high schools mainly attracted the children of Tatar gentry, commoners, and merchants, the most representative part of Muslims. Although there were no special restrictions (apart from the permission for Muslims to get a scholarship), in the 19th century they were low-rated among the Muslims.

Russian-Tatar Colleges and Russian Classes at Madrasahs. According to the 'Regulations on Measures for Education of Foreigners in Russia' 1870, the Russian language and arithmetics were the main subjects at Russian-Tatar colleges. The leading role in the training process belonged to the 'translational'²⁸ method. Initially, students learned spoken Russian. The next step was to learn the Russian grammar (reading, writing). At Russian classes at maktab and madrasahs teaching of the Russian language was primarily aimed at mastering the colloquial speech, which did not exclude the

²⁸ The 'translational' method was intended as an aid to learning the grammar of a foreign language and the comprehension of coherent text. The advantage of the 'translational' method was the systematic use of the students' native language.

Table 50

**Dynamics of Russian Muslim school enrollment
in the Kazan educational district in 1874–1902**
[Samatova, 2010, Appendix 7]

Guberniyas	1874			1902		
	Russian classes	Single-class Russian-Tatar colleges	Total	Russian classes	Single-class Russian-Tatar colleges	Total
Astrakhan	–	1	1	3	1	4
Vyatka	–	3	3	–	10	10
Kazan	9	3	12	5	11	16
Samara	–	–	–	1	2	3
Saratov	–	–	–	–	–	–
Simbirsk	–	5	5	–	8	8
Total:	9	12	21	9	32	41

Table 51

**Dynamics of Russian Muslim school enrollment
in Orenburg Educational District* in 1874–1902**
[Samatova, 2010, Appendix 7; Budilovich, 1905, p. 119–120, 135, 145]

Guberniyas and oblasts	1874			1902			
	Russian classes	Single-class Russian Muslim colleges	Total	Russian classes	Single-class Russian Muslim colleges	Two-class Russian Muslim colleges	Total
Orenburg	unknown	unknown	unknown	7	25	2	34
Perm	–	1	1	23		–	23
Ufa	–	7	7	34		–	34
Turgay	unknown	unknown	unknown			–	
Urals	unknown	unknown	unknown	2	2	–	4
Total:				93		2	95

* Without Russian-Kazakh schools and colleges operating in Ural and Orenburg Cossacks.

possibility of teaching the basics of grammar. It was possible to extend the arithmetics course (calculation, the first four operations with whole numbers) by learning the main operations with fractional numbers [Inorodcheskie i inovercheskie, 1903, pp. 14–16].

Initially, there was no education period: as a rule, at one-grade Russian-Tatar schools a three-year training course was practiced in three departments (junior, middle, elder). Shakhkirds attended Russian classes after lessons at

the confessional school. Only in 1907 a four-year education was established at one-grade Russian-Tatar (Bashkir) colleges, the hour-load for separate subjects was determined, and the establishment of two-grade colleges was approved, the curriculum of which was completed with courses of Russian history, science, drawing, geometry [Mir islama, 1913, Vol. 2, p. 28].

Audits of educational institutions in the Kazan Educational District in 1901 and 1903

showed that most of the students mastered Russian to a small extent [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 160, inv. 1, file 947, s. 9]. The number of graduates was small, too (15% of all accepted) [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 2, file 3798, s. 37 reverse]. Parents sent their children to schools out of practical interest: after acquiring spoken and written Russian skills, children left the school with no intention to get a graduation certificate. For this reason, in Russian-Tatar schools, especially at elder departments, there were either no pupils or just a few of them.

More intensive establishment of Russian-Tatar schools in the Kazan Educational District started at the turn of the century. It is known that in 1874 there were 21 schools of a new type, including 12 Russian-Tatar colleges, 9 Russian classes at madrasahs. In 1902 their number was doubled and made up 41 Russian-Tatar educational institutions. At the same time, the number of Russian-Tatar schools significantly increased (32). Mainly it was due to the fact that they were preferred by Tatars themselves. Most of the Russian classes were established at the madrasahs, only two were opened at the maktab of Bukey Horde [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 2, file 2246, s. 69 reverse].

However, it was impossible to completely overcome the negative attitude of Muslims to Russian-Tatar schools. For instance, attempts of inspectors and Zemstvo of the Saratov Guberniya to open new educational institutions were boycotted by rural communities [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 24602, s. 1–15]. The same situation was also observed in the Samara Guberniya (Table 50).

In the Orenburg Educational District the majority of schools were established at the turn of the century. However, by 1902 the number of Russian-Tatar (Bashkir) educational institutions was more than twice as much as those in the Kazan Educational District. With regard to the number of Muslims, the most successful Russian-Muslim schools were opened in the Perm Guberniya (23). There were 2 double-grade Russian-Muslim colleges and 25 single-

grade Russian-Tatar (Bashkir) schools in the Orenburg Guberniya. In the Ufa Guberniya their number in comparison with 1874 had increased 5 times and reached 34 (Table 51).

The distribution of all-girls Russian-Tatar schools left much to be desired. The first all-girls Russian-Tatar school in Kazan, opened in 1873, was soon closed because of the small number of students. New all-girls primary college here was opened just in 1901, in Tetyushi, in 1904 [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 2, file 3799, s. 18]. In the Cis-Ural Region one of the first all-girls departments with 10 students was opened in 1883 at the Temyasov Russian-Bashkir college (the Orsk Uyezd) [Central District Department of Education, 1883, Nos. 11–12, p. 491]. The all-girls Russian-Bashkir college in the village of Buzdyak (1893) was the first school supported by Zemstvo in the Ufa Guberniya [Azamatova, 2010, p. 87]. An all-girls Russian-Tatar school was opened in the village of Noviye Kargaly in the Ufa Guberniya in 1903, a Russian-Bashkir college for girls was opened in the city of Belebey in 1905 [Central District Department of Education, 1905, Nos. 11–12, p. 665].

In the reviewed period in rural areas particularly orphans and boys from poor families studied in free educational institutions, which taught Russian literacy [Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 171, file 656, s. 109 reverse]. In general, one should note the small number of new type schools for Muslims. The Russian-Tatar educational institutions only in the late 19th century began to inspire credibility in a certain part of Tatar population and open upon its initiative. The financial support of Zemstvo facilitated their distribution. The quantitative buildup of Russian-Tatar schools was constrained by the lack of national teaching staff. Despite the small number, they had played a certain role in creating conditions for learning the Russian language particularly by children from needy families and getting of secular primary education by them.

Private Schools and Tutors. In order to prepare children for continuing their family business, Tatar merchants hired private teachers, who mainly were invited to their houses.

Under the conditions of the hostile attitude of Tatar community to Russian educational institutions, for the children of merchants this way of learning the Russian literacy was almost the only possible option.

Introduction of a Russian literacy test in 1891 for those who wanted to take a spiritual position and their failures on the commission tests at the college councils updated the need for qualitative preparation to exams. In a number of cities there appeared private teachers, specialising in preparing future mullahs for exams. The prevalence of this type of training was determined both by the educational traditions of Tatars and the inconvenience for applicants to undergo the course of Russian-Tatar colleges in order to obtain a title of a mullah because of age differences with other students.

The emergence of a local group of Russian language teachers, who obtained the required certificate following successfully passed exams without attending classes, also was a confirmation of the existence of a private education system on a fee basis aimed at meeting the needs of the local population in learning the state language and Russian literacy.

Kazan Tatar Teachers' School (KTTS). Due to the lack of trained Tatars, people without specific education, though knowing the Russian language, were assigned to Russian-Tatar primary schools in the beginning [Khanbikov, 1968, p. 51]. Later the Kazan Tatar Teachers School (opened in 1876) became a 'source of manpower' for Russian-Tatar educational institutions.

An annual admission of students was established at the Kazan Tatar Teachers School, it was based on the results of examinations, which could be attended by representative of any class, who were at least 15 years old. The entrance examinations included tests of the Russian language, arithmetics, reading in the Tatar language and Muslim faith, which was abolished in 1877 [Kazanskaya tatarskaya, 2005, pp. 22–23].

The school curriculum consisted of 84 lessons per week in all four grades. In the first grade students learned Russian, maths, faith,

and natural history. In the second grade these subjects were added by history, geography, in the third grade, pedagogics and didactics. Calligraphy and drawing were taught during the entire education period. Crafts (joinery, book-binding) and gymnastics were taught at the spare time without a split into grades. 9 lessons per week were allocated to the study of Muslim faith, it amounted to 11% of the total number of lessons per week at the school. At the faith lessons students also mastered the Arabic calligraphy and Arabic grammar. Apart from the basics of Islam, all school disciplines were taught in the Russian language.

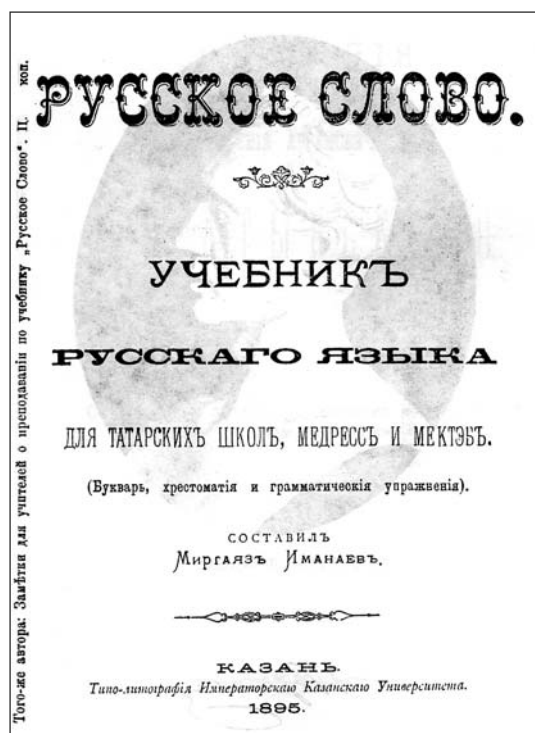
The main part of students was constituted by 'state-permanent' students, who as a rule stayed at the boarding house. Since 1879 the Ministry of National Education reduced the number of state scholarship holders from 40 to 30, at the same time increasing the annual allowance for students from 90 to 120, later to 150 rubles [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 13584, s. 7].

Students who attended just the school lessons (at a small fee) fell under the category of 'non-resident' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 12513, s. 12] and constituted a small part among students of the Kazan Tatar Teachers School.

Natives of the governorates of Kazan, Orenburg, and Moscow educational districts, Siberia, and Middle Asia studied at the Kazan Tatar Teachers School at different times. Allocation of allowance to natives of subordinated territories was a guarantee of the provision of Russian-Muslim educational institutions with teachers.

The majority of students of the Kazan Tatar Teachers School was constituted by children of nobility, officials, clergy, merchants, and burgess. The early 20th century was marked by an increase in the number of peasant children, which indicated the growing interest of the rural population in receiving education in the Russian language.

According to the main task of the Kazan Tatar Teachers School, the education process focused primarily on learning the Russian lan-



Cover of M. Imanaev's Russian language textbook for Tatar schools, madrasahs and makhtabs 'Russian Word' (Kazan, 1895).

guage (grammar, reading, speaking). Difficulties faced by students in learning Russian were determined both by the insufficient knowledge of the subject and the 'structure' of the Tatar language [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 12513, s. 25–25 reverse]. The insufficient knowledge of Russian of applicants to the Kazan Tatar Teachers School was determined by the use of textbooks in the 1–2nd grades, which, apart from Russian texts, contained translations into the Tatar language. Among them should be noted the 'Introduction to Natural History' by R. Arendt, 'Geography for Tatars' by E. Zeidlits, 'Introduction to the World History' by D. Ilovaysky [Khakimov, 1972, p. 6].

Literary evenings and performances, arranged with the involvement of students, were means of aesthetic education, development of the creative thinking of the Kazan Tatar Teachers School students. The desire of teachers to diversify, improve the educational process, broaden the horizons, and increase the erudi-

tion of students was determined by the organisation of various thematic tours and familiarisation with city theatrical performances.

The majority of teachers of the main disciplines had higher education and graduated from universities.

School graduates were not allowed to enroll in the higher education institutions of the country. Thus, government targeted them to work at the primary Russian-Tatar schools. 389 people graduated from the Kazan Tatar Teachers School during the period of its existence [Mikhaylova, 1979, p. 68]. By 1891 out of 79 graduates (12 were transferred from the Orenburg Tatar Teachers School) only 39 were appointed as teachers at primary Tatar schools at different times [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 19983, s. 1]. The graduates of the Kazan Tatar Teachers School worked as teachers even outside the Kazan Educational District.

The Kazan Tatar Teachers School attracted talented and ambitious Tatar youth from peasants, who did not have resources and opportunities to study at gymnasiums and higher schools. A whole galaxy of future representatives of the national creative intellectuals and public figures studied there, including G. İsxayı, S. Maksudi, A. Maksudi, H. Yamaşev, G. Kulakhmetov, etc. At the early 20th century those who did not study at makhtabs or madrasah studied at the Kazan Tatar Teachers School, which had its impact on their further adaptation among Tatars.

In 1880–1882, 10 teachers were invited annually to the courses at the Kazan Tatars Teachers School [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 92, list 1, file 15097, p. 1], 12 in 1883, 17 in 1901 (the Kazan Guberniya (10 people), the Vyatka Guberniya (7 people)) [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 142, inv. 1, file 32, s. 5–12].

Upgrading programs for teachers of Russian-Tatar schools, arranged at the Orenburg Tatar Teachers School (1878–1884 and 1887) [Bakirova, 2005, p. 51], did not comprise all teachers of the Russian language. They attended short courses for teachers of non-Russian colleges in the Orenburg Educational District

and agricultural courses in the city of Birk in the late 1880s to the first half of the 1890s: [Central District Department of Education, 1887, No. 1, pp. 1–2; Galanov, 1894, pp. 19–24, Galanov, b.g., pp. 15–19].

There was an acute need of teaching staff in the Cis-Ural Region. In 1898–1912 the Ufa Guberniya Zemstvo thirteen times applied to the Ministry of National Education with a request to open a Tatar Teachers School in Ufa but was rejected every time [Enikeev, 1977, p. 207].

Thus, the opening of Russian-Tatar schools and Russian classes for Muslims and the Kazan Tatar Teachers School by the government was a progressive step in the sociocultural development of the Tatar community. They facilitated the training of teachers, the development of new study guides, including dictionaries and self-study books, the formation of a layer of European-educated Tatar intellectuals, who made a major contribution to the development of the national culture.

Training Manuals. The creation of training manuals was an important issue for Russian-Tatar colleges and Russian classes. By the 'Rules' dated 26 March 1870 the government established subjects but did not develop education plans for them, even though there were ready projects [Shestakov, 1869, p. 31]. For this reason, teachers of Russian-Tatar schools and Russian classes had to adapt the programs of primary colleges for the Russian-speaking population. It is known that in the late 19th century the 'Approximate Programme of Subjects Taught at the Primary Public Colleges of the Ministry of National Education' dated 7 February 1897 was used as a kind of base [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 160, inv. 1, file 103, s. 24].

In the Kazan Educational District training manuals for the new type schools were developed mainly by V. Radlov. His books 'The First Book to Read' (1874), 'Russian Grammar Developed for the Tatars of Eastern Russia' (1873) favourably differed from those recommended by the Ministry of National Education by having Tatar translations of the texts. The chres-

tomathy of V. Radlov 'Belek' was written in the Tatar language. V. Radlov developed training manuals for Tatars based on active consultations with K. Nasyri. The book of M. Imanaev 'Russian Word' (1895) consisted of an Alphabet book, practical exercises and chrestomathy and at regular use could provide the required level of knowledge of everyday Russian. Gradually, the gap in the training manuals of Russian-Tatar schools was replenished by the teachers of the Kazan Tatar Teachers School. S. Akhmerov wrote a book on the Russian language for Tatar teachers schools (1895). A. Anastasiev published his work 'Public School, a Manual for Teachers of Public Schools. Reference Book' (1890). Art, calligraphy, and drawing teacher S. Tagirov developed the first Tatar Alphabet Book based on the phonetic method (1893) and charts on Russian Roman type calligraphy (1900). In the early 20th century their work was continued by graduates of the Kazan Tatar Teachers School G. Kulakhmetov, M. Kurban-galiev, et al. [Khakimov, 1972, pp. 8–12, 14–16].

It should be noted that the initiative to create and improve textbooks was raised mainly not by the educational authorities but the educational corporation of Russian-Tatar educational institutions and advanced Tatars interested in the education of the population.

Until 1890 books and alphabets were published mainly in Russian and for Russians. Changes in sociocultural life led to the publication of new textbooks for Tatars to learn Russian.

Tatar-Russian and Russian-Tatar Dictionaries and Self-Study Books. The creation of an extensive range of bilingual dictionaries and self-study books of the Tatar language is explained by the targets and tasks of both domestic and external 'eastern' policy of Russia. The Tatar language in the 19th century was the official language and the language of diplomacy in relations of Russia with the countries of the East. Diplomatic documents, sent on behalf of the Russian government to Turkey, Middle Asia, Iran, India, and Mongolia, at that time were written in the Tatar language [Khisamova, 1999, pp. 16–17]. The aforementioned diction-



Cover of Vagapov's textbook 'Self-Teaching Book for Russians in Tatar and for Tatars in Russian' (Kazan, 1889).

aries and self-study books were the 'conductors' of the east-oriented policy of Russia.

Teaching the Tatar language as a separate subject at such famous educational institutions as Saint Petersburg, Kazan, and Kharkov universities, at professional schools, theological academies, and gymnasiums led to the creation of 13 Russian-Tatar and Tatar-Russian dictionaries in the 19th century [Mikhaylova, 1972, p. 33].

The first lexicographical monuments, designed for learning the Russian language by Tatars and the Tatar language by Russians, were the Tatar-Russian and Russian-Tatar dictionaries by I. Giganov, published in 1801 and 1804 [Kononov, 1974, p. 146].

This activity was continued by other authors. In the 19th century were published dictionaries by A. Troyansky (1833; 1835), S. Kuklyashev (1859), L. Budagov (1869, 1871), N. Ostroumov (1876, 1892), K. Nasyri (1878,

1892), the Missionary community (1880, 1882, 1886, 1888, 1891), S. Gabdelgaziz (1893), A. Voskresensky (1894), M. Yunusov (1900) [Kononov, 1974, pp. 130, 141, 201, 224, 229, 246, 272, 293].

In the 19th century, apart from scientific works on the Tatar language, dictionaries, training materials, textbooks, there appeared around 30 self-study books for learning the Tatar language. The self-study books by G. Vagapov (1852–1899), M. Bekchurin (1859, 1869), S. Sainov (1880), M. Salikhov (1885, 1893), I. Kondratov (1893), S. Gabdelgaziz (1894) contained the most widely used words and typical grammatical structures of the Tatar language. It is interesting they were the first to define the principles of supplying the linguistic materials, which are used today to solve problems of foreign language teaching (thematic principle of vocabulary selection, situational dialogues, communicative-conscious principle, etc.). These bilingual dictionaries and self-study books, created by scientists, teachers, and missionaries, brought us the wealth of lexical materials of the period, reflecting the cultural and historical dialogues of the Russian and Tatar people.

The contribution of the Kazan School of Turkic studies should be noted especially. They not only studied the formal and literary language of Turkic peoples but also paid great attention to the colloquial forms of the languages of the people, who already had their script, which was reflected in the Tatar-Russian and Russian-Tatar dictionaries created by them. Authors had mastered the procedure of compiling a dictionary. Words in bilingual dictionaries are strictly alphabetised; in the most (Tatar-Russian) of them words are arranged according to the Arabic alphabet. They are represented in three columns: Arabic—Tatar—Russian. The Russian alphabet was strictly adhered to in Russian-Tatar dictionaries.

The Tatar-Russian and Russian-Tatar dictionaries and self-study books of the 19th century reflect the people's colloquial vocabulary (75%–80%), which is actively used in the modern Tatar language. Dictionaries also recorded the old Tatar vocabulary. In this regard, works

of A. Troyansky, L. Budagov, N. Ostroumov are of great interest.

Many dictionaries and self-study books of the 19th century are based on the written literary language, they have also preserved words related to dialect vocabulary. In this regard, dictionaries by I. Giganov, N. Ostroumov, K. Nasyri, S. Gabdelgaziz are distinguished. It can be explained by the fact that dictionary authors recorded words related to the vocabulary of the place where they were from. Perhaps they attributed these words to the standard literary language.

Missionary authors (A. Troyansky, N. Ostroumov, A. Voskresensky) used dialect vocabulary and thus avoided using Arabic-Persian borrowings, trying to introduce words from the vocabulary of Baptised Tatars into the literary language.

In I. Giganov's dictionaries most of the vocabulary is related to the eastern dialect, they reflect all characteristic linguistic properties of

the Siberian Tatar dialect along with the literary norm. This is explained by the place of residence and work of the author: the dictionaries were compiled in Siberia.

Arabic-Persian borrowings occupy a large part of the vocabulary of these works. They can be divided into the following thematic groups: religious words, scientific terms, sociopolitical terms, military and medical terms, and words related to daily life, flora and fauna, food, drinks, concepts of time, etc.

In order to explain the meaning of other capital lexical items, in some cases the authors of dictionaries use the method of encyclopedic explanation. This method is observed in all dictionaries of the reviewed period, giving them an encyclopedic character. Apparently, this was due to their tasks and targets since the dictionary was intended to reflect the educational intentions, the level of linguistic and cultural development of society, and the evolution of linguistics.

CHAPTER 11

Tatar Books in Russia

Guzel Gabdelganeyeva

Book publishing in the first half of the 19th century. The first book in Russia, printed in the Arabic script, was the Manifesto on Persian Campaign of Peter the Great, published in 1722 (Astrakhan, campaign printing house). The publications that followed (collection of declamations, odes, offering sheets, etc.) were sporadic. Some recovery of printing in the future was due to imperial and missionary needs resulting from annexation of new territories, inhabited by Turkic peoples, to Russia. The first textbooks in Arabic were printed: Turkish grammar by S. Khalfin (Saint Petersburg, 1776; Moscow, 1777 and his Tatar alphabet (Moscow, 1778). In 1787, on the personal order of Catherine of Russia was printed the Quran (Saint Petersburg, printing house of I. Shnor, 1,200 copies), the text was printed in new Arabic script, developed based on the pictures of a scholar-mullah Usman Ismagil. I. Shnor printed the Quran in the same script several times until the end of the century.

The first printing house in Kazan was opened in 1800 (it was called Asian, or gymnasium), and that was the starting point of the history of Tatar books created and distributed upon the initiative of the Tatars. The brief history of the printing house. In 1797 Paul I of Russia permitted G. Burashev, a Tatar, to open a 'free' printing house in Kazan. However, the Senate declined these decision. Following the repeated requests supported by Tatars from other governorates, G. Burashev got a permission to establish a printing house in Kazan (order of Senate dated 13 September 1800), however, not a 'free' printing house but at the First men's gymnasium, and to print there only 'the Quran, prayer books, and the like.'

In 1801 the printing house printed the first two books: 'Attagoci'²⁹ and 'Häftiyak' published by the founder and first tenant of the printing house G. Burashev.

When G. Burashev was suspended from the management of the printing house, it was rented by a merchant Y. Apanayev (1806–1809), who had published more than 8 books in 19 publications (the Quran, Stuari, Pirguli, etc.), repeating the repertoire of the previous publications of the printing house, apart from two new publications: 'Säifelmölek' (a story about the wanderings of Tsarevich Saiful Mulyuk in eastern countries) and 'Risälai Möxämädiye' ('Message of Muhammad').

According to incomplete data, 93 books were published at the printing house from 1801 to 1829 (including the 9 years, during which the printing house was inactive) [Karimullin, 1992, p. 122]. In this period, the Quran underwent 25 publications; 'Häftiyak,' 17, 'Älifba,' 16, 'Stuari,' 9, 'Pirguli,' 8, etc.

The first employees of the printing house and the first printing experts in Kazan—proofreader Kh. Mamyshev, typesetter G. Rakhmatullin, and the censor, editor, and translator of the works Ibragim Khalfin—made the first attempts to improve the scripts used for printing.

In 1829 the first printing house in Kazan and the first Tatar printing establishment in Russia was affiliated with the printing house of the Kazan University (opened in 1809) and up to 1860s was called as its 'Asian Branch Office.'

²⁹ The 'Attagoci' was a Tatar ABC book with prayers for reading, which was later published every year with a circulation of almost 150 thousand copies under the name 'Älifba iman şartları belän' ('Alphabet with Prayers'), 'Şartel'-iman,' or 'Iman şartı' ('Conditions of Faith').

The first book published in this printing house was 'The Alphabet and Grammar of the Tatar Language with Arabic Reading Rules, Taught at the Imperial Kazan Gymnasium' by I. Khalfin (1809, 170 p., 1,200 copies), a textbook of the Tatar language, which was used at the gymnasiums of Russia, quickly sold out like its second edition (1812). The second award-winning work of I. Khalfin 'The life of Genghis Khan and Aksak Timur, with addition of various stories, related to the history, all words for students are alphabetised' (1819, 1,200 copies; 1822) was also designed for students. For decades these publications were the only training manuals to learn the Tatar language in Russian educational institutions, they were used as examples for the subsequent works on the Tatar grammar by M. Ivanov, A. Kazembek, S. Kuklyashev, et al.

Prior to the affiliation with the Asian printing house, the printing house of the Kazan University published: the story of Abul-Gazi Khan about Mongols and Tatars 'Genealogy of Turks' in the Chagatai language (1825), ordered by the chancellor N. Rummyantsev, 'History of Tsars, Caliphs, and Sheriffs of the Mecca Empire' by Takhawetdin Mukhametdin in Arabic (1822), pieces of poetry in the Persian language by Azerbaijani poet Nizami, edited and commented by F. Erdman (1826, 1828), and other works on history, literature, the language of eastern people; translations addressed to Tatars: 'About Cowpox Vaccination' by head physician Fedor Volkov (1812), 'Teglim name' (A guide how to distinguish true death from imaginary) (1813). Upon the order of Tatar publishers the Quran, 'Söbatel-gacizin,' and other books were printed. According to the 'Catalogue of Books and Minor Works Published in the Printing House of the Kazan University... until 1819' 77 books were published, until 1829, according to Zagoskin, 177 [Zagoskin, 1906, p. 48].

Starting from the early 1830s the printing of works on oriental studies and oriental languages got intensified. The development of oriental studies at the university was reflected in the printing production, the publication of which became possible due to

equipping the printing house with new Arabic scripts. Among scientific works can be noted the Crimean-Tatar manuscript on the history of Crimean khans by Seid Muhammad Riza ('Asseb o-seiir, or Seven Planets') published under the editorship and commented by A. Kazembek (1832), 'Secret Islamic Jurisprudence' in Arabic with a Russian translation of the same author (1845), 'Story about the daughter of the Russian Tsar' ('Xikaäyat doxtär-i padsha rus') by Nizami in Persian under the editorship of F. Erdman (1844), a book about Ferdowsi by S. Nazaryants (1842, soon republished in Moscow), 'Babur-name' in the Chagatai language with Russian translation published by I. Ilminsky (1851), 'Library of Eastern Historians' by I. Berezin (1849–1854), 'Stories of Rubguzi' in the Uighur language (1859), etc.

Scientists at the university introduced many works of Arab, Persian, Turkish, Middle Asian authors on culture, philology, Muslim jurisprudence, as well as works of fiction and folklore into the scientific circulation.

Educational publications designed for the study of oriental languages are represented by 'The Grammar of the Turkish-Tatar language' by A. Kazembek (1839, gained worldwide fame, republished in 1846), the first in Russia 'Grammar of the Persian Language' prepared by I. Berezin (1853), 'Tatar Grammar' and 'Tatar Chrestomathy' by a Tatar language teacher at the Neplyuev cadet corps M. Ivanov (published in 1842 upon the order of the governor of Orenburg), 'Dictionary of the Tatar Language and Some Commonly Used Arabic and Persian Words' by A. Troyansky (2 volumes, 1833, 1835), etc.

Since the 1830s the university's printing house became a school for the preparation of staff, masters of the Tatar print. Its role in the history of Tatar books and books on oriental languages, which became the property of many Turkic people of Russia, is significant.

The emergence of private printing in Kazan was determined by the increased demand for Tatar books. The first private printing house was opened by an engraver Ludwig Shevits in 1840. The technically equipped

facility ensured high quality of work that attracted Tatar publishers, upon the orders of who 35 different books were published in the printing house until 1846.

In 1844 the first lithography in Kazan started to print books possessed by Shagi Yakhin. In the same year Rakhimzyan Sagitov, a famous publisher in the city, opened a printing house in the Novotatarsky settlement. However, private establishments developed under adverse conditions. According to the decree dated 1845, it was forbidden to print Islamic religious books in the private printing houses of Kazan. Referring to the decree, the governor of Kazan prohibited the owners of printing houses to publish every single Tatar book. L. Shevits had to stop printing, and in 1848 he sold the printing house.

Until 1848, 4 publications were done by S. Yakhin, and one publication was done by R. Sagitov. Following the abolition of the decree and resumption of work, at the lithography of S. Yakhin (since 1851) they mainly published shamails, calendars, and fulfilled other minor orders. In 1859 it was handed over to M. Yakhin. R. Sagitov had published 27 different books in total and in 1862 he gave up the upkeep of the printing house and returned to publishing.

The ban on the printing of Islamic religious books almost did not affect the university's printing house, which like before fulfilled the orders of Tatar publishers. Moreover, this printing house managed to return the seemingly lost monopoly of printing works in oriental languages. Despite high prices, Tatars had to use the services of this printing house and of the printing house of N. Kokovin (the former L. Shevits), despite its low quality of publication. Since the late 1840s private printing houses, which had resumed the work, began to interrupt such orders. For instance, in 1851–1852 in the university's printing house 20 different Tatar books were printed, while in the private printing houses they were 57 [Karimullin, 1992, pp. 148, 159].

According to incomplete data, in 1801–1850, 401 Tatar books were published in Kazan (93 out of them were published in the

رقص - يو	Ракъс, бею.	Танцованіе.
يوزو	Юзу.	Плаваніе.
تربيلو-تربيلو	Тербеллау, тербея виру.	Воспитаніе.
نصیحت - اوکوت	Несыхетъ, угутъ.	Наставленіе.
ادب	Эдебъ.	Образованность.
ادب ویرمک	Эдебъ вирмекъ.	Образовать.
صاباق	Сабакъ.	Урокъ.
У Ч Е Н Ы Е.		
عالم	Галымъ.	Ученый.
مصنف	Мусаввиъ.	Сочинитель.
تبلماچ	Тълмачъ.	Переводчикъ.
شاعر	Шагиръ.	Поэтъ, стихотворецъ.
بيت چىقاروجى	Байтъ чыкаручи.	
مورخ	Муаррихъ.	Историкъ.
تاريخ يازوجى	Тарихъ язучи.	
حكيم	Хекимъ.	Докторъ.
طبيب - ايجى	Табибъ, имчи.	Медикъ, лекаръ.
جراح	Джеррахъ.	Хирургъ.
نیش طبيبی	Тешъ табибе.	Зубной врачъ.
عطيار - اپتيكىچى	Гаттаръ, аптикчи.	Аптекарь.
مدرس	Мюляррисъ.	Профессоръ.
استاذ	Стазь.	

Pages from G. Makhmudov's book
'Practical Manual for the Study of Tatar'
(Kazan, 1855).

Asian printing house, 220 in the university's printing house, 45 in the printing house of L. Shevits, 12 in the printing house of N. Kokovin, 27 in the printing house of R. Sagitov, 4 in the lithography of S. Yakhin) [Karimullin, 1992, p. 165]. In the first half of the 19th century 1,877 different books, magazines, prints were published in the provincial printing house of Russia. Of these 1,281 were published in Kazan [Rubinstein, 1964, p. 292], including books in Russian, West European, Chuvash, Udmurt, Mari, and other languages. In 1851–1855 another 176 Tatar books were published in Kazan, which amounted to a total of 577 publications [Karimullin, 1992, p. 165]. Despite an overall downward trend in printing in Russia, in Kazan as before publishing was active, and every third book published in the province at this time (1,463 publications) [Rubinstein, 1964, p. 300] was

in the Tatar language. In terms of print runs it was second only to the Russian versions.

The early 1850s are marked by the emergence of secular works in the repertoire of Tatar publications: The 'Russian-Tatar alphabet' (1852) and 'Self-study Book for Russians in Tatar and for Tatars in Russian' (1851), G. Vagabov (re-issued in more than 20 editions before the revolution), 'Practical Guide to Learning the Tatar Language' by G. Makhmudov (1855), 'Näxu kitabı' ('Brief Tatar Grammar explained in Examples'), K. Nasyri (1860), study guides by S. Kuklyashev, M. Bekchurin, et al. Among the few fiction books by contemporary Tatar authors we note the first book by G. Chokry 'Täcvid' ('Rules of Orthoepic Reading of the Quran') (1860), 'Mäcmägil-ädäb' ('Collections of rules of conduct') by H. Salikhov (1856), etc.

Throughout the history of Tatar publications, a significant role was given to religious and moral works of a religious nature. According to the scholar and theologian P. Znamensky, in 1855—1864 in the university printing house only upon the orders of Tatar publishers were 1,084,320 copies of books printed; these included 147,600 copies of 'Häftiyak,' 90,000 copies of the Quran, and also similar books published in the private printing houses of Kazan [Znamensky, 1910, p. 28].

Tatar publishers were represented by a fairly wide range: merchants (the Apanayevs, Saidburganov, Yunusov, later R. Sagitov, M. Abdurashitov son of Akhmetov, U. Abdulsattarov, et al.), meshchans (M. Katenin, M. Maksutov, I. Medvedev, M. Davydov, I. Urazov, et al.), Tatars of the service class (Fayzullin, Y. Bogdanov, et al.), peasants, shakirds of madrasah, and even women (the first of them was Gubeyeva). One of the most active publishers of the first half of the 19th century was a translator for the Kazan city court by the name of Rakhmatulla Amirkhanov who published the first Tatar calendar, 'Görräle'k' (1841). At his order, in 1839–1843, 1845–1846 in the university printing house, 87,800 copies of books, mainly historical and religious, were published, including the Quran and the seventh part of the Quran, 30,200

copies [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 2, file 483, s. 35].

Publications for Turkic peoples of Russia printed beyond Kazan were not insignificant. Books in the Arabic script in the first half of the 19th century were infrequently published in Saint Petersburg and Moscow and were published in Orenburg, Astrakhan, and the Caucasus as needed by the central authorities, local administration, or missionaries. In 1802 in the printing house of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences in response to an 'imperial order' publications were made of the 'Tatar Language Grammar,' 'Russian-Tatar Dictionary,' and 'Words, Indigenous, the Most Essential for Learning Tatar Language' by I. Giganov, 'Alphabet of the Tatar Language' by N. Antometov; in 1803, 'About Cowpox Vaccination' by F. Volkov (translated into Tatar by I. Khalfin); and in 1814, a 'Brief Tatar Grammar' by A. Troyansky. Such publications were rare, similar to the occasional orders of Tatar publishers: 'Kitab gıyl'me hä'l' by mullah A. Süleymanov (1839), 'Kitab däläyale axiryat' and 'Häftiyake şäri'f' by mullah Kamaletdin (1845), 'Sälyasäte auliya,' 'Cännätel-äsma,' 'Babur namä' (1856–1858), etc., that were printed using lithography rather than typesetting. From 1850 into the 1870s several religious books in the Tatar language were published by missionaries, and at the order of the General Staff Russian-Turkish and Russian-Persian dictionaries and phrase books were published using lithography [Karimullin, 1983, p. 96].

Rarely publications in Arabic were carried out in Moscow. Tatar publishers from Moscow preferred to employ the services of the printing houses in Kazan, the centre of book production in oriental languages.

Printing for the Muslim peoples of Caucasus or in languages of these people was preceded by the creation of a periodical press. Since 1818 the Russian military administration of Caucasus in Tiflis published the newspaper 'Tiflis News' in the Russian and Georgian languages, for the printing of which the printing house named 'Tatar' or 'Farsi' was established. However, this was the extent of printing in Arabic script in the Caucasus. In

all likelihood, this is explained by the fact that the Turkic peoples of the Caucasus were provided with books published in Kazan as well as in Iran and Turkey [Abramishvili, 1956, p. 69].

The publication of translations of Christian books into oriental languages was actively carried out by missionaries. These translations do not fall under the general statistics of Tatar publications in Russia or Kazan. However, as there were missionary translations addressed to Tatars and other Turkic peoples of the empire, it is appropriate to provide some information about them. The first such books were published by missionaries from Scotland who travelled to the Caucasus in 1802. They set up a printing house in Carras to print Christian books in Tatar, Persian, and Arabic, and after receiving the permission of the Kazan censor they published a catechesis in the Turkic-Tatar language (1806) followed by a large number of books in the Tatar and Crimean-Tatar languages as well as in the Nogai and Persian languages. Later some of the Scotland missionaries moved to Astrakhan, where they continued their translation and publishing activities. In 1816 they translated into Tatar language (the lower class dialect of Turkish language used between the Nogai and Kazan Tatars) the³⁰Bible. Translations into Tatar ('of Kyrgyz and Orenburg dialects') were intended for distribution among the peoples of the Volga and Ural Regions. The publication of Christian books in Turkic-Tatar, Persian, and Arabic in the Caucasus was carried out by missionaries of the Basel Evangelical Society, which settled there in 1821. However, in the 1830s the missionaries had to leave the Caucasus and later Astrakhan [Astafyev, 1889, p. 118].

The Kazan branch of the Russian Bible Society began to publish and distribute books of sacred scriptures in the indigenous languages of the people of Kazan Krai (opened in 1818). The books selected for translation included

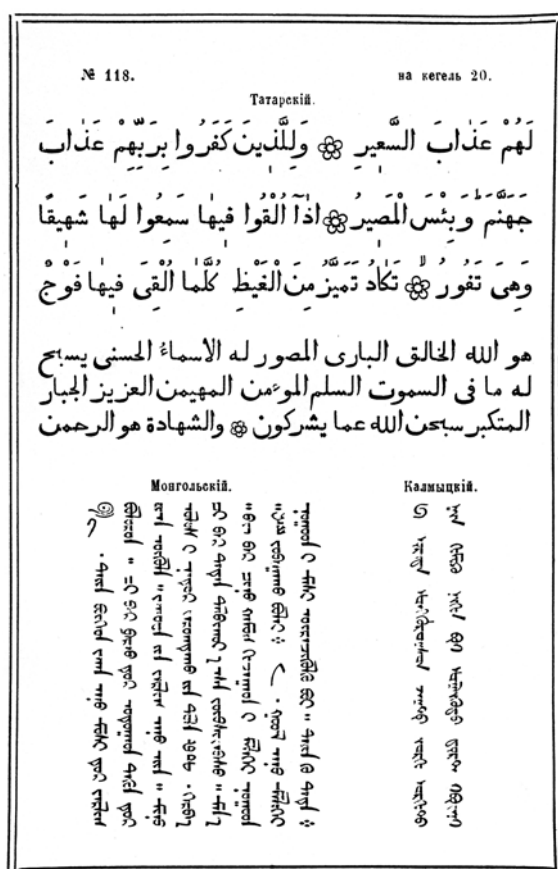
the Bible in the Kalmyk and Tatar languages (1819, 2,500 and 5,000 copies), the first edition of the Four Gospels in the Chuvash language (1821, 5,000 copies), which like the other books of the Bible were published in the university printing house.

The publishing activity of Tatars was traditionally combined with the book trade and was amounted to peddling as a rule. Apparently, in the Volga Region this began in the 17th century, when book printing in Arabic appeared in Europe and Eastern countries. The supply of books from Eastern countries continued with the emergence and development of book printing in Kazan. Publications came through Odessa and Astrakhan customs, were brought by Tatar pilgrims to fellow merchants, forbidden books were brought in the same shipments with religious-moral publications approved for circulation or with other goods. Different workarounds were used to provide the Tatar reader with books.

Tatar publishers actively used trade fairs. At the Makaryev, Irbitsk, Menselinsk fairs Muslim books were being sold already in the first quarter of the 19th century. In the 1830–1840s the most distributed book in this region was the Quran (just a small part of its circulation was the result of what was sold at Kazan bookstores and small fairs). The Quran was the most actively bought at the Nizhny Novgorod fair. As indicated by missionaries, thanks to Tatar booksellers at the Eastern markets, Kazan-Tatar publications were dispersed to 'all ends of Russia where Islam was a force—Siberia, Crimea, the Caucasus, Khiva, and Bukharia' [Znamensky, 1910, p. 28].

In the pre-reform period Tatar publications were used not only in the education of the Tatars but also in the religious development of the Turkic peoples of Russia, and they were widely distributed in the Caucasus, Middle Asia, and Siberia and found their way into Chinese Turkestan and Eastern India as well as Arab countries. Despite pressure resulting from dual forces of oppression—national and social—Tatar books continued to flourish: they were published, distributed, and used.

³⁰ The basis for the translation was an ancient manuscript purchased by the missionary G. Pinkerton from Karaite Jews.



Samples of letters, decorations, and typograph symbols of the publishing house and letter-foundry of Imperial Kazan University. 1884.

Tatar publishing in 1860–1905. The post-reform period was marked by the start of a new stage in the history of Tatar publishing, the centre of production and distribution of which as before was Kazan. The expansion of local printing facilities facilitated the active publishing of Tatar books. Equally important was the increased demand of Tatar society for books, print publications, which was taken into consideration by publishers.

In the latecenturyTatar books in Kazan were printed in Russian and Tatar printing houses. A revival of printing activity among Tatars in the early 1850s was short-lived. At that time it was difficult to acquire a license to open a printing establishment, especially for a Tatar. However, in 1859 the Kazan merchant M. Yakhin managed to open a lithographic

printing house,³¹ where he published prints, prayers, shamails, historical and religious works, later classical works of oriental literature, textbooks, and the first geographical map in the history of Tatar book printing (1861). In 1871 M. Yakhin establishment was closed, and the following year it was sold to I. Abdulin, who in 1883 passed it down to his son. It was still in operation in the early 20th century.

In the latter half of the19th century Tatar books were actively printed at the university press, which published almost half of all Tatar works in Kazan, as before. Their repertoire, being universal, characterises all Tatar book production of the given period. Year after year the press published 'Kıyssai Mansur,' 'Kıyssai Äbügalisina,' 'Kıyssai Zarkum,' 'Kıyssai Yosıf,' 'Kıyssai Kız Kerpeş,' 'Kıyssai Näürüz,' 'Kıyssai Pählevan,' and other numerous historic records of oral folk art of many of Russia's Turkic peoples. Works of Medieval Eastern literature were reissued regularly: 'The Book of Advice' by Attar, 'Flower Gardens' by Ghazālī, works of Nizami, Ferdowsi, Avicenna, O. Khayyam, A. Yassawi, Pirguly, and other Eastern philosophers who profoundly influenced the formation of the world view of the Tatar enlightenment. Some works of fiction were republished from Constantinople editions, such as: The 'Treasury of Wise Aphorisms' by Abu Ali Sina' (1864), 'Alti Bar-mak Kitabi' ('Book of Six Fingers') (1865), etc. Works on formal logic, Muslim jurisprudence and dogmatics, moral and edifying pieces, original and translated, often with commentaries by contemporaries, oracles, shamails, Quran and surahs from it, 'häftiyak,' prayers, etc., were issued regularly, as before.

The development of Tatar secular education and Tatar education reform served as a momentum for the printing of school books, first of all, on linguistics. The first attempts to make the Tatar literary language more conversational were made at the end of the18th century by S. Khalfin, a teacher of Tatar in the First Kazan gymnasium and the editor of 'Tatar

³¹ It was located on Sennaya Square, in the house of Yunusov.

Dictionary and Brief Tatar Grammar' (1785). From that point on, I. Khalfin, S. Kuklyashev, G. Vagabov, and other Tatar educators continued their work in this direction. From the beginning of the 50s they started printing reading materials to help Tatar and Russian language students. The amount of such books started to increase. Among the works of the 60–70s are 'The Grammar of Russian-Tatar Language' by G. Vagabov (1873), republications of his previous works, and works by S. Kuklyashev, M. Bekchurin, K. Nasyri, G. Makhmudov. In the 80s, and especially the 90s, the publication of philological books significantly increased, which can be explained by the general status of the development of the Tatar language and Tatar linguistics, literature, education, and culture as well as some other factors, including the development of a national identity by the Tatar people. The strengthening of opposition to the educational ideology of the new Tatar intellectuals and the fanaticism of the reactionary Muslim clergy that pervaded all spheres of social life was most evident in the sphere of education, where the question was raised about the introduction of reform in the maktab schools and the implementation of new teaching methods. The introduction of new textbooks written by new authors was one of the forms of protest against the old-fashioned 'cadimist' schools. The repertoire of these books included 'Beginner Studies or the Improved Alphabet Book' by S. Tagirova, Russian language teacher at madrasah in the Old-Tatar Sloboda (1892, 1896), 'Book of Reading and Writing' (1891), 'Beginner's Guide to Literacy' (1893) by the famous Kazan mudarris G. Barudi³², textbooks on the Tatar, Arabic, and Russian languages, including 'Primary Textbook on the Tatar and Arabic Languages' (1891) that used the syllable method and was republished dozens of times, 'Textbook on Arabic Grammar' (1893), and others. Anthologies and learner's dictionaries were published along with scientific and

scientific-reference books that were added shortly after: the first scientific grammar book of Tatar language 'Änmüzäc' (1895) and the first dictionary of Tatar language 'Lähjâi tatari' (1895–1896) by K. Nasyri, etc.

In the last quarter of the 19th century the university press started publishing geography and mathematics books, popular science books, calendars, publishing and booksellers catalogues (äsami kötep), new Tatar fiction pieces (by G. Ilyasi, M. Akyeget-zade, Kurmash, et al.), translations of well-known fiction works from the realm of Eastern literature 'Tutiynamä' ('Tales of a Parrot'), 'Kalilä vä Dimnä' ('Book of Kalil and Dimna') (1889–1892), 'Älfe läylä vä läylä' ('One Thousand and One Nights') (1897–1899),³³ etc. The vibrant translation business carried out by S. Tagirov, T. Yakhin, and other Tatar educators introduced Turkic readers to works by the leading Russian writers.

In the latter half of the 19th century the university press, according to partial data, published 1,415 Tatar books with a total print run of 10 million copies (the average print run of a single book was 8,000 copies) [Karimulin, 1983, p. 56]. Taking these numbers into consideration, 5,577 books were published by the university press during this period of time, including 1,700 publications by the university itself and 2,462 publications based on orders from Russian publishers [Gabdalganeeva, 2005, p. 24]. From the beginning of the 1900s the number of Tatar books suddenly being printed decreased, and with the establishment of new private printing houses publications of Tatar books virtually ceased altogether, while Russian books were still being actively printed.

The establishment of four private Russian printing houses in Kazan served as one of the factors for the subsequent development of Tatar publishing business. Tatar books were printed in large quantities at Kokovins-

³² They were published in the series 'Mäg'rife islamiya' ('The Knowledge of Islam'), as were other textbooks by the author.

³³ 'Tutiynamä' was translated from Turkish into Tatar by G. Faezkhonov, who also translated Kalilä vä Dimnä' from Arabic into Tatar; 'Älfe läylä vä läylä' was translated from Arabic into Tatar by F. Khalidi.



I. Kharitonov. Photo from the early 20th century.

Chirkovs' printing house (formerly L. Shevits). Up to the 1880s religious and quasi-religious literature prevailed. The publication of folkloric epic stories increased later ('Kiz Cibek,' 'Taminadar,' 'Ayman-Çulpan,' 'Malik Xasan,' etc.). These were widespread among Tatars, Kazakhs, Kyrgyzs, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Azerbaijanis, and other Muslim nations. Old-method and new-method alphabet books were published ('Mögallim Äüväl' by K. Maksudi, 'Älifba Kitabi,' 'Yaña isul älifba,' and others), arithmetic books, books on gardening and livestock-breeding, as well as works representing the new Tatar literature. Until the end of the 19th century this printing house published 1,025 editions of Tatar books [Karimullin, 1983, p. 77].

In 1882–1888 G. Vecheslav's printing house published 225 Tatar books with a combined print run of 1.5 million copies [Karimullin, 1983, p. 86]. After the printing house was taken over by B. Dombrovsky (1894), Tatar books continued to be printed, and until the end of the century 171 publications with a combined print run of 1.5 million copies were published [Karimullin, 1983, pp. 93]. Secular literature was dominant, as before. At the same time, Tatar folkloric works were printed

as well as works of Kazakh, Akyn literature and folklore, the Quran (10 issues were published up to 1900), Quranic and religious-ceremonial literature.

The development of Tatar books began in the 20th century and was closely connected to I. Kharitonov. A hereditary printer who managed G. Vecheslav's printing house, he opened his own printing house in 1896, and shortly after, a lithography shop, a bookbinding shop (1898), and a typesetting foundry (1900), where he started making letter punches for Tatar fonts. For over a century all Tatar and Turkic printings were done with these fonts created in the latter quarter of the 18th century by mullah scholar U. Ismagil for I. Shnor's printing house (Saint Petersburg). New fonts (called 'kharitonovsky') became widespread throughout Russia and were used in the Islamic East. The fonts were created with the help of the future Tatar playwright G. Kamal and artist-engraver and printmaker I. Yuzeev. The first Tatar book printed there was the booksellers' catalogue by G. Kamal ('Kitapçı Galiäskär bine Galiakbär Kamaletdinov kitapxanäseneñ äsami kötebe') (1902). Until 1905 the shop published 104 editions of Tatar books with a total print run of 645,136 copies.

From time to time, Tatar books (maps, sh-mails, wall calendars, and other lithographic products) were printed by I. Perov's printing house, and infrequently, by other Russian publishing houses and lithography shops: the Kazan Guberniya administration press, the publishing houses of A. Timofeev, I. Moldavsky, and L. Antonov. Book production in Eastern languages was also carried out by the publishing houses of R. Sagitov and lithography shops of S. Yakhin, M. Yakhin, and I. Abdullin. The last quarter of the 19th century was marked by the rapid growth of Tatar publications. At the end of the century there were up to 140–180 titles of Tatar books published in Kazan annually, with a combined print run of 1.5–2 million copies.

Religious literature was actively published as well. 'Häftiyak' was published with a print run of up to 100 thousand copies, the print run of prayers, oracles, shamails, etc., reached

10,000, 20,00 copies, and more. Religious literature continued to be published in large amounts: it was printed in all of the printing houses of Kazan that accepted orders from Tatar publishers. Such books were always popular in Russia's Islamic nations and thus were systemically reissued. However, secular works, whose print runs steadily grew, began to outstrip religious works. Thus, the print run of 'Self-Study Book for Russians in Tatar...' by G. Vagabov was 5,000 copies in 1874 and 10,000 copies in 1899. The print run of the alphabet book by S. Tagirov totalled 6,000 copies in 1896, while for the alphabet book by K. Maksudi it numbered 3,000, 6,000, and 10,000 copies in 1891, 1897, and 1898, respectively.

Works by Tatar authors or books for Tatars were also printed at the request of Russian publishers. Thus, the owner of the Kazan book firm A. Dubrovin published 'Self-Study Book of the Russian Language' by M. Salikhov (1885, 1897), and the owner of I. Khari-tonov's printing house published a great deal of secular books written by Tatar authors. At the request of the Orenburg governor, the Kazan university press published 'Beginner's Guide to Learning the Arabic, Persian, and Tatar Languages' by S. Bekchurin; at the request of the Vyatka Guberniya's zemstvo a guide to gardening and agriculture by the teacher M. Mansurov was published; the Kazan city дума ordered a translation of Gogol's comedy 'The Inspector General' into the Tatar language, etc.

Figures from the realm of Tatar publishing took into consideration new inquiries from the Tatars and all the Turkic-speaking peoples of Russia when they published books. The Karimov brothers (Mukhammadzyan, Sharifzyan, and Khasan) were among them. They started as booksellers (they engaged in trading up to 1883, then opened a bookstore on Sennaya Square), then they started to publish books themselves, and eventually opened a printing house ('Matbagai Kārimiya' 1900). In addition to the printing house, they opened a lithography shop and a type-foundry where they started creating new fonts ('karimovsky')

and decorative elements. In 1900–1905 their printing house published 508 books with a total print run of 7,032,470 copies [Karimullin, 1974, p. 31].

Kazan printing houses printed fictional and folkloric works by many Turkic peoples of Russia and books written in the languages of these peoples. Throughout the 19th century these books were predominantly printed by Kazan Tatars. From the end of the 70s, for example, works in Kazakh began to be systematically printed in Kazan. The first publisher of such works was the bookseller Sh. Khusainov. In 1866 the university press printed the first book in Kazakh at his request—'Kıyssai Tamindar,' which went through five reprints before 1917 (1882, 1895, 1896, 1906, 1913). Sh. Khusainov reprinted the Kazakh national epic poem 'Er Targin' in 1895 and 1898; his successors did the same in 1909 and 1913. It was first published in 1862 at the request of N. Ilminsky and was republished by him four times (1876, 1879, 1881, 1883). The total print run of all of the editions was 33,800 copies. Khusainov (and since 1905 his successors) published no less than 80% of all of the Kazakh books printed in Kazan before 1917 [Karimullin, 1985, p. 176]. The books in the Kazakh language were published by F. Amashev, F. Kateyev, K. Shamsutdinov, and other Kazan commercial publishers, who also handled their distribution. In the 19th century folkloric works in the Kazakh language were printed as well: 'Kıyssai Kozı-Korpeş' (1878, reissued six times before 1917), 'Kıyssai Tahir' (5 times), 'Kıyssai Zarkum' (twelve times), 'Kıyssai Säedbattal' (five times), 'Kıyssai Kız Cebek' (1894, reissued thirteen times), 'Kıyssa Alman Şolpan' (1896), and others [Karimullin, 1985, pp. 177, 178]. From the beginning of the 20th century Kazan publishers introduced works by modern Kazakh authors.

During the given period Tatar books were published in Saint Petersburg. In the 1880s, at the request of Tatar publishers, shamails and steamship schedules were printed³⁴ by the

³⁴ Book printing in the press of the Academy of Sciences recovered in the Mid-1850s, after the 'Oriental

printing house of the Academy of Sciences as well as that of Stein. As before, works from the scientists of the Academy of Sciences, manifests, decrees, and other official documents addressed to the Turkic peoples of Russia were printed in Kazan printing houses.

In 1894, with the support of Orientalist scholars, a new printing house was opened in Saint Petersburg by I. Boragansky, a skillful Eastern calligrapher and engraver, expert in Eastern and European languages, lecturer on Turkic language and Eastern calligraphy at the University of Saint Petersburg. By the end of the 19th century this printing house had published 60 editions of Tatar books and books on Oriental studies with a total print run of 270,000 copies [Karimullin, 1974, p. 177], including: works by scholars at the University of Saint Petersburg that had been previously printed in Kazan, shamails with aphorisms from the Quran, religious works of a didactic nature, translations of Persian and Arabic poetry, collections of proverbs, legends, etc. From the beginning of the 20th century this establishment started to function under the name of 'Lithography and Printing House of I. Boragansky and Co.' (partner akhun G. Bayazitov). When the 'Nur' newspaper started to be printed there, it was renamed the 'Nur' printing house. In 1901–1905 the printing house published 53 editions of Tatar books, mostly secular, with a total print run of 122,440 copies [Karimullin, 1974, p. 179].

Arabic fonts that were created by the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages at the beginning of the 1820s were not used in Moscow until the middle of the 1850s. Later they found use in the publication of 'Practical Guide to the Turkic-Tatar-Azerbaijan Dialect' (1857) and 'Turkic-Tatar and Russian Dictionary' (1864) by L. Lazarev, 'Comparative Chres-

tomathy of the Turkish Language: Osmanli and Azeri Dialects with Appendix, including Dialogues and Proverbs with Russian Translation for Practical Exercises' (1866), etc. In general, Arabic fonts were used very seldom, and many of the institute's works were printed by the Kazan university press.

Sometimes Tatar editions were printed in Moscow at the lithography shop of Abdullovsky and the printing house of O. Gerbek [Karimullin, 1983, p. 98]. Publishers in Moscow, Saint Petersburg, and other cities preferred to place their orders with Kazan printing houses.

In the latter half of the 19th century isolated cases whereby Tatar books were printed by Orenburg printing houses took place: at the Eastern branch of the military press (established in 1832) and at B. Breslin's private printing³⁵house. With the establishment of the printing house of G. Karimov (1900), Tatar books began to be printed on a regular basis. Over a year and a half (before the unexpected death of the owner) the printing house published 27 named publications with a total print run of 52,400 copies [Akhmer, 1909, p. 67]. Between 1901 and 1905 (the printing house was taken over by his son F. Karimi) 114 Tatar books were published with a print run of 275,000 copies, including: the works of F. Karimi, R. Fakhretdin, M. Fayzi, Z. Bashiri, M. Marjani, G. Ibragimov, G. Mangushev, G. Biktavi, N. Dumavi, Kh. Gali, and others [Karimullin, 1974, p. 141]. Some of the works were included in the series 'Nations of

Faculty' of Kazan University was moved to the capital. In addition, lithography was used, as earlier, for the printing of, for example, 'Kratkaya uchebnaya grammatika' ('A concise grammar textbook') by Kh. Faizkhanov (1862), Russian-Turkish and Russian-Persian dictionaries and phrase books commissioned by the General Headquarters, and from the 1850s rare books by orthodox missionaries.

³⁵ Among the publications were the first textbooks of the famous Kazakh educator, teacher, and writer Y. Altynsarin: 'Nachal'noe rukovodstvo k obucheniyu kirgizov russkomu yazyku' ('Introductory Guide for the Teaching of the Russian Language to the Kyrgyz People') and 'Kirgizskaya khrestomatiya' ('Kyrgyz Anthology') (1879), typed in the Russian script and designed for Kyrgyz children studying in Russian-Kyrgyz schools, 'Shartel'-iman' (1894), 'Khatynnar vazifasy' ('Duties of Women' translated from Turkish by F. Karimi) (1899), the calendar 'Zaman' by Sh. Shagidullin, 'Räxbare imlyä' ('Spelling Rules') by Kh. Fayzullin, around 20 publications in the Tatar, Bashkir, Kazakh languages, printed in a Russified script and commissioned by the trustee of the Orenburg Educational District in the late 19–early 20th centuries.

the World,' 'Tatar mäktäbe' ('Tatar School'), 'Besneñ mäktäp' ('Our school'), and others. At the end of the 19th century attempts to organise book printing in Arabic fonts were made in Ufa. From the beginning of the 1900s Tatar book societies started publishing and selling Tatar books: 'Xezmät' ('Work') in Troitsk, 'Cägadät' in Menzelinsk, etc. 'Xezmät,' for example, placed their orders with Kazan printing houses, then, with printing houses in Orenburg. They sold publications in Russian and Oriental languages, including books from Egypt, Istanbul, Beirut, India [Äsami kötep, 1904].

From the beginning of the 1880s book publishing was established in Crimea. The Crimean-Tatar educator I. Gasprinsky, being an author, editor, and publisher, devoted much attention to the printing trade. In 1881 he created a publishing establishment in Bakhchysaray and published an alphabet book that used the phonics method 'Xucaı sibyan' ('Teacher of the youngsters'). It became very popular. Later on I. Gasprinsky established the printing of the Quran, textbooks, fiction books, and organised the first trade union of publishers in Russia (1904).

Despite the rise in printing at the local level, publishers from different regions often turned to Kazan printing houses for help. As before, Kazan Tatar books were widespread among the Turkic speaking peoples of Russia, which is confirmed by the following data. In the latter half of the 19th century 3,242 Tatar books were published in Russia with a total print run of 26,864,000 copies. The average volume of each book was 6 printer's sheets, with a print run of 7,600 copies. 3,162 publications were published by 15 Russian and Tatar printing houses and lithography shops in Kazan. By 1900 the total amount of books printed in Kazan since the start of book printing (1801) was 3,563 Tatar books. In other cities (Saint Petersburg, Moscow, Orenburg, Ufa) this figure was 80 separate books (including 60 publications by I. Boragansky's printing house in Saint Petersburg) [Karimulin, 1983, pp. 155, 161].

The statistics on Tatar books does not include publications prepared by missionaries.

However, taking into consideration the demand for such publications, we will provide some data on them. The preparation of missionary books for Tatars and other Muslim nations of Russia in the latter half of the 19th century was connected with the Brotherhood of Saint Gury established in 1867 in Kazan. The new association regarded books as 'the main tool for spreading and consolidating Christian Orthodoxy among the non-Russians... The dissemination of Orthodox books in non-Russian languages, as was highlighted before, was also necessary because Mohammedanism, which attracted Christian Tatars and other non-Russian Christian people with its influence, relied on the body of its printed books' [Mashanov, 1892, p. 188]. Up to the end of the 19th century missionaries printed translations for Bashkirs, Kazakhs and Kyrgyzs, Azerbaijanis as well as books in Avar, Arabic, Persian, and other languages.

Missionaries actively printed religious books or a moral nature and liturgical books ('Horologion,' 'Psalms,' 'Gospel of Matthew,' stories of church history, church motets, etc.). From time to time they would print textbooks, reference books, popular issues of the 'Alphabet Book for Christian Tatars' (1862, 1865, etc.), 'The First Textbook of the Russian Language for Tatars' (1865, 1898), 'Self-Study Book of the Russian Language for Kyrgyzs' (1861, 1874) by N. Ilminsky, 'Tatar-Russian Dictionary' by an official from the ministry of education N. Ostroumov (1892), 'Russian-Tatar Dictionary' by the inspector from the Orenburg Board of Education A. Voskresensky (1894), 'The Tale of the Fisherman and the Fish' in Kyrgyz, poems by Ya. Yemelyanov that recorded the speech of Christian Tatars of the time, etc. Translations into the Tatar language were made in Kazan (in the Seminary for Non-Russian Teachers and the Christian Tatar School), into the Kazakh (Kyrgyz) and Bashkir languages, in Orenburg (under the tutelage of V. Katarinsky, the inspector of national schools for the Orenburg Region). Translations for Kyrgyzs and Kazakhs were made by the Altai missionaries as well (a Irkutsk and Nerchinsk schools). Translations

made before the end of the 19th century were later reissued. They were not popular among Tatars and other Turkic speaking nations, and this remained the case.

Up to the end of the 19th century most of the missionary books were published in the Kazan university printing house (346 publications in 17 languages) [Gabdelganeeva, 1994, pp. 166, 170]. From the beginning of the 1900s these works were published by the printing house of B. Dombrovsky (Central).

Further development in the book trade was related to the growth of book publishing and book printing. Traditionally, Tatar books were distributed by their publishers. Until 1865 they had no difficulty in selling their wares. With the introduction of 'Temporary Rules on Censorship,' the procedure for acquiring permits to sell books was more complicated. Nevertheless, book selling was quite active. The Usmanov and Yunusov shops on Sennaya Square were the trading centre of Kazan. In 1877, according to the data of the chancellery of the Kazan governor, books were sold in five Tatar stands, and at the beginning of the 1880s they were sold in fifteen. The Kazan censor A. Osipov noted that books in Oriental languages from Kazan were being distributed around Russia, thus interfering with the 'russification of the Muslim Tatars [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 3, file 9077, s. 1].

At this time book selling, which was active at all times, acquired new capitalistic principles and assumed a more organised form. As before, the new generation merchants, taking into account the status of the book market, published a great deal of religious (religious and moral) literature, which was still popular among a certain segment of Tatar society; at the same time, they also published and distributed secular books. The Karimov brothers and Sh. Khusainov were in this category of representatives of the Tatar publishing world. The Karimov brothers sold their own publications and also imported books in Kazan (on Sennaya Square), at Nizhny-Novgorod, Menzelinsk, Simbirsk, and other fairs. There were also many hawk-

ers who distributed books in Kazan, Vyatka, Perm, Orenburg, and other provinces. With enough resources at their disposal, in 1898 they got permission to open a 'Trading house in the form of a partnership under the firm of the Karimov brothers,' thus establishing Russia's first Tatar book partnership.

Sh. Khusainov was a bookseller and a publisher (for a long time he peddled books, in the end of 70s he came into possession of a book stand on Sennaya Square, and by the end of the century he had a book store and was the head of publishing and book-selling enterprise). Indeed, his business was honoured at the Kazan Scientific-Industrial Exhibition (1890). At his order, up to 500 copies of different books worth 6,000 roubles were published annually by the Kazan University printing house and were then distributed in the European region of Russia, as well as Asia and Africa for a total sum of 10,000 roubles [Spisok, 1890, s. 14]. After the death of Sh. Khusainov (1904) the firm worked under the sign 'Xösäenov varislari' ('Heirs of Khusainov'). As before, the owners engaged in publishing activities and book sales and ran stores not only in Kazan but in Ufa, Orenburg, and other places as well.

Besides books in Turkic and other Oriental languages, Kazan Tatars sold books in Russian. This applied not only to famous book firms (Karimov brothers, 'Idrisov, Galiev, and Co,' 'Xösäenov varislari,' etc.) but to smaller traders as well [Gabdelganeeva, 2006, p. 113].

Tatar book trading developed in densely inhabited regions thanks to the activity of Kazan publishers and booksellers. According to the data from 1900–1901, in addition to Kazan, Tatar book stores were located in Orenburg (M. Mukhametsharipov and Sh. Shagidullin), in the Seitov township of the Orenburg District (G. Davletyarov), in Troitsk (G. Akhmarov, G. Daminov, and Kazan publisher M.-S. Musin), in Orsk (N. Nigmatullin), and Perm (Ibatullin) [Vsya Rossiya, 1902, columns 1211, 1217, 1295]. Out-of-town branches of the Karimov brothers, Khusainovs, and others would be opened in these regions later.

The founders of the Tatar book partnerships ('Mägarif,' 'Sabax,' 'Millät,' etc.) that are related to the history of Tatar publishing of the beginning of the 20th century started their work as booksellers. The foundation of the future community of 'Millät' was laid in 1897, when I. Idrisov opened his stand in Kazan (on Sennaya Street, in the Galeev and Apakov block) and received a permit for the printing trade. Toward the turn of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries the 'Sabach' community came into being, when the brothers M. and V. Akhmadullin, who worked at university printing house, engaged in book publishing and book selling. In 1902 they opened their book stand 'Kötepханäi ibtidai' ('Elementary School Library'). In 1901 G. Kamal opened

Kazan's first bookstore, which served as the launch for 'The Kamaletdinov and Co' partnership in 1904 and which later was reorganized as 'Mägarif.'

The development of Tatar book publishing at the beginning of the 20th century was related to these communities, which opened after 1905 and which later centralised all their production and distribution stages.

Tatar publishing of the latter half of the 19th century developed in new conditions. Changes in Russia's economic and sociopolitical life had an impact on the production, content, distribution, and purpose of new books. The books that were published changed in terms of quality and quantity in response to the demands of the new Tatar and Turkic readership.

CHAPTER 12

The Legacy of Manuscripts

§ 1. Tatar Manuscripts

Marsel Akhmetzyanov

Manuscripts are part of the cultural heritage of Islamic civilisation and are deeply rooted in tradition. Before the appearance of Tatar book printing, all educational literature in Islamic educational institutions as well religious books created by theologians were handwritten. This is why, in spite of the large circulation of the Quran and *Haftiyak*, the tradition of handwritten lists of the Quran and rewritings of the Holy Islamic Book were preserved in the Volga-Ural Region. It is also important to note that Tatar printed works did not fully meet the demands of Tatar society for books, which were extensive and diverse, and this served as one of the primary explanations for why the tradition of rewriting manuscripts lingered on [Akhmetzyanov, 2012, pp. 126–146].

Until the 1860s manuscripts of the Islamic Tatars played a key role in education and cultural progress. In Tatar madrasahs there were calligraphers who were skillful masters of the Arabic script working on demand. For example, one of the best known scribes was Muhammad-Gali Makhmudov (1824–1891), who was born in the village of Sulanger in Trans-Kazan. At the age of 19 he was invited to teach calligraphy to Oriental studies department of Kazan University [Tatar *ädäbiyatı*, 1985, part 31].

The poet and educator Gabdrakhim Utyz Imyani (1754–1834) was one of the best calligraphers of his time, as evidenced by his signature works. He rewrote books in *Nastaliq*, a decorative style of calligraphy. G. Utyz Imyani gathered around him and prepared a whole pleiad of disciples, professional calligraphers, among which his son Ahmadzhan (?–1849), sons-in-law Ahmadzhan ibn Shamsad-Din and Ahmadzhan ibn Fadlallakh, and others were

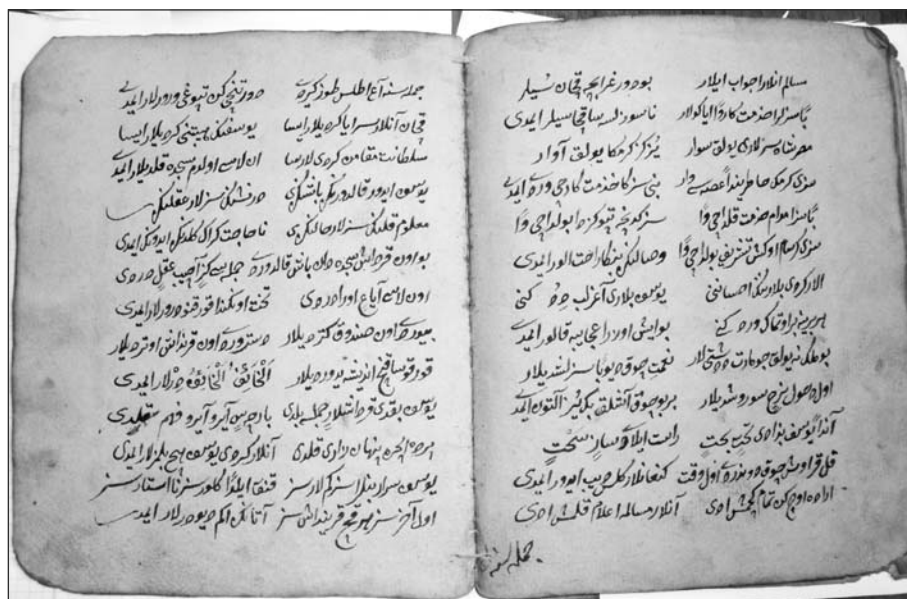
the most prominent. 'Oh, if only manuscripts written in the beautiful handwriting of Abdrahim hazrat and his disciples were collected in one place and be kept as is befitting,' as R. Fakhretdin dreamt at the time [Rizaetdin bine Fäxretdin, 1901, part 15–20].

The following dominated the handwritten legacy of the Tatar calligraphers: religious educational literature, prayer books, letters, poetry, records of the literature heritage of past ages [Akhmetzyanov, 1997; 2000; 2001; 2011; Ähmätcanov, 1998, 1999; 2000; 2011a; Fätxi, 1986, 2007; Gosmanov, 1994; 2004; Märdanov, 2008; 2009–2009a; 2010; Fäezxanov Xösäen, 2011].

A study of manuscripts by type revealed that in the 19th century most Tatar manuscripts were collections of different materials. Particularly, in addition to Tatar literature, folk and everyday inscriptions in manuscript collections, there are also Islamic prayers in Arabic.

Along with 19th century works, manuscripts preserved lists of works of writers from past centuries, *munajats* (poems) by unknown authors, *beits*, poems, stories, and ancient *dastans* in the prose of Medieval times. We shall focus on these in more detail.

The epistolary genre of folklore includes numerous handwritten texts of Tatar *beits*, dedicated to the 'Russian-Franco war of 1812,' 'Russian-Turkish war of 1853–54' as well as the 'Beit on the Leader of Dagestan nations of Shamil,' 'Beit on the Russo-Turkish war of 1878–79,' and 'Beit on the census of 1897' [Tatar Folk Arts, 1983, pp. 39–50]. Very popular was the *beit* 'On Seven Girls,' which was studied in the madrasah of Kargaly near Orenburg for seven years (until 1840) and which were accidentally disclosed [Tatar Folk Arts, 1983, pp. 155–156].



Kul Gali
'Kiyssai Yosyf'.
Manuscript text.
List, end of the
18th century.

Very popular among the people were beits about the poet Aqmulla and on various tragic accidents, particularly the 'Beit on Zulhabiri,' 'On the Flood in the Village of Nizhnyaya Ura in 1818,' etc. [Czentr, col. 39, items Nos.2895, 2838, 2826, 2811, 2797, 7076].

Such handwritten collections also contained the poetic obituaries 'Märsiya' and other genres ('Obituary of Ismagil Kyshkary,' 'Obituary of Muhammed Shakir son of Seyfulla,' 'Obituary of the Poet Fakhretudin Nurlati,' 'Obituary of imam Fattakh,' etc. [Czentr, col. 39, items Nos.2768, 2797, 2811, 2826, 2838, 2895, 2896, 3021, 3029].

F. Faseev, a well-known linguist and researcher of texts of the Tatar medieval literary monument 'Qıssai Yosıf,' gathered data on the existence of more than 160 lists, most of which were dated to the 19th century [Kol Gali, 1983, pp. 426–485]. Today more than 300 items from historical written lists of 'Qıssai Yosıf' are preserved in the archives of different academic centres [Ahmetzyanov, 2009, pp. 261–263].

It is important to note that some of these works were issued only in handwritten forms. Among this group of memorials especially noteworthy is the medieval dastan 'Kaharman kitabı' that was preserved only in the manuscript lists of the 18th to the 19th centuries [Czentr, col. 39, items Nos.5341, 6614, 7052,

etc.]. Some of these works were subsequently published. For example, the poetical monument of the 14th century 'Dastan Cömcömä' initially up to 1870 was known only in manuscript lists [Ahmetzyanov, 2009, p. 263].

In the collection of ancient manuscripts held by the Research Centre of the Written and Musical Heritage of Ibragimov Institute of Language, Literature, and History of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan there are hundreds of Tatar literary monuments of the 19th century: 'Qıssai Yosıf' [Czentr, col. 39, No.3041 (1830), No.3042 (1830)], 'Yartı alma' by Kul Sulayman [Czentr, col. 39, Nos.2774, 2778, etc.], 'Qıssai Ibrahim' [Czentr, col. 39, Nos.2778, 2785, etc.], 'Kisek-bash kitabı' [Czentr, col. 39, Nos.2785, 2824, etc.], 'Tahir-Zöhrä' [Czentr, col. 39, Nos.2811, 7076, etc.], 'Buz eget,' No. 2774, etc.], 'Ana belän ugıl' ('Mother and son'), Nos. 2831, 2863, 3254, etc.], 'Tulek kitabı,' Nos. 7380, 7381], 'Möxämmädiya,' Nos. 425, 426, etc.], 'Qıssai Säed Battal gazıy,' No. 437, etc.], etc.

According to M. Usmanov, one of the most popular manuscript works of the 19th century is 'Tävarihi Bolgariya' by Muslimi, written not later than 1827 [Czentr, col. 39, items Nos.36, 565, 593, 2463, 3104, 3274, 3323, 4196, 4458, 5146, 5148, 7197, 7350; Dmitrieva, 2002, pp. 78–81; Usmanov, 1972, p. 134].

Works scribed by calligraphs and shakirds of madrasahs form a group of their own and were created even after the appearance of printed text. For example, the work of Tadzhetdin Yakchigulev 'Risälai Gazizä' (1796) was published in 1850 but was widely disseminated among Tatar readers in its handwritten form [Czentr, col. 39, items Nos.60, 317, 532, 748, 1846, 1953, 2084, 2268, 2465, 3089, 3129, 3432, 3520, 3512, 3534, 3878, 3906, 6404; Dmitrieva, 2002, Nos. 1896–1902].

Thus, books rewritten by Tatar calligraphs were a form of art, and their work was highly appreciated by the literate population. Such works were widespread among the shakirds of madrasahs, which to a significant extent were responding to the demands of Tatar schools for educational books. Until the 1860s the rewriting of manuscripts was active, and in the post-reform period it was still a regular practice, dropping off dramatically at the beginning of the 20th century.

§ 2. Handwritten texts in Arabic.

Rezeda Safiullina-Al Ansi

Most part of the Tatar manuscripts in Arabic consist of works on religious subjects: different notes, supra notes, compendiums, and other teaching aids for madrasahs³⁶. In later stages of Arabic literature generally a theological and philological complex prevailed along with standard scholastic works. Works on natural history, mathematics, and philosophy were no longer created in later stages and were rarely rewritten. Nevertheless, the repertoire of works by Tatar-Muslims in the 18–19th centuries is universal and embraces theological as well as the hard sciences and the humanities: astronomy and mathematics, natural history and medicine, philosophy and history, grammar and lexicography. Works of prominent thinkers of the East were widespread: al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, al-Ghazali, Ibn al-Arabi, Saadi, Khafiz, et al.

A certain part of this manuscript heritage comprises the non-published works of the

Tatar authors G. Utyz Imyani, G. Kursavi, Ş. Märçani, and many others.

Tatar authors were fluent in the language of Islamic scholarship and preferred to use it to express their views, as by that time Arabic corresponded more to the study of theoretical issues in terms of terminology and style and could offer ready terms and forms. Many Tatar researchers and theologists wrote in Arabic: G. Utyz Ilmyani, G. Kursavi, Ş. Märçani, R. Fakhretdinov, M. Chokry, D. I. Tuntari, and others. Religious and social disputes on local matters and religious issues, arguments of Dzhadidists and Kadimists on pedagogical issues were all posed in Arabic.

In the Islamic East the clerical establishment defended its ancient tradition of copying books by rewriting them as they regarded the printing of holy texts as apostasy. Handwriting flourished and developed in the Arab East, Iran, and Turkey up to the middle of the 19th century. Nevertheless, in the 19th century the Arabic manuscripts is displaced by the printed book and new literature and therefore becomes the subject of research first outside of the realm of Islam. Long before the appearance of printed book in Islamic countries, book printing in the Arabic script was established in Europe³⁷. With

³⁶ The contemporary collection of Arabic manuscripts of Kazan University, whose Oriental funds and collection of manuscripts are the largest not only among the Kazan collections but also analogous state collections in the Russian Federation, with over 13 thousand codices, around 6 thousand of which are works in the Arabic language [Garaeva]. By 1980 the State Archive of the National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan contained 5 Arabic manuscripts; the archive of Ibragimov Institute of Language, Literature, and History, 15; the State Museum of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, 34; the Library of the Marjani Mosque, 156; and the private collection of Z. Maksudova, 229 [Khalidov, 1982, pp. 220–221].

³⁷ The Arabic alphabet was first used in 1486 in a lithographic publication in the city of Mainz in Germany, 36 years after book printing appeared in Europe, and Arabic letters were cast for the first time in 1514 in

the opening of the Asian printing house, Kazan becomes a centre of book printing and Russia's first publisher of Islamic books. Arabic editions amount to more than half of all printings of Tatar works in the first half of the 19th century.³⁸ According to our joint catalogue of Arabic books printed by the Tatars based on our data base (Microsoft Access)³⁹ about 4,000 books in Arabic have published from the beginning of book printing in Arabic up until 1917⁴⁰.

However, the quantity and selection of the printed works in Arabic did not meet the demands of the Tatar Muslim community. The tradition of rewriting religious texts continued to play an important role. Thus, lists of the Quran and tafsirs or works on Quranic exegesis held a high position among the handwritten religious books, among which there are both canonised works of medieval authors and Tatar tafsirs.

Incomplete lists of the Quran were widespread among the Tatar Muslims. So-called sennight (seven days) most often can be seen in manuscript collections and in black letter archives—that is, one-seventh of the Qura—'Haftiyak şäerif' ('Sacred Haftiyak'). This collection consists of the introductory chapter 'Fatiha' ('opening') of the Quran, followed by the first five verses of the second chapter 'Bakara' ('The

Cow') of the Quran, the 36th chapter, 'Yasin,' the 48th, and the rest in the right order. A 1/60th of the Quran 'Xizbel-äg'zam äl-möbäräk' had a wide distribution among Tatars ('Great Blessing part'), composed by Ali b. Sultan Muhammad al-Kari (1014/1605), as well as collections of chapters of the Quran's 'Suvar-min äl-Kor'än,' 'Ingham süräse,' 'Kähef süräse,' and others. But lists and publications of a surah 'Yasin' were the second most popular after Haftiyak. This surah was read at funerals and commemorations, Tatar shakirds wearing maktabas proceeded to its reading—Islamic primary schools in the first year of education, just after mastering the alphabet 'Iman sharty' ('The terms of faith'). And in the course of the second year of training, as J. Validi wrote, 'Islamic alphabet was replaced by the seventh part of the Qura—so-called 'Eftiek'—it is also a separate book. In his third and fourth years the student carried the entire Quran with them...' [Validi, 1992, p. 16].

Among Tatars, as regards books in Arabic, an important place was held by works on Russian philology, grammar, lexicography, rhetoric. These can be figuratively divided into two main groups: grammatical works by medieval authors and textbooks on the Arabic language created by Tatar authors in the late 19th century into the early 20th century.

Prayer books make up the bulk of the handwritten heritage—a rich layer of religious literature widely available to the Tatars. This is a collection of all kinds of dhikrs, wırdı, hizbs, and comments on them, prayers for the Prophet, as well as individual, group, ritual, celebratory works, which were dedicated to specific events, anticipated certain actions, etc. [Arabic manuscripts, 1986, pp. 167–180].

Tatars often rewrote published books, in particular small prayer books and other small religious texts. The collection of prayers 'Dälyail äl-häyrat' ('Evidence of good deeds'), 'Ävrade fätxiya' ('Victory vırdı') authored by Mir Sayyid Ali b. Shihab al-Hamadani (714/1314–786/1384) [Sobranie vostochny'x rukopisej, 1951, Vol. 3, p. 101], and also prayers 'Dogai cännät äl-äsma' ('Prayer paradise names') authored by Zainuddin Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazali (1058–1111), and others were especially popular.

the Italian city of Fano [Materialy' simpoziuma, 1996, pp. 109–141].

³⁸ On the subject of Tatar book printing in general, it is fair to say that even by a rough estimation every third and sometimes even fourth book published in the province in the 19th century at certain periods of time was in the Tatar language [Safiullina, 2003, p. 55].

³⁹ Bibliographic sources (lists, directories, catalogues) and archive documents (journals, reports, records of the Kazan censors and the censorial committee, and also card catalogues of libraries) served as the basis for composing the central catalogue and database. For this period of research (2001) familiarisation with the publications de visu has enabled the number of publications preserved in main book depositories to be determined: The Lobachevsky Scientific Library of Kazan University contains over 1,000 Arabic publications; the Depository of the Department of Manuscripts and Textual Criticism of Ibragimov Institute of Language, Literature, and History, more than 300; and the Scientific Library of the KPTI KSC RAS, over 250 [Safiullina, 2003, p. 55].

⁴⁰ 1,463 books were published in all languages in all guberniyas of Russia between 1801 and 1855 [400 let russkogo knigopечатaniya, p. 291].

The lists of popular Islamic collections of prayers for the Prophet—'The Evidence of Good Deeds' ('Dälyail äġ-häyrat') composed by a Maghreb Sufi Abu Abdullah al-Jazuli (died in 1465)—are particularly beautiful manuscripts. The widespread idea among Sufi circles regarding the need to focus on the personality of the Prophet and the possibility of gaining miraculous powers by reading 'Dälyail äġ-häyrat' led to the tradition of adorning the manuscripts of this collection with calligraphy and decorative elements as well as the inclusion of unique images: these were executed in the colour scheme of the two holy cities (Mecca and Medina). There are several manuscripts among the Kazan list that stand out due to the fine work of their masters, including those which have a 'detailed' plan of the Sacred Mosque (Masġid al-Haram) in Mecca: the image of Kaaba, the location of the Well of Zamzam, Maġām Ibrahim, four gates of the Mosque and others. [Garaeva]

Shamails were also very popular among Muslim Tatars of the Middle Volga and the Urals Regions. 'Shamail,' translated from Persian, means a sacred image, it is a panel picture with a symbolic image and a calligraphic text commentary. They represent a small format of a manuscript with selected surahs or ayats of the Quran and prayers. In Turkey these manuscripts are called the sixth surah of the Quran 'Inġham sherif' [Titovets]. Handwritten astronomical calendars specifying lucky and unlucky days were quite widespread [Katalog].

Both the influence of the eastern Islamic tradition and local influences can be traced in the design of Tatar manuscripts. Handwritten lists made in the Volga Region are recognisable by their standard format and cover decor, a handwriting, ink made from local ingredients, the specifics of the text decoration, and their paper that was mainly produced in Russia. The topics of these manuscripts primarily reflect the standard range of theological writings, which were studied in madrassahs by shakirds. The methods of teaching in the madrassahs as well as the high cost of printed books determined the copying of works that were to be learned by shakirds [Garaeva].

Modesty and rigor are inherent in the external design of Arabic manuscripts. The adornments are more common at the beginning of the manuscripts. The pages of certain books are decorated with coloured frames (black and red ink). The frames with inscription in the first and at the start of the second surahs of the Quran have a more diverse decoration: architectural motifs (domes of the mosques), frames with red and black triangles, and geometric designs of a symbolic character are used for them. At the beginning of the works ornamented or simple writing of the traditional formula 'In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful' is placed (*bismil-l-lyakhi-r-rahmani-r-rahim*), in abbreviated form, 'basmala.'

Most of the books are written in a local variant of popular Arabic handwriting *naskh*, more precisely, at the confluence of its horizontal rigor with rapid implementation *taalik*, as a result there is cursive, the most common *Nastaliq*. The most common of the manuscripts is the use of the black and red homemade inks. Red ink is used to write key words and phrases as well as for overlining. The red ink is used for the names of surahs, juzs, and khizbs⁴¹ in the Quran⁴².

Scholars note that Tatar manuscripts in Arabic are created by more calligraphic handwriting. The evidence of this is the numerous lists of the Quran made by clear *naskh*.

The word-based translation was typical of tafsirs (the original text was written horizontally, and the translation was inserted under at an incline), but texts of different sizes with the word-based translation are common in other types of manuscripts as well. The design of the text (word-based translation) comes from Persian manuscripts and was continued in Turkish translations.

Today collections of manuscripts in Arabic are featured in endowments that any library is proud of. The library collections in Russia, CIS countries, Europe, and the Eastern countries include a significant number of manuscripts written by prominent scientific and cultural figures of Tatar origin.

⁴¹ Juz' is 1/30 part of the Quran.

⁴² Hizb is 1/60 part of the Quran.

§ 3. The Persian spiritual heritage in Tatar Culture

Alsu Arslanova, Salim Gilyazutdinov

For many centuries the Volga Tatars were strongly influenced by Iranian culture, in particular, Persian classical literature, which has enjoyed great popularity among this group.

A very extensive subject of Persian manuscripts held in various funds (The Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books of Lobachevsky Scientific Library of KFU; the Research Centre of the Written and Musical Heritage of Ibragimov Institute of Language, Literature, and History of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan; State Tatar Folklore Centre of the RT Ministry of Culture; the Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books of the Bulgarian State Historical and Architectural Reserve Museum). The preferences of the Tatar reader can be gleaned from the composition of these funds. There are works on astrology, astronomy, mathematics, logic, medicine, theology (teachings and rituals of Islam, dogmatics, eschatology), religion and the Quran [tafsirs, the art of reading the Quran (tajwid), legends (hadiths), collections of prayers and their interpretations, the history of the prophets, religious ritual, Sufism], history, jurisprudence (fiqh), grammar and lexicography (dictionaries), linguistics, poetics and poetry, geography, politics, ethics, magic, etc.

The Lobachevsky Scientific Library of Kazan Federal University is one of the largest and richest libraries in Russia along with the book depositories of Moscow and Saint Petersburg. Besides printed books, these contain valuable handwritten holdings. Among them one of the first places, both in the number of monuments and their cultural and scientific value, belongs to the collection of manuscripts in Persian. Currently the Fund of Persian Manuscripts of the Lobachevsky Scientific Library has 736 separate holdings, the details of which are included in the list of inventory books. Among the Persian manuscripts there are manuscripts in Arabic, Turkish and vice versa; assembled manuscripts (sometimes there are madjmu'ats) containing several works in two or three languages. Persian manuscripts constitute approximately

5%–10% of the total East collection and cover a huge chronological period—from the 14th century to the beginning of the 20th century. The existence of prints of the owner in manuscripts indicated that there were private collections of Persian manuscripts of G. Galeev-Barudi, Ş. Märcani, Salah al-Din b. Ishaq al-Kazani, Ha-sangat Gabashi, and others.

Geographically, the manuscripts represent the following regions: The Volga Region, Central Asia, Afghanistan, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, etc., indicating the close cultural and economic ties between the Tatar people with these countries. The names of the scribes are not specified in many manuscripts. There are manuscripts with coloured miniatures, drawings, carefully crafted unvanami and illuminations, schemes, maps, and tables.

Indeed, not only did the Persian language serve as the language of poetry, it was also the language of science. Two works, for example, should be emphasised among writing on grammar—the anonymous 'Mukaddimah-yi bedan' and 'Sharh-Abdallah.' The first of them is a short treatise on Arabic grammar and primarily addresses names formed from verbal roots: verbal nouns (masdars), participles, etc. The second one consists of 22 chapters ('babs') of comments on Chapter 2 ('fasl'), Arabic grammar works 'Al-Mu'izzi,' which is attributed to 'Izz ad-Din Zanjani (circa 1257). Hence, its second name, 'Sharh-i Bist-o-do bab-i Mu'izzi.' Both books were textbooks of the Arabic language used in Tatar madrasahs; therefore, they were copied many times and repeatedly published in Kazan.

Dictionaries constitute a certain part of the collection of Persian manuscripts. This included the Persian-Turkish dictionary of the 16th century 'Lugat-i Ni'matallah' by Ni'matallah ibn Ahmad ibn Mubarak al-Rumi (the list of 1731). The author (who died in 1561—1562) was a judge in Aleppo and Baghdad and also lived in Constantinople. He belonged to the Sufi order Naqshbandi. The dictionary was composed not later than in 1540–1541 and includes a wide

range of Persian language vocabulary words used in Persian classical literature. Besides the dictionary of infinitives, there is a brief grammar outline of the Persian language and a dictionary of names.

The list of the 1825 Persian-Turkish dictionary 'Sikhah-i 'adjab' is of interest (composed in the 16th century) by Moulan Taqi ad-Din Muhammad ibn Pir Ali, who wrote under the pen name Barkawi (died in 1573). The dictionary has a general vocabulary of the Persian language as well as some Arabic words that are included in the Persian literary language. The collection of the University of Kazan has a list of 19th century explanatory dictionary 'Kashf al-lugat' (written not later than 1608) by 'Abd ar-Rahim b. Ahmad Suri, or 'Abd ar-Rahim ibn Sheikh Ahmad, also known as Sur-i Bikhari (born in the early 16th century in the Indian state Bihar), where Sufi terminology is explained along with the standard vocabulary of the Persian language. The objective was to facilitate an understanding of the vocabulary of the Sufi works. The author tried to take into account the experience of predecessors and the demands of contemporaries. One of the most famous works is the explanatory dictionary of rare and infrequent Persian words, 'Farhang-i Jahangiri'⁴³ (a list of the 19th century), which contains as illustrative material many fragments from the works of Persian poets—Ferdowsi, Shahid, Farrukhi, Anvari, Khaqani, Sanaa, Susanne, Amir Khusrow, and others. The peculiarity of the dictionary is that there are select interesting synonyms of individual compound words denoting one or another concept.

The Farsi-language collection of the University of Kazan has manuscripts containing valuable works on history. They mainly relate to the history of Central Asia, the Near and Middle East. This is a richly illuminated list of 1856 of writings by Fakhr ad-Dina Abu Suleiman Da'ud ibn Abu-l-Fazl Muhammad Banakati (died in 730/1329–1930) 'Rauzat uli-l-albab fi tawarikh

al-akabir va-l-ansab' (1317–1318)—usually called 'Tarikh-i Banakati,' telling the story of Adam to the (official) accession to the throne of Abu Sa'id in 717/1317. Most researchers believe that the work is primarily an excerpt of 'Jami at-Tawarikh' by Rashid al-Din, besides, perhaps, a part of the reign of Uldjait, to whom it was dedicated. In general, we can talk about the importance, the large factual and historiographical significance of the work of Banakati for the study of world history.

The List of 1876 'Tarikh-i A'sam al-Kufi' is an essay on the history of the Caliphate from the accession to the throne of Abu Bakr to the death of Musta'sin (866). This is the history of the first successors of Muhammad and Arab conquests in a Shiite interpretation. The author of the Arab original of the 10th century is Vadja Ahmad ibn A'sam al-Kufi (died around 926–927). Translator is Muhammad b. Ahmad Mustai-yu Herevi. The work was written in the 10th century. The translation dates to 1199–1200.

The Kazan University Scientific Library has a list of 19th century major works 'Tarikh-i 'Abdulla-Khan' by Hafiz-i Tanysh (written between 1584–1590), which presents in detail the political history of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, and neighbouring countries of the 16th century. The author of this rich work in terms of the variety of factual material was Hafiz-i Tanysh ibn Mir Muhammad al-Bukhari (died in 1588–1589), a talented historian and a poet of medieval Bukhara.

The Bukhara list of 1857 of the World History 'Mir'at al-'alam' ('The Mirror of the World') by Shaikh Muhammad Baka b. Ghulam Muhammad Saharanpuri (born in 1037/1627–1628; died in 1094/1683). World history before the days of the author, or rather of 1078/1668—that is, until the reign of the Great Mogul 'Alamgir (1069/1659–1119/1707), to which 'The Mirror' is dedicated. The scribe is unknown.

The lists of 1832 and 1839 of the work 'Tazkira-yi Mukim-Khani' of an historian of the 18th century Muhammad Yusuf Munsha bin Hajji Bak Balkhi, containing important information on the history of Central Asia, in particular that of the Shaybanidov and Dzhanidov dynasties (Ashtarkhanids). The author wrote

⁴³ The author was Navvab Jamal ad-Din Hossein Indju ibn Fakhr ad-Din Hasan or Jamal ad-Din Hossein Indju ibn Fakhr ad-Din Hasan Shirazi. It took 30 years to compile the dictionary, which was completed in 1017/1608–1609.

this essay at the request of the Balkh governor Muhammad Mukim-khan (1114–1119/1702–1707), which was named after him. The book is primarily devoted to the history of the last dynasty, especially that of its representatives who were linked with Balkh. The writing is a valuable resource for the study of political, social, and to some extent the cultural history of Central Asia, primarily the Balkh Region of the 16th century. Until and including the 19th century the essay was one of the most widespread historical works in Central Asia. The scribe for the list is Atalik bek b. Zu-l-Fakar ash-Shik Akabashi Kungrat.

The list of the 1824 work 'Tuhfa-yi isna 'ashariya' by Hafiz Ghulam Ali b. Shaikh Kutb al-Din Ahmad b. Shaykh Abu-l-Fayz-i Dikhla-vi (1159/1746–1239/1824) is dedicated to a presentation of Shia Islam beginning with the Sunni stance in respect of Shia history over 12 centuries of Hijra to the sources of origin, propagation methods and doctrine, with an emphasis on provisions that are contrary to Sunni Islam. This is an extensive polemical treatise against Shiites who recognise 12 imams and against a range of sects affiliated with them. The author is known as a writer, teacher, and reformer. The scribe for the list is Ahmad Valid Sheikh Najibullah Makhdum-zade.

In the field of astronomy a comment entitled 'Zidj' by Ulug-Bek—"The Astronomical tables of Ulug-Bek"—in the list of 1732 is of great value. The author is a ruler of Maveran-nahr and Iran, the grandson of Timur, the organiser of the Samarkand observatory. Al-Rumi, al-Kashi, and al-Kushchi took part in compiling the tables.

'Sharkh-i bist bab dar ma'rifat-i asturlab' by Nizam al-Din al-Bidzhin (the list of 1778). The author was one of the representatives of the astronomical school of Ulug-bek. The explanations to the essay of at-Tusi 'The Twenty Chapters on Teachings of the Astrolabe' are given in the treatise. The treatise was very popular, and a large number of its lists survived.

Among the handwritten books on Sufism and Sufi hagiographic literature we may note, for example, lists of works whose authorship and time of writing and rewriting are known.

The full list of 762/1360. Mirsad al-'ubbad min al-mabda' ila-l-ma'ad' ('The Way of the Slaves [of Allah] from this Life to the Future'). The full list of 897/1491. 'Tardjuma-yi a'varef al-ma'aref' ('The translation of "The Lights of Guidance and Key to Satisfaction"') by Mahmud b. 'Ali al-Kashani. The translation of a well-known work on Sufism, originally written in Arabic, which was done by Shihab ad-Din b. 'Umar Muhammad as-Suhrawardi (died in 632/1234). The full list of 901/1495. 'Fasl al-khattab fi-l-mukhazirat' ('The Clear Speech'). The author is Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Mahmud al-Bukhari (Muhammad Parsa) (died in 822/1419). The essay is a complete encyclopedia on Sufism, all matters of Islamic religious doctrine, religious rites, dogmatic and philosophical sects relating to the Sufi doctrine. The full list of 1006/1597 was rewritten in Kabul 'Nuzkhat al-arvakh' ('Delight for souls'). The author is Rukn ad-Din b. 'Alim al-Khusayni, known as Mir Fakhr as-Sadat Husayni. The full list of 1092/1681 'Shatkhayat' ('Ecstatic sayings') by Abu Yazid (Bayazid) Tayfur ibn 'Isa ibn Adam ibn Surushan al-Bistami (died in 875 or 878). The incomplete list of 1101/1689 'Tazkirat al-auliya' ('The Menology') by Farid ad-Din Muhammad ibn Ibrahim 'Attar, a famous Sufi poet. The full list of the turn of the 18–19th centuries. 'Nafakhat al-ons min hazarat al-Kods' ('The Fragrant Trends of Spiritual Closeness from the Heights of Holiness') by Abd ar-Rahman b. Ahmad al-Jami (born in 817/1414, died in 898/1492). The incomplete list of the 18th century. 'Masa'il-i Rakhat al-kulub' ('The Problems 'Rahkat al-kulub'). The full list of the 18th century. 'Mafatih al-a'dzhaz fi sharkh-i golshan-i raz' ('The Keys from the Miraculous in the Interpretation of 'The Pink Flower Garden of Secrets'). The full list of 1250/1834, rewritten in Baghdad, 'Kanz al-hidayat al-bidayat va-l-nikhat' ('The Treasure of Secrets for Revealing the Initial and Final Stages of the Mystical Way'). The author is Muhammad Bakir b. Sharaf ad-Din al-Lakhuri Hussaini. The full list of the 1244/1828, rewritten in Istanbul, 'Barakat-i Akhmadiyya va zubdat al-makamat' ('The Blessings of Ahmad and the Top of Steps on the Way to Perfection') by Ahmad 'Abdallah al-Faruki al-Naqshbandiyyah

as-Sirkhindi. The complete lists of the first (1227/1812) and the second (the first half of the 19th century) volumes 'Kimiya-yi sa'adat' ('The Alchemy of Happiness'), Abu Hamid Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Ghazali (died in 505/1111). The full list of the end of the 18th century. 'Minkhadzh al-'arifin' ('The Path of Those Who Learned the Truth') by Sayyid 'Ali b. Shihab ad-Din Muhammad al-Hamadani, a known Sufi figure, religious leader, and preacher of Islam in Kashmir and Badakhshan (died in 786/1385).

One more of the two largest Kazan collections of Persian manuscripts belongs to the Research Centre of the Written and Musical Heritage of Ibragimov Institute of Language, Literature, and History of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. This collection is new (its establishment was launched in October 1939).

Of the precisely dated manuscripts of this collection, the most ancient dates to the 14th century ('Murshid fi-l-Khisab,' the date of correspondence is 795/1392–1393). It was rewritten in Central Asia. Of the manuscripts written in the Volga Region, the oldest dates to the 17th century ('Tardzhuma-yi Mukhtasar al-Vikaya,' the date of correspondence is 1692). The most recent dates to the 20th century ('Savanikh-i safar-i Hijaz' by Baha' ad-Din 'Amili Bahai, the date of correspondence is 10 January 1915). However, more than 90% of the manuscripts were rewritten in the 19th century.

The topic of Persian works in the fund is also quite extensive and includes biographies of Sufi sheikhs, treatises on grammar, lexicography (dictionaries), poetics, history, geography, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, music, ethics, physiognomy, and others.

The archive has a wide range of works written by such famous poets of Iran as Ferdowsi (323/934, died between 411/1020–442/1030), Khakim Sana'i (died around 543/1150–1151), Farīd ud-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (1120–1229); Jalāl ad-Dīn Muhammad Rūmī (1207–1273); Sa'di Shirazi (died in 1292); Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī (was alive in 693/1295–1296), 'Abd ar-Rahman Jami (1414–1492); Baha 'al-Din' Amili Bahai (953–1030/1547–1641), Firishta, Muham-

mad Qasim Hindushah Astrabadi (was alive in 1033/1626), Sufi Allahiyar ibn Allah Kuli (died in 1133/1720–1721), Abu al-Qadir Bidil (1644–1720), Shaykh Mahmud, Baba Fagani (died in 925/1519), and others.

As regards poetic works, a small poem, 'Yiak Khikayak' ('One Story'), written by an anonymous author, should be noted, which describes an episode from the life of the Prophet. In terms of popularity the poem trails only 'Pand name' ('The Book of Spiritual Instruction') by 'Attar.

Prose is represented mainly by the world-famous essay 'Gulistan' ('Rose Garden') by Sa'di Shirazi (died in 691/1292) as well as its famous 'Bustan' ('Orchardings') and 'Pand name.'

The works of a Central Asian poet Sufi Allahyara, who wrote both in Turkish and Persian, were widespread among the Tatars. His poem 'Subhat al-adzhizin' ('Support for the Weak'), written in the Turkic language, was especially popular. The comment on the work by Tadj ad-Din Yalchygul 'Risala-yi Gaziz' had numerous editions in Kazan. His poems 'Murad al-'arifin' ('The Goal of Those Who Have Learned (God)') and 'Maslak al-muttakin' ('The Way of the God-Fearing'), written in the Persian language and repeatedly published in Kazan, were no less popular.

Among the manuscripts on religious topics, literature of the Quran stands out: comments (tafsirs) on the Quran; reading rules (tadjiwids), and the magical properties of the Quran. The most popular among Tatars was a tafsir on the Quran by Yaqub Charkhi (died in 1391). In addition, well-preserved lists of major work of Kamal al-Din Husayn ibn 'Ali Wa'iz Kashifi (died in 1504–1505) 'Mavakhib-i 'aliya' ('Great Talent'), also known as 'Tafsir-i Husaini,' in two volumes is of interest. Among the works devoted to the rules of reading, we can note two treatises of Hafiz Dust ibn yadgar Vaziri al-Khⁱⁿarazmi (lived not later than in the Mid-17th century): 'Madjma' al-garaib' ('The Collection of Curiosities') and 'Madjma' al-fava'id' ('The Collection of Benefits'). Persian translation of the Arab work 'Durr an-Nazim' ('The Beaded Pearls') by 'Abdallah ibn Asad al-Yafi (died in 1362) are devoted to the magic properties of the Quran.

Sufi literature is wide-ranging in terms of its thematics. In this respect worthy of note are 'Kimiya-yi Sa'adat' of Imam Ghazali (1059–1111), 'Maktubat' of Imam Rabbani and his son Khvadji Ma'suma, 'Zubdat al-khakayik' of 'Aziz Nasafi (died in 1262–1263), 'Tuhfat al-'Ushshak' of Khalili Mavlavi (died in 1551), 'Margub al-Kulub' attributed to Shams ad-Din Tabrizi (died in 1247–1248). The last three lists are of great interest as that they were rewritten by Gabderahim Utyz Imyani. Among other works we should note the munajats of authors such as 'Abdallah Ansari (1005–1088) and Ahmad Yesevi (died in 1166–1167), which were popular among the Tatar people.

The works on Fiqh are presented by quite widespread 'Chakhar fasl' and 'Mukhimmat-i muslimin.'

Among shakirds of madrassahs in the 18–19th centuries there was a popular comment by the Tatar scholar 'Ubaydallakh Bulgari (alive in 1726) 'Sharkh-i 'Avamil al-mi'a' to the essay on Arabic grammar 'Avammil al-mi-a' by 'Abd Abd al-Qahir al-Jurjani (died in 1078) written in Persian.

G. Utyz Imyani left a significant written legacy in the Persian language⁴⁴. Being in Bukhara, he compiled two explanatory dictionaries in the Persian language: 'Kashf al-lugat fi Hall mushkilat 'Jami' ar-rumuz' (The Disclosure of Words of the Time of Difficulties 'Jami' ar-rumuz' by Muhammad al-Qukhistani (died in 1554) and 'Lugat al-alfiya' ('The Dictionary of a Thousand Words'), an explanatory dictionary of rare words and 'Maktubat' terms of a collection of letters by Ahmed Faruqi Sirhindi Rabbani (1563–1624).

The poet wrote some of his poems in Persian: 'Mulla Baqir Kudga-yii?' ('Where are You, Mulla Bakir?'); reflections on Sufis 'Bait dar zamm sufiyan-i Zaman'; ode praising the author 'Ikhyā al-Ulum,' 'Manzuma dar Madkh-i 'Ikhyā al-Ulum.' His poems written in two languages are well-known. For example, the poem 'Tan-

zikh al-afkar,' consisting of 586 lines, has 400 lines written in Tatar, and 186, in Persian. The first 164 lines of the poem 'Al-karz mikraz-i makhabbat' are written in Tatar, the other 24 are in Persian.

Due to the poor preservation of manuscripts, the names of many scribes are unknown. Only 179 names are recorded of those who rewrote 186 manuscripts, including 436 descriptions. Mainly they were shakirds of Tatar madrasahs, the handwriting of which had a kind of 'Tatar' character. More than 130 manuscripts were rewritten in such handwriting. About 20 manuscripts were rewritten in the handwriting *naskh*. The rest—more than 400 manuscripts—are in the handwriting style *Nastaliq*.

The widespread opinion that the Tatar handwritten books were decorated very poorly is partly true as regards manuscripts in Persian. This is explained primarily by the fact that these manuscripts were not intended for the market but for private use. However, in the 19th century, when the rich layer of industrialists and especially merchants, who made huge fortunes in trade with Central Asia, appeared among the Tatar population, richly decorated manuscripts of Central Asian origin also appeared in conjunction with Tatar customers.

Tatar manuscripts in Persian were written mainly on Russian paper. There are also manuscripts on Eastern paper, but this does not mean that all these manuscripts have a Central Asian origin. The fact that they had no money to buy cardboard, factory bindings and were forced to do it themselves, demonstrates the poverty of scribes. One even encounters a plank binding, paper, cloth, rag, and cardboard bindings—both factory and homemade ones. There are also richly decorated bindings made by professional bookbinders in Central Asia: cardboard, leather with embossed medallions and patterns.

Undoubtedly, all of these indicate the rich repertoire and wide chronological range of Persian manuscripts in the funds of Kazan collections. Tatar intellectuals of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th centuries had an excellent opportunity to access the rich written culture in the Persian language and draw the essential knowledge from it.

⁴⁴ The Ibragimov Institute of Language, Literature, and History of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan has preserved 19 lists of his work in different branches of science and literature.

CHAPTER 13

Formation of a Singular Tatar Ideology and National and Cultural Space

Aydar Khabutdinov

19th century was a transformative period for the social structure of Muslims in the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly. The bourgeois reforms of the 1860s–1870s in Russia led to the elimination of the special status of certain elements in this ethno-confessional community. The abolition of *laschmann* duty and the status of state peasants, the *kanton* system, and the dismantlement of the Bashkir army signified the transition of the Volga Ural Region Muslims to the scope of imperial legislation. The absolute majority of the Tatar population, especially rural, lived in areas of regional and city self-government. Practically all economic activities of the Tatars were concentrated in Russian domains or in economic sectors influenced by Russia. They retained a specific status only as representatives of the non-Christian faith. In Russia, industrial development provided them the option to work in enterprises that did not belong to Muslims. The appearance of liberal professions and state national schools helped in forming the intellectual class. The right of free movement and the development of the international financial system created opportunities to go on trips abroad [Khabutdinov, 2001, p. 90–103].

The reforms of Alexander of Russia set up the real possibility to develop secular institutions in Tatar society. At the same time, new bourgeois institutions scarcely affected the life of the Tatar majority in the years immediately following them.

The Tatar bourgeoisie was becoming increasingly independent from both the single all-Russian market, and cooperation with the Russian bourgeoisie. Owing to this, the very essence of merchants became fundamentally

altered. Pioneers, who were always at risk of being robbed in the steppe or repressed in despotic states, carried out trade using the barter system achieving an income respective to the risk, and turned into law-abiding citizens, first of all dependent on the officials. The loss of the singular monopolistic market led to the creation of poorly interconnected and independent economic centres. The absence of the national bank system led to a further dilution of capital and a consolidation of the role of the lower and middle bourgeoisie.

The structure of the Tatar society included an entirely insignificant number of members of the elite, such as officials, people of liberal professions, and upper classes of the bourgeoisie and clergy. However, the Tatars remained the only ethnos among the Muslim peoples of Russia and the non-Russian peoples of the Volga-Ural Regions that had a mobile urban middle class [Noack., 1993, tab.IIa].

The theory of forming a nation that did not have its own sovereignty on the foundation of non-dominant ethnic groups can be studied using the methods put forth by Czech historian Miroslav Hroch. He differentiates between two types of minor nations. The first are the 'nations without history' that did not have any sovereignty in the pre-capitalistic period, the second are the 'historic nations' or a 'group of nations that made up political communities in the Middle Ages and had its own sovereign feudal class, but lost its political independence or its main attributes before turning into modern nations'. We refer the Tatars to the latter group.

The basis of Islamic identity in the Russian period of history was the *mahallah*, which in the region turned mainly into a countryside

structure. The Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly served as the connection between members of the umma of its own district. However, the mahallah was the centre of the union on the level of everyday structures.

According to M. Hroch's model, in the social movement of Tatars there can be logically distinguished three stages of the nation's formation (phases A, B, C).

The period of scientific interest in the language, history and national culture (phase A), when the leading role is played by a group of intellectuals, started in Tatar society in the 1820s (the Khalfins' and G. Utyz Imiany's work on the publication of monuments of history and literature, the activities of Sh. Marjani, Kh. Faizkhan, K. Nasyri, etc.).

The period of patriotic agitation (phase B), when a group of the activists is involved in spreading national awareness by agitation, was characterised by the following phenomena: the programme of the Kazan merchants in 1879 on reforming the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly and the equal rights of Muslims as well as of Russians, the petition of Tatars on establishing periodicals, the Tarjeman newspaper, and the reform of traditional schools.

The uprising of the mass national movement (phase C), when national awareness becomes a concern of the wider masses, and the national movement has a stable, organized structure that spreads over the entire territory (or the nation.—A. Kh.), was noted in the Tatar community during the first Russian Revolution of 1905–1907.

At its initial stage of development, the Islamic Tatar community of European Russia and Siberia was singled out by the Russian state in the form of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, close to a '*millet*': '*millet* is a form of church or religious government that make use of regular laws, especially regarding such factors of personal status as marriage, divorce and inheritance' [Ra'anani, 1991, p. 17].

The liberal political movement theorists of the Russian Muslims used the term 'nation' in the meaning accepted after the Great French Revolution. That is why, for example, I. Gasprinsky and S. Maksudi did not speak about

the Turkicnation, and instead used the terms 'narodnost' or 'nationality', and discussed Russian Muslims precisely as a political and legal community different from Christians. Yu. Akchura and A. Agaev, on the contrary, compared the process of forming the nation of Turkic Muslims of Russia with the processes of creating national states in Europe. A. Agaev considered that the most important processes that led to the formation of the nation of Muslims in Russia were cultural and linguistic unity, and the social stratification of society [Agaev, 1911].

The social movement of the Muslim peoples of Russia between the 19th–20th centuries was considered by its theorists as the movement to form a Russian Muslim nation. The Muslim Tatar elite, starting with Sh. Marjani, chose the European variant of nationalism as an example, or rather civic nationalism [Khabutdinov, 2001, pp. 26–27]. The social movement of the Muslims of Russia, especially the Tatars, in the 1890s–1910s was represented by two main trends: jadidism and cadimism, the members of which were cruelly opposed each other in the beginning of the 20th century.

The Russian Muslims, who were represented by the Tatar elite of the Volga-Ural Region, the Crimean Tatars and the Azeris began purposeful nation formation operations as part of the jadid movement. Owing to a multitude of reasons, Tatars played a uniting role on the all-Russian scale. I. Gasprinsky and his jadid colleagues managed to unite the efforts of three traditional elite groups and turn the national secular intellectuals into a new elite group. During the Russian Revolution from 1905–1907, under the prohibitive conditions on political activity, the main forms of the movement came out in the editions of the Tarjeman newspaper, the establishment of the modern languages of Russian Turkish Muslims—'Turki'—and its multi-genre literature, the establishment of the network of the jadid maktab and madrasahs, the sending of Muslims to secular educational institutions, and the operations of charity societies and boards of guardians. Bakhchysaray played the role of the all-Russian centre of the Russian Muslim movement as an experimental

ground for the formation of the jadid and the centre of the printing concern headed by Tarjeman. The medieval millet of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly started the transformation towards the formation of a Russian Muslim nation [Khabutdinov, 2003, pp. 83–103].

By the beginning of the 20th century, two main social movements with opposite views on the development of Tatars were already clearly defined. In cadimism we see the typical conservative or preservation ideology aimed at retaining and reforming medieval institutions and the mutual relations between an individual and society. Cadimism was aimed at preserving the traditional medieval millet with the highest possible degree of autarchy from the Russian state and society, and jadidism—at creating the nation of the Muslims of Russia or separate nations (for example, Tatars) on the example of European nations while creating a constitutional legal state in Russia. Both cadimism and jadidism were the replies of Tatar society to the modernisation of the Russian state and society put into motion by Alexander of Russia. Cadimism was mainly caused by the inadequate attention given to the religious lifestyles of Muslims from the Russian government in the second half of the 19th century, and by limiting the monopoly of Muslim clergy in education.

In the beginning of the 1890s, the Jadidist national project was supported by the majority of the Tatar national elite. At the same time, issues about the nature of their identity and borders of their nation were blurry. There are three main types: traditional Muslim (on the bases of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly millet), Tatar, and all-Russian Muslim (Turkist). Tatar society, when considered from the perspective of its law-abiding elite, was waiting for the beginning of the situation that would allow it to begin its social and political activities, which in fact only appeared during the revolution of 1905–1907.

During this period, there were two main models of national development among the Tatars, which can be defined as the western concept of the civic nation, and the eastern concept of the ethnic nation [Hroch, 1985]. The first

model presupposed the establishment of a religious autonomy with the Sharia trial and was adhered to by Batyrsha and the Tatar delegates in the Legislative Commission of 1767–1768. In 1788 the contours of the Tatar nation were defined by the millet of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly. From a conceptual perspective, the model of the civic nation starts from the ideas of Sh. Marjani about religious autonomy and the equality of Muslims and Christians. This continued on in the doctrine of the liberals, especially in the idea of I. Gasprinsky on the nation of Russian Muslims.

The eastern concept of the ethnic nation has its source in the works of K. Nasyri, with his orientation towards the middle and lower classes, the development of colloquial language, and the ethnographic description of Tatar customs and traditions continued by, first of all, Tatar socialists and/or Tatarists. Its preconditions were the idea about the general ethnic origin of the Volga-Ural Region Muslims [Khabutdinov, 2001, pp. 144–190].

The ulemas, bourgeoisie and mirzas, in the 19th century, concentrated at an all-national level on the reform plans of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly by turning it into an authentic autonomous structure based on electing the clergy, from imams to muftis, and on controlling the endowments, madrasahs, norms of Sharia family law [Khabutdinov, 2010a].

Sh. Marjani theologically opened I. Gasprinsky's path into the Islamic world with his idea to create a nation of the Muslims of Russia on the European example. Sh. Marjani strove to create a unified Tatar millet by including all the Muslims of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly district, without paying mind to their class and ethnic affiliation and, if possible, Islamising the Kryashens, Chuvashes and Ugro-Finnish peoples of the region.

Jadidism became the basis for the all-national doctrine of the elite. It was predominantly a secular movement headed by intellectuals, but not by ulemas, which is why it is irresponsible to identify it in terms of the reformations in Europe. Sh. Marjani theologically grounded the possibility for modernist reforms in social de-

velopment. One of these reforms took place in the realm of education—'usul jadid'. Almost all reformation activities among the Muslims of Russia can be defined as several main groups: reforms of education, political reform in Russia and the formation of a constitutional state, and reforms of Islamic law.

The dominance of enlightenment at the initial stage of the social movement, the promotion of national ideas among all classes of society, and the cooperation with Russian authorities and self-governing bodies were the basis of I. Gasprinsky's views.

The basis of the doctrine of Muslim modernisers in Russia at the end of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century is positivism, according to which the main aim of the social movement was the creation of a social consensus within the frame of the nation [Georgeon, 1980, p. 60]. The most known formula for this type of consensus can be summed up in the motto of Ismail Gasprinsky: 'Unity in language, thoughts and actions'.

In the end, by 1905 the aims of the educational stage of jadidism had for the most part been achieved. During this period, they set up new-method maktab and madrasahs with educational literature issued by new Muslim publishing houses. The unitary literary language of the Muslims of Russia had already been formed, and it already had its own multi-genre literature. The Muslim elite of Russia thus started to obtain a Russian-speaking education. In the largest urban centres, charity societies often functioned as the cultural and educational centres of communities. Thus, institutions of all-national secular education were fully functional, so the issue was already on expanding and increasing the level of education [Khabutdinov, 2001, p. 168]. Jadidism in the 1880s–1905 concentrated on the reform of traditional confessional education, and the introduction of the acoustic (usul savtiya), or new method (usul jadid) of education in opposition to Middle Age scholastic methods. The situation only radically changed during the Revolution of 1905–1907.

Appendices



I. Socio-Economic Development of the Tatars

§ 1. Socio-Economic Development of the Tatars in The Volga-Ural Region in the 19–early 20th Centuries, Viewed Statistically

Research on the socio-economic history of the 19th century largely relies on statistical documents, descriptions and surveys, censuses (population, households, and land plots), and descriptions and cartographic atlases of cities and settlements.

Fiscal taxpayer censuses (revisions) were regular in the pre-reform Russian Empire. Ten revisions were carried out from 1718 to 1859. Revisions were the responsibility of the Ministry of Finance. Revision data are the only large-scale source for studies on demographic processes and the socio-economic history of the latter half of the 18–first half of the 19th century. It is common for Russian historians to refer to such data. Tables 1–3 and 6 present data for 1795 and 1857.

Statistical surveys were scheduled, regular, and purposeful in the Russian Empire starting in the mid-19th century. This was the time when statistics became institutionalised. The Central Statistical Committee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was established in 1863, followed by governorate statistical committees, which collected and prepared for publication an extensive array of national, governorate, and regional statistics until the fall of the Russian Empire.

Governmental statistical surveys in the latter half of the 19th century aimed at collecting, verifying, and publishing statistics for the country's various spheres of life. The Harvest Statistics of the Russian Empire is representative of changes in crop area sizes and crop yields in peasant households over two decades (1861–1870 and 1871–1880) (Table 4, 19 (13), 22(15)). The All-Russian Industrial Census of 1900 took into account the location of processing plants with an annual output of at least 1,000 rubles (Table 17(11)). The Land Ownership Statistics of 1905 recorded changes in the size and forms of land ownership in all uyezds, governorates, and regions of European Russia (Table 21(14)).

Apart from state statistical bodies, zemstvo statistical institutions (zemstvo, parallel, public statistics) operated in the 19th century. Zemstvo statistics offer a broader range of subjects, data collection methods, and coverage within uyezds and governorates. It relies not only on house-to-house census polls but on volunteers' responses. The development of zemstvo statistics largely depended on judgment and the zemstvo's financial resources.

As economic relations developed and became more complex, departmental statistics (see, for example, reports by the State Bank (Table 13, 14)) and accounting by business communities became widespread. For instance, the Committee of Congresses of Land Bank Representatives initiated the publication of the Long-Term Credit Statistics in Russia, which represented changes in land ownership and loan debt in it from 1892 to 1917 (Table 10, 15, 15a, 15b).

A number of scholarly traditions developed in Russian statistics in the 19th century. Russian statisticians were active participants in international statistical congresses.

The scholarly approach to statistical accounting in Russia included annual (regular) surveys carried out according to a specified method to produce uniform and comparable data. This requirement was frequently neglected. A variety of statistical surveys carried out over decades and widely published provides insight into the evolution of numerous economic, social, and cultural processes in Russia outside of large cities.

Nailya Tagirova

No. 1

Table 1

Key areas of population inflow in 1815–1842 (males)

Region	1815–1830	1826–1842
The Lower Volga Region	19,613	65,700
Southern Cis-Ural Region	8,429	28,380
Novorossiya	12,877	24,348
Siberia	9,485	26,055

Source: V. Kabuzan, *Changes in the settlement of the Russian population in the 18–first half of the 19th century*. Moscow, 1971. P. 43.

No. 2*Table 2***Male population size and percentage dynamics by regions of Russia
in the first half of the 19th century (1795–1857)**

Region	1795		1857	
	males	% of the total	males	% of the total
Central Industrial	3,036,913	27.9	3,836,960	21.1
Central Agricultural	2,963,872	27.3	4,600,685	25.3
Northern	383,515	3.5	556,992	3.0
Lake	920,883	8.5	1,238,026	6.8
The Lower Volga Region	495,918	4.6	1,365,528	7.5
Southern Cis-Ural Region	380,282	3.5	1,319,403	7.3
Northern Cis-Ural Region	916,463	8.4	1,922,321	10.6
The Middle Volga Region	1,182,399	10.9	1,987,657	10.9
Siberia	594,618	5.5	1,355,661	7.5
All of Russia within the 1st census boundaries	14,075,187	100	23,103,824	100

Source: V. Kabuzan, Changes in the settlement of the Russian population in the 18–first half of the 19th centuries. Moscow, 1971. P. 51–56.

No. 3*Table 3***Taxable and non-taxable population in the Volga-Ural Region
in the first half of the 19th century**

Parameter	Kazan guberniya	Penza guberniya	Simbirsk guberniya	Saratov guberniya	Astrakhan guberniya	Perm guberniya	Vyatka guberniya	Orenburg guberniya
1795, 5th Census								
Total population	414,489	347,440	420,470	381,413	114,505	452,728	453,735	380,282
In %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Tax-paying peasants	395,063	336,668	396,574	344,011	39,377	407,438	450,128	241,634
% of the total population	95.3	96.8	94.3	90.2	34.4	89.9	97.0	63.5
Tax-paying urban population	9,248	4,718	8,931	17,555	5,772	9,877	6,145	3,833
% of the total population	2.2	1.4	2.1	4.6	5.0	2.2	1.3	1.0
Non-taxable population	10,178	6,054	14,965	19,847	69,356	35,413	7,463	134,815
% of the total population	2.5	1.7	3.6	5.2	60.6	7.8	1.6	35.5

Source: V. Kabuzan, Changes in the settlement of the Russian population in the 18–first half of the 19th century. Moscow, 1971. P. 107–115.

Table 3a

Parameter	Kazan guberniya	Penza guberniya	Simbirsk guberniya	Saratov guberniya	Astrakhan guberniya	Perm guberniya	Vyatka guberniya	Orenburg guberniya
1857, 10th Census								
Total population	712,061	586,759	688,837	1,013,377	178,364	909,896	1,012,425	1,289,044
In %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Tax-paying peasants	660,605	506,737	635,140	926,752	47,711	796,095	921,143	661,774
% of the total population	92.8	86.4	92.2	91.5	26.7	87.5	90.9	51.3
Tax-paying urban population	24,160	16,420	29,333	61,687	14,831	16,128	14,737	26,280
% of the total population	3.4	2.8	4.3	6.1	8.3	1.8	1.5	2.0
Benefit holders	977	1,360	1,775	1,271	2,123	721	554	4,935
% of the total population	0.1	0.2	0.25	0.1	1.2	0.07	0.05	0.4
Non-taxable population	26,319	62,242	22,589	23,667	113,699	96,952	75,991	596,055
% of the total population	3.7	10.6	3.3	2.3	63.7	10.7	7.5	46.2

Source: V. Kabuzan, Changes in the settlement of the Russian population in the 18–first half of the 19th century. Moscow, 1971. P. 161–175.

No. 4

Table 4

Crops and yields in peasant appanages in 1861–1870

Governorate (guberniya)	Crops sowed, thousand poods	Crops harvested, thousand poods	Actual yield	Yield per eater (poods)	Number of crop failures
Central Industrial Region					
Moscow	6,898	15,758	2.28	14.510	8
Vladimir	8,587	24,718	2.88	21.382	5
Yaroslavl	6,837	19,615	2.87	24.673	7
Kostroma	8,169	25,301	3.10	24.684	7
Tver	8,725	21,228	2.43	15.349	7
Kaluga	7,579	18,504	2.44	20.838	6
Smolensk	9,984	24,520	2.46	26.394	7
Central Black Earth Region					
Tambov	13,804	71,165	5.16	39.253	8
Tula	9,389	30,646	3.26	28.141	5
Penza	9,833	35,375	3.60	31.444	6
Voronezh	18,129	56,671	3.13	29.501	10
Orel	10,135	37,836	3.73	27.299	5
Kursk	13,127	47,680	3.63	27.153	8
Ryazan	8,894	34,154	3.84	24.677	7

North-Western Region					
Saint Petersburg	2,547	8,343	3.28	17.827	2
Novgorod	6,468	17,821	2.76	23.663	6
Pskov	4,527	12,490	2.76	18.287	9
The Middle Volga Region					
Nizhny Novgorod	8,524	34,599	3.63	29.050	2
Kazan	12,682	36,329	2.86	24.398	8
Simbirsk	8,571	34,417	4.02	31.203	5
Saratov	13,728	50,450	3.68	32.257	6
Cis-Ural Region					
Vyatka	24,378	70,390	2.89	32.618	9
Perm	16,247	44,948	2.77	20.102	6
Ufa	9,288	33,943	3.65	29.185	2
Orenburg	6,993	26,619	3.81	30.144	2
Steppe Region					
Samara	17,149	65,192	3.80	38.598	4
Astrakhan	879	3,577	4.07	16.333	4
Northern Region					
Vologda	4,652	14,878	3.20	16.250	9
Olonetsk	1,142	3,702	3.24	13.419	7
Arkhangelsk	507	1,672	3.30	7.011	4
Total for 30 governorates	279,372	922,541	3.30	26.533	181

Source: N. Druzhinin, *Russian Village at a Tipping Point*. Moscow, 1978. P. 174–175.

No. 5

Table 5

Average crop yield in peasant appanages in the mid-19th century (actual yield)

Governorate (guberniya)	1851–1860	1861–1870	1871–1880
Central Industrial Region			
Moscow	2.29	2.28	2.35
Yaroslavl	2.59	2.87	3.08
Kostroma	2.81	3.10	3.03
Tver	2.40	2.43	2.64
Kaluga	2.13	2.44	2.45
Smolensk	2.16	2.46	2.54
Central Black Earth Region			
Tambov	3.42	5.16	4.95
Tula	3.08	3.26	3.44
Penza	3.52	3.60	4.16
Voronezh	3.12	3.13	3.73
Orel	2.93	3.73	4.12
Kursk	1.86	3.63	4.48
Ryazan	3.09	3.84	4.14
North-Western Region			
Saint Petersburg	2.92	3.28	2.88
Novgorod	2.55	2.76	2.98

The Middle Volga Region			
Nizhny Novgorod	3.27	3.63	3.65
Saratov	3.67	3.68	3.94
Cis-Ural Region			
Vyatka	3.26	2.89	3.09
Perm	3.46	2.77	3.30
Steppe Region			
Samara	3.03	3.80	3.71
Northern Region			
Vologda	3.38	3.20	3.36
Olonetsk	3.59	3.24	3.59
Arkhangelsk	3.25	3.30	3.55

Source: N. Druzhinin, *Russian Village at a Tipping Point*. Moscow, 1978. P. 180.

No. 6

Table 6

Main peasant categories in the Volga-Ural Region in the first half of the 19th century

Parameter	Kazan guberniya	Penza guberniya	Simbirsk guberniya	Saratov guberniya	Astrakhan and Caucasus guberniyas	Perm guberniya	Vyatka guberniya	Orenburg guberniya
1795								
All peasants	395,063	336,668	396,574	344,011	39,377	407,438	450,127	241,634
%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Palace serfs	10,292	23,920	24,708	16,189	1,517	4,909	38,224	12,311
% of all peasants	2.6	7.1	6.2	4.7	3.9	1.2	8.5	5.1
Economic	36,773	13,443	23,473	37,548	27,916	24,298	66,617	6,723
% of all peasants	9.3	3.9	5.9	10.9	70.9	5.9	14.8	2.8
State	272,073	98,744	137,609	85,313	2,479	177,292	333,232	158,225
% of all peasants	68.9	29.3	34.7	24.8	6.3	43.5	74.1	65.5
Non-landed	319,140	136,107	185,790	139,050	31,912	206,499	438,073	177,259
% of all peasants	80.8	40.3	46.8	40.4	81.0	50.7	97.3	73.4
Landed	75,923	200,561	210,784	204,961	7,465	200,939	12,054	54,375
% of all peasants	19.2	59.7	53.2	59.6	18.9	49.3	7.7	26.6

Source: V. Kabuzan, *Changes in the settlement of the Russian population in the 18–first half of the 19th century*. Moscow, 1971. P. 107–115.

Table 6a

Parameter	Kazan guberniya	Penza guberniya	Simbirsk guberniya	Saratov guberniya	Astrakhan guberniya, excluding Caucasus guberniya	Perm guberniya	Vyatka guberniya	Orenburg guberniya
1857								
All peasants	660,605	506,737	635,140	926,752	47,711	796,095	921,143	661,774
%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Appanage	15,736	–	322,549	45,979	–	17,218	81,751	40,112
% of all peasants	2.4	–	50.8	4.9	–	2.2	8.9	6.1
State	541,781	239,062	55,317	538,832	42,090	600,651	812,530	502,128
% of all peasants	82	47.2	8.1	58.1	88.2	75.4	88.2	75.9

Non-landed	557,517	239,062	377,866	584,811	42,090	617,869	894,281	542,240
% of all peasants	84.4	47.2	59.5	63.1	88.2	77.6	97.1	81.9
Landed	103,088	239,062	257,274	341,941	5,621	178,226	26,862	119,534
% of all peasants	15.6	52.8	40.5	36.9	11.8	22.4	2.9	18.1

Source: V. Kabuzan, Changes in the settlement of the Russian population in the 18–first half of the 19th century. Moscow, 1971. P. 167–175.

No. 7

Table 7

Dispersal across land belts in the Volga-Ural Region according to the Local Regulations on Settlement of Peasants on Landowners' Land Plots in Great Russia, Novorossiia and Byelorussia guberniyas¹

Governorate (guberniya), uyezd	Non-Black Earth Belt (uyezd)	Black Earth Belt	Steppe Belt
Astrakhan			In total
Vyatka	Nolinsk, Slobodskoy, Urzhum, Yaransk	Yelabuga, Sarapul, Malmyzh	
Kazan	Kazan, Tsarevokokshaysk, Laishev (partially), Mamadysh, Cheboksary	Kozmodemyansk, Sviyazhsk, Spassk, Tetyushi, Tsivilsk, Yadrin, Laishev (partially), Mamadysh, Cheboksary	
Orenburg		Belebey, Birsk, Menzelinsk, Troitsk, Ufa, Chelyabinsk, Orenburg (partially), Sterlitamak	Orenburg (partially), Sterlitamak
Penza	Gorodishche, Krasnoslobodsk	Insar, Kerensk, Mokshan, Narovchat, Nizhny Lomov, Penza, Saransk, Chembar	
Perm	Kungur, Okhansk, Perm, Solikamsk, Cherdyn, Yekaterinburg (partially)	Irbit, Krasnoufimsk, Osinsk, Shadrinsk, Yekaterinburg (partially)	
Simbirsk		In total	

¹ The information is grouped on the basis of 'Local Regulations on land provision for peasants accommodated in landlords' territories in guberniyas of Great Russia, Novorossiia, Belarus' where in Section 1 (chapter 1, division 2 'About determination of the appanage's size') the division into stripes and localities is given. Depending on this division, the size of appanages given to peasants who ceased to be serfs was determined.

Samara		Bugulma, Buguruslan, Buzuluk, Samara, Stavropol, Nikolayevsk (partially)	Novouzensk, Nikolayevsk (partially)
Saratov		Atkarsk, Balashov, Volsk, Kuznetsk, Petrovsk, Saratov, Serdobsk, Khvalynsk, Kamyshin (partially)	Tsaritsyn, Kamyshin (partially)

Source: Russian Emancipation Reform of 1861. Collected studies of legal acts. Moscow, 1954. P. 181–188. Electronic resource: <http://on-island.net/History/1861/Docs1861.pdf>

No. 8

Table 8

Average size of landed peasants' appanages before and after the 1861 reform.

Governorates (guberniyas)	Average size of pre-reform peasant appanages, dessiatinas	Average size of post-reform peasant appanages, dessiatinas
Penza	2.8	2.2
Saratov	3.8	2.4
Simbirsk	2.9	2.4
Kazan	3.0	2.3
Vyatka	3.2	3.0
Perm	5.5	4.0

No. 9

Table 9

Trend and percentage of incoming redemption payments by former landed peasants (% of the amount payable in a given year)

Governorate (guberniya)	1864	1873	1882
Penza	45.8	41.2	19.8
Kazan	40.6	3.4	115.3
Simbirsk	48.7	15.1	56.9
Saratov	44.8	19.1	63.0
Samara	46.6	45.2	314.1
Astrakhan	22.4	3.7	2.8
Orenburg	46.3	51.8	164.3
Ufa	59.1	86.3	237.4
Vyatka	14.9	2.8	11.0
Perm	—	19.0	12.4

Source: N. Druzhinin, Elimination of the Feudal System in Russian Farming Villages (1862–1882) // Selected Works. A Socio-Economic History of Russia. Moscow, 1987. P. 308–309. Compiled according to reports on repayment operations from the repayment start date to 1 January 1892 by the State Bank, Saint Petersburg, 1893. Appendices 21, 22.

No. 10

Table 10

**Private land ownership debt in the Volga-Ural Region in the late 19th century
in Joint Stock Land Banks and the State Nobles' Land Bank**

Parameter	Cis-Ural Region	The Middle Volga Region	The South-Eastern Region	Total for the Russian Empire (50 governorates in European Russia)
	Vyatka guberniya Perm guberniya	Penza guberniya Simbirsk guberniya Saratov guberniya Kazan guberniya	Samara guberniya Ufa guberniya Orenburg guberniya Astrakhan guberniya	
1885				
Total land, thousands of dessiatinas	43,646	19,947	40,730	299,260
Privately owned land, thousands of dessiatinas	9,464	6,134	7,239	90,118
In %	100	100	100	100
Pledged land, thousands of dessiatinas	314	2,674	1,642	22,665
In %	3.3	43.6	22.7	29.6
Including land in joint stock land banks	313	1,160	922	12,333
SNLB ²	—	—	—	—
Estimated pledged land value, thousands of rubles	1,770	126,308	23,657	923,317
Including pledges with the JSLB ³	1,727	61,488	14,737	499,228
SNLB	—	—	—	—
Amount of loans granted	884	74,931	13,556	563,360
Including loans by JSLB	852	32,815	8,212	268,111
SNLB	—	—	—	—

Source: Materials on the History of Agricultural Relations in Russia in the Late 19–Early 20th Century. Long-Term Credit Statistics in Russia / Compiled by N. Proskuryakova. Moscow, 1980. P. 32–39.

No. 11

Table 11

Railroad and waterway length in governorates (versts per square verst) by 1900⁴

Governorate (guberniya)	Railway versts	Waterway length
Astrakhan	0.5	2.5
Vyatka	1.6	4.9
Kazan	1.5	8.7
Orenburg	1.5	0
Penza	10.2	4.5
Perm	2.2	4.0
Samara	4.9	4.2
Saratov	9.3	4.5

² State Nobles' Land Bank.

³ Joint Stock Land Bank.

⁴ The data on density of railroad and waterway networks is based in statistics used by authors of a collective monograph [see: Promy'shlennost' Rossii, 1991].

Simbirsk	7.1	10.0
Nizhny Novgorod	2.3	6.6
Ufa	2.8	4.3

Source: Russian Industry at the Turn of the 20th Century. Moscow, 1991. P. 18–19.

No. 12

Table 12

Cash deposited in the State Bank by savings banks by regions of European Russia in 1890 and 1895

Region	Amount deposited in 1890, in rubles and interest bearing securities	Share of the annual amount, %	Amount deposited as of early 1895, in rubles and interest bearing securities	Share of the annual amount, %
Trans-Volga	4,657,476	3.4	11,509,193	3.4
South-Eastern	7,007,991	4.9	17,855,168	5.3
Northern	2,770,074	1.2	6,573,576	2.0
Saint Petersburg	17,864,981	12.7	34,666,625	10.3
Central Industrial	32,498,533	22.9	79,948,022	23.8
Central Agricultural	27,508,320	19.3	57,661,663	17.3
North-Eastern	11,114,184	7.9	22,117,136	6.6
Little Russian	7,085,731	5.0	17,475,982	5.3
South-Western	6,671,829	4.7	16,779,630	5.9
Novorossiysk	6,999,858	4.9	18,398,548	5.5
North-Western	6,311,161	4.4	18,217,017	5.4
Baltic	3,927,705	2.7	11,618,279	3.5
Visla	3,626,665	2.6	12,264,200	3.6
Transcaucasian	4,764,807	3.4	10,081,116	3.0
50 governorates in European Russia		100		100

Source: V. Morozan, History of Savings Banks in Imperial Russia. Saint Petersburg, 2007. P. 119.

No. 13

Table 13

Statistics on the operations of Volga branches of the State Bank in 1905⁵

Branch	Accounting and loan issues, thousands of rubles	Amounts transferred to deposits and current accounts, thousands of rubles	Capital inflow (+) or outflow (–) of the branch, thousands of rubles
Samara	37,088	64,654	–27,566
Simbirsk	7,626	24,150	–16,524
Kazan	11,101	47,793	–36,692
Saratov	40,838	75,424	–34,586
Tsaritsyn	8,692	18,229	–9,537
Syzran	5,088	6,885	–1,797

⁵ Tables 13 and 14 were compiled using reports regularly published by State Banks in the early 20th century providing statistics for each branch. An analysis of annual deposit and loan amounts gives insight into the role that certain regions played in the Russian Empire's monetary and credit relations.

Penza	16,168	18,598	-2,430
Total	126,601	255,733	

Sources: State Bank. Office and Branch Statistics. 1905–1914. Petrograd, 1915, P. 53–56, 45–48, 65–68, 153–156, 161–168, 169–172, 181–184.

No. 14*Table 14***Number of signature loans at local State Bank branches in 1905**

Samara Branch	Saratov	Kazan	Simbirsk	Penza	Syzran	Tsaritsyn	Ufa	Total
Number of signature loans								
283	410	286	157	121	139	278	176	1850
Average signature loan amount, rubles								
32,731	35,614	17,269	12,668	21,305	12,064	17,413	13,386	149,064
Local bills discounted, thousands of rubles								
7,452	9,077	1899	1,211	4,526	1,121	2,384	1,055	28,725
Discounted bills from other cities, thousands of rubles								
2,764	5,560	1,971	330	2,014	859	1,876	756	16,130
Number of loans on goods issued								
788	2,821	43	65	1,504	68	11	175	5,475
Amount of loan on goods, thousands of rubles								
3,245	4,325	329	325	1,059	1,963	220	5,618	17,084
Documents on goods, thousands of rubles								
5,817	8,674	4	14	3,295	34	2	22	

Sources: State Bank. Office and Branch Statistics. 1905–1914. Petrograd, 1915, P. 53–56, 45–48, 65–68, 153–156, 161–168, 169–172, 18–184.

No. 15*Table 15***Long-term loan statistics for the Volga and Cis-Ural Regions in 1885–1915⁶**

Region	Cis-Ural	Middle Volga	South-Eastern	Total for the Russian Empire (50 governorates in European Russia)
Governorates (guberniyas)	Vyatka, Perm	Penza, Simbirsk, Saratov, Kazan	Samara, Ufa, Orenburg, Astrakhan	
1885				
Total land, thousands of dessiatinas	43,646	19,947	40,730	299,260

⁶ N. Proskuryakova presented a region-based classification using governorate data, namely the Long-Term Credit Statistics in Russia, published by the Committee of the Congresses of Land Bank Representatives in 1892–1917.

The tables contain summary data enabling us to trace the trends in the absolute size of privately owned land pledged with the country's credit institutions, the private to state real estate loan ratio, land valuation and loan amounts issued to land owners in the Cis-Ural, Middle Volga, and South-Eastern Regions of the Russian Empire over 20 years (1885–1905), over 30 years (1885–1915), and by decade.

N. Proskuryakova referred to the 'Collection of Land Loan Statistics in Russia' and the 'Agricultural Statistics of 1905'. The summarised statistics have a high confidence level, because the primary published documents used by N. Proskuryakova were uniform, complete, and regularly published arrays of data on the situation with land loans in various governorates of the empire.

Privately owned land, thousands of dessiatinas	9,464	6,134	7,239	90,118
Pledged land, thousands of dessiatinas	314	2,674	1,642	22,665
Including land in joint stock land banks	313	1,160	922	12,333
SNLB	—	—	—	—
Estimated pledged land value, thousands of rubles	1,770	126,308	23,657	923,317
Including loans by JSLB	1,727	61,488	14,737	499,228
SNLB	—	—	—	—
Amount of loans granted	884	74,931	13,556	563,360
Including loans by JSLB	852	32,815	8,212	268,111
SNLB	—	—	—	—

Table 15a

Region	Cis-Ural	Middle Volga	South-Eastern	50 governorates in European Russia
Governorate (guberniya)	Vyatka, Perm	Penza, Simbirsk, Saratov, Kazan	Samara, Ufa, Orenburg, Astrakhan	
1895				
Total land, thousands of des-siatinas	43,646	20,629	42,205	312,315
Privately owned land, thou-sands of dessiatinas	8,464	6,104	7,709	101,643
Pledged land, thousands of dessiatinas	1,940	3,478	2,999	43,471
Including land in joint stock land banks	1861	658	758	16,495
SNLB	69	1,486	957	10,415
Estimated pledged land value, thousands of rubles	13,655	193,831	52,103	2,075,541
Including pledges in JSLB	11,685	40,586	13,358	713,427
SNLB	1,636	87,223	20,804	612,324
Total loans issued, thousands of rubles	6,358	113,728	30,302	1,176,228
Including loans by JSLB	5,287	21,561	7,219	388,974
SNLB	915	51,231	12,123	354,604
1905				
Total land, thousands of des-siatinas	44,196	20,738	44,326	330,520
Privately owned land, thou-sands of dessiatinas	8,835	6,219	8,574	106,438
Pledged land, thousands of dessiatinas	3,464	4,003	4,671	55,071
Including pledges in JSLB	3,308	547	1,617	20,768
SNLB	55	2,237	1,640	16,660
Estimated pledged land value, thousands of rubles	45,596	272,248	140,104	3,538,776
Including pledges in JSLB	41,946	40,797	48,924	1,102,767
SNLB	1,254	147,966	51,951	1,242,962
Total loans issued, thousands of rubles	26,123	174,513	88,519	2,076,245

Including loans by JSLB	23,632	21,884	27,552	613,570
SNLB	674	85,690	29,298	717,359

Table 15b

Region	Cis-Ural	Middle Volga	South-Eastern	50 governorates in European Russia
Governorate (guberniya)	Vyatka, Perm	Penza, Simbirsk, Saratov, Kazan	Samara, Ufa, Orenburg, Astrakhan	
1915				
Total land, thousands of dessiatinas	42,127	19,715	42,069	42,069
Privately owned land, thou- sands of dessiatinas	9,679	5,722	8,946	8,946
Pledged land, thousands of dessiatinas	5,573	4,518	5,426	5,426
Including pledges in JSLB	5,254	767	1,807	1,807
SNLB	39	1,419	1,072	1,072
Estimated pledged land value, thousands of rubles	107,549	470,184	285,697	285,697
Including pledges in JSLB	98,190	93,975	105,597	105,597
SNLB	1,324	124,458	49,002	49,002
Total loans issued, thousands of rubles	59,343	328,838	191,131	191,131
Including loans by JSLB	51,923	50,934	55,098	55,098
SNLB	740	63,486	27,637	27,637

Source: Materials on the History of Agricultural Relations in Russia in the Late 19–Early 20th Century. Long-Term Credit Statistics in Russia / Compiled by N. Proskuryakova. Moscow, 1980. P. 32–39.

No. 16

Table 16

Industry distribution by region, headcount and total output in 1887–1908

Region	Headcount				Production cost, thousands of rubles			
	1887	1900	1908	1912	1887	1900	1908	1912
Northern	6,102	14,842	20,346	22,416	5,446	16,897	27,166	34,145
In % of the total	0.5	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.6
North-Western	89,566	162,846	174,280	169,865	155,345	302,612	424,424	505,746
In % of the total	7.4	8.1	7.5	6.9	11.1	9.6	9.6	9.0
Central Industrial	398,147	621,995	723,151	787,781	434,891	836,782	1,196,926	1,603,591
In % of the total	32.9	30.8	30.8	32.2	31.1	26.5	27.0	28.5
Central Black Earth	38,366	62,754	69,455	60,345	51,073	94,688	134,769	148,378
In % of the total	3.2	3.1	3.0	2.4	3.7	3.0	3.0	2.6
Western	34,414	44,446	56,424	58,803	36,196	68,200	69,598	92,901
In % of the total	2.8	2.2	2.4	2.4	2.6	2.2	1.6	1.7
North Caucasus and Southern	25,961	72,195	102,218	120,303	19,116	118,563	199,473	313,799
In % of the total	2.2	3.5	4.4	4.9	1.4	3.8	4.5	5.6
Volga	35,522	60,785	68,125	63,846	49,036	130,402	193,794	225,076
In % of the total	2.9	3.0	2.9	2.6	3.5	4.1	4.4	4.0
Ural	165,144	194,616	196,440	172,247	90,383	153,416	204,606	215,652

In % of the total	13.7	9.7	8.4	7.0	6.5	4.9	4.6	3.8
Western Siberian	36,584	42,780	33,333	41,780	24,563	26,268	53,635	51,764
In % of the total	3.0	2.1	1.4	1.7	1.7	0.8	1.2	0.9
Eastern Siberian	14,037	28,182	38,627	53,060	20,934	33,012	47,754	59,592
In % of the total	1.2	1.4	1.6	2.1	1.5	1.1	1.1	1.1
Ukraine	152,460	292,402	367,318	388,188	204,382	553,551	743,394	903,066
In % of the total	12.6	14.5	15.7	15.9	14.4	17.6	16.8	16.1
Transcaucasian	31,024	60,835	59,282	54,133	22,798	217,109	233,205	316,584
In % of the total	2.5	3.0	2.5	2.2	1.6	6.9	5.3	5.6
Turkestan	1,446	7,590	12,752	14,118		14,693	79,774	84,410
In % of the total	0.1	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.2	0.5	1.8	1.5
Poland, Finland, %	15.0	17.5	18.0	18.2	20.3	18.5	18.5	19.0
Russia, including Poland and Finland	1,219,342	2,016,489	2,341,094	1,455,589	1,400,905	3,148,947	4,429,230	5,621,539
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: L. Kafengauz, *Evolution of Industrial Production in Russia (Last Third of the 19th Century to the 1930s)*. Moscow, 1994.

No. 17

Table 17

Information on processing plants in the early 20th century by economic region (according to the 1900 factory census)⁷

Governorate (guberniya), region	Number of plants	Production cost, thousands of rubles	Headcount
Central Industrial Region	3,589	820,207	629,193
Central Black Earth Region	1,028	99,970	71,859
Southern Region	1,391	225,433	119,610
Baltic Region	957	143,961	77,681
Volga Region, including	1,106	153,351	75,987
<i>Saratov guberniya</i>	338	60,874	25,899
<i>Samara guberniya</i>	114	26,415	9,348
<i>Kazan guberniya</i>	174	34,064	14,866
<i>Orenburg guberniya</i>	161	14,387	4,829
<i>Simbirsk guberniya</i>	136	17,440	13,497
<i>Astrakhan guberniya</i>	184	10,171	7,558
Ural Region, including	526	50,214	33,099
<i>Perm guberniya</i>	240	28,904	15,904
<i>Vyatka guberniya</i>	183	14,543	13,636
<i>Ufa guberniya</i>	103	6,731	3,559
Western Region	2,086	76,739	57,204
Transcaucasian Region	280	25,295	13,552
North Caucasus Region	154	21,010	6,484

⁷ Table 17 is based on the records of the First All-Russian Industrial Census of 1900, which covered plants recorded by the factory inspection office and with an annual output of at least 1,000 rubles. Only non-excisable processing plants were inspected. The collective monograph [Promyshlennost' Rossii, 1991] processes the census data mathematically.

Northern Region	308	37,106	35,851
Poland	2,742	354,102	22,058

Source: Russian Industry at the Turn of the 20th Century. Moscow, 1991. P. 62–65.

No. 18

Table 18

Population density in Ural and Volga guberniyas in the latter half of the 19th century

Governorate (guberniya)	Population density per square verst	
	1863	1897
Astrakhan	2.6	4.8
Kazan	29.5	39.2
Samara	11.9	20.2
Saratov	22.7	32.6
Simbirsk	29.5	35.6
Ufa	12.9	20.7
Orenburg	5.3	9.7
European Russia	14.5	22.2

Source: Russia. Encyclopedic Dictionary. Leningrad, 1991. P. 76–77.

No. 19

Table 19

Average crop yield in peasant appanages in the mid–19th century (actual yield)

Governorate (guberniya)	1851–1860	1861–1870	1871–1880
Central Industrial Region			
Moscow	2.29	2.28	2.35
Yaroslavl	2.59	2.87	3.08
Kostroma	2.81	3.10	3.03
Tver	2.40	2.43	2.64
Kaluga	2.13	2.44	2.45
Smolensk	2.16	2.46	2.54
Central Black Earth Region			
Tambov	3.42	5.16	4.95
Tula	3.08	3.26	3.44
Penza	3.52	3.60	4.16
Voronezh	3.12	3.13	3.73
Orel	2.93	3.73	4.12
Kursk	1.86	3.63	4.48
Ryazan	3.09	3.84	4.14
North-Western Region			
Saint Petersburg	2.92	3.28	2.88
Novgorod	2.55	2.76	2.98
The Middle Volga Region			
Nizhny Novgorod	3.27	3.63	3.65
Saratov	3.67	3.68	3.94
Cis-Ural Region			
Vyatka	3.26	2.89	3.09
Perm	3.46	2.77	3.30

Steppe Region			
Samara	3.03	3.80	3.71
Northern Region			
Vologda	3.38	3.20	3.36
Olonetsk	3.59	3.24	3.59
Arkhangelsk	3.25	3.30	3.55

Source: N. Druzhinin, *Russian Village at a Tipping Point*. Moscow, 1978. P. 180.

No. 20

Table 20

**Table of normal land prices established by the Nizhny Novgorod
and Samara Land Bank in the 1880s**

Governorate (guberniya)	Uyezd	Average price per dessiatina of land, rubles per dessiatina of useful land	Notes
Simbirsk	Alatyr	25–50	Depending on the location on the Sura River
	Ardatov	40–50	
	Kurmysh	25–45	
	Buinsk	35 30	Southern part Northern part
	Simbirsk	30–45	Depending on the distance from the Moscow Railroad
	Syzran	16–30	
	Sengiley	12–20	
	Korsun	15–35	
Kazan	Spassk	40	
	Laishev	35	
	Tetyushi	25–30	
	Sviyazhsk	35	
	Chistopol	17–30	
	Kazan	20–30	
	Cheboksary	20–25	
	Tsivilsk, Kozmodemyansk, Yadrin, Tsarevokokshaysk	20 each	
Samara	Stavropol	17–30	
	Samara	17–30	
	Buzuluk	7–12	
	Buguruslan	7–15	
	Bugulma	12	
	Nikolayevsk	8–20	Prices are higher along the Volga Region
	Novouzensk	—	Special prices

Penza	Penza	50–60	
	Saransk	50	
	Insar	50	
	Nizhny Lomov	50	
	Mokshan	60	
	Chembar	50	
	Narovchat	50	
	Kerensk	45	
	Krasnoslobodsk, Gorodishche		Special prices
Perm	Shadrinsk, Kamyshlov, Yekaterinburg, Krasnoufimsk	6 each	
	Osinsk	2–6	
	Kungur		Special price
	Okhansk, Perm	4 each	
	Solikamsk	5	
	Verkhoturys, Cherdyn		Special price
Orenburg	Orenburg	3–5	Up to 50 versts from the governorate centre
	Orsk	3	
	Troitsk	3–4	
	Chelyabinsk	2–3	

Source: Reference Book for Those Wishing to Pledge Their Real Estate with the Nizhny Novgorod and Samara Land Bank. 5th Edition, Moscow, 1886. P. 74–86.

No. 21

Table 21

Statistics on Land Ownership in the Volga and Cis-Ural Regions in 1905 (thousands of dessiatinas)

Governorate (guberniya)	Appanage		Private		Treasury and appa- nages		Total	
	dessiatinas	%	dessiatinas	%	dessiatinas	%	dessiatinas	%
Kazan	3,205.4	58.3	734.5	13.4	1,558.5	28.3	5,498.5	100
Samara	6,712.5	51.6	3,544.4	27.2	2,760.4	21.2	1,307.4	100
Saratov	3,348.9	49.2	2,630.5	38.7	819.9	12.1	6,799.4	100
Simbirsk	1,658.2	41.5	1,092.4	27.3	1,247.9	31.2	3,998.6	100
Ufa	6,251.7	58.8	3,163.8	29.8	1,205.6	11.4	10,621.3	100
Orenburg	10,668.2	71.7	2,038.7	13.6	2,195.6	14.7	14,902.8	100
By region						19.8		100

Source: P. Kabytov, Agricultural Relations in the Volga Region in the Imperialist Period. Saratov, 1981. P. 35; N. Amirova, Landowners in the South-East of European Russia in the Imperialist Period: Thesis... Candidate of Historical Sciences Kuybyshev, P. 198.

No. 22

Table 22

Crops and yields on peasant appanages in 1871–1880

Governorate (guberniya)	Crops sowed, thousand poods	Crops harvested, thousand poods	Actual yield	Yield per eater, poods	Number of crop failures
Central Industrial Region					
Moscow	5,991	14,101	2.35	12.681	9
Vladimir	8,000	21,187	2.65	16.895	6
Yaroslavl	7,186	22,123	3.08	26.431	4
Kostroma	7,835	23,778	3.03	21.174	5
Tver	9,906	26,177	2.64	17.154	7
Kaluga	6,057	14,843	2.45	14.799	2
Smolensk	7,916	20,101	2.54	19.403	5
Total for the region	52,891	142,310	2.69	18.032	38
Central Black Earth Region					
Tambov	13,564	67,140	4.95	31.580	6
Tula	8,430	29,030	3.44	23.412	3
Penza	7,440	30,982	4.16	24.111	7
Voronezh	16,737	62,495	3.73	27.974	6
Orel	10,609	43,709	4.12	27.369	3
Kursk	12,879	57,718	4.48	27.991	1
Ryazan	7,649	31,685	4.14	19.791	3
Total for the region	77,308	322,759	4.17	26.575	29
North-Western Region					
Saint Petersburg	2,171	6,258	2.88	13.315	6
Novgorod	5,368	16,023	2.98	19.362	3
Pskov	4,528	17,159	3.79	22.055	14
Total for the region	12,067	38,440	3.27	18.998	13
The Middle Volga Region					
Nizhny Novgorod	8,615	31,431	3.65	23.866	3
Kazan	14,064	45,605	3.24	27.227	10
Simbirsk	8,263	35,442	4.29	28.536	5
Saratov	13,578	53,556	3.94	29.589	4
Total for the region	44,520	166,034	3.73	27.471	22
Cis-Ural Region					
Vyatka	25,105	77,456	3.09	31.359	5
Perm	17,322	57,103	3.30	22.850	2
Ufa	8,902	35,023	3.93	25.772	—
Orenburg	6,769	23,796	3.51	23.080	3
Total for the region	58,098	193,378	3.33	26.278	10
Steppe Region					
Samara	15,108	55,993	3.71	27.983	6
Astrakhan	851	3,071	3.61	11.459	7
Total for the region	15,959	59,064	3.70	26.031	13
Northern Region					
Vologda	4,122	13,848	3.36	13.439	9
Olonetsk	1,141	4,101	3.59	13.483	3
Arkhangelsk	564	2,004	3.55	7.610	—

Total for the region	5,827	19,953	3.42	12.294	12
Total for 30 governorates	266,670	942,938	3.54	23.943	137

Source: N. Druzhinin, *Russian Village at a Tipping Point*. Moscow, 1978. P. 174–175.

No. 23

Table 23

Data on Kazan's transit trade connections to Russian governorates in 1871

Administrative unit	People	Administrative unit	People
1. Vyatka guberniya	105	24. Ural region	3
2. Ufa guberniya	90	25. Syr Darya region	3
3. Saratov guberniya	54	26. Livonia guberniya	3
4. Moscow guberniya	45	27. Vyborg guberniya	3
5. Samara guberniya	44	28. Baku guberniya	3
6. Simbirsk guberniya	43	29. Akmola region	2
7. Nizhny Novgorod guberniya	42	30. Arkhangelsk guberniya	2
8. Orenburg guberniya	39	31. Irkutsk guberniya	2
9. Perm guberniya	38	32. Kaluga guberniya	2
10. Yaroslavl guberniya	29	33. Kiev guberniya	2
11. Vladimir guberniya	15	34. Pskov guberniya	2
12. Kostroma guberniya	12	35. Tiflis guberniya	2
13. Stavropol guberniya	12	36. Vilna guberniya	1
14. Saint Petersburg guberniya	11	37. Voronezh guberniya	1
15. Astrakhan guberniya	10	38. Yekaterinoslav guberniya	1
16. Penza guberniya	9	39. Kuban region	1
17. Tobolsk guberniya	8	40. Courland guberniya	1
18. Don region	7	41. Kursk guberniya	1
19. Tomsk guberniya	6	42. Ryazan guberniya	1
20. Yenisei guberniya	5	43. Semipalatinsk region	1
21. Orel guberniya	4	44. Smolensk guberniya	1
22. Tula region	4	45. Kherson guberniya	1
23. Terek region	4		
Total:			676

Source: National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 98, inv. 7, file 59. Calculated by L. Sverdlova.

No. 24

Table 24

Information on Muslims engaged in transit trade through Kazan in 1871 (by Russian economic region)⁸

Region	Number of Muslims engaged in transit trade through Kazan		
	total for the region	to the region's number of traders through Kazan	to the total number of traders through Kazan
	absolute	%	%
I. North-Eastern—Agricultural	66	100	53.2
1. Kazan guberniya	52	78.8	41.9

⁸ The regions are singled out according to the records of the 1897 All-Russian Census.

2. Vyatka guberniya	14	21.2	11.3
II. South Ural	43	100	34.8
1. Ufa guberniya	25	58.1	20.2
2. Orenburg guberniya	18	41.9	14.6
III. Volga-Sura	7	100	5.6
1. Saratov guberniya	1	14.2	0.8
2. Samara guberniya	3	42.9	2.4
3. Simbirsk guberniya	3	42.9	2.4
IV. Middle Asia	3	100	2.4
1. Syr Darya region	2	66.7	1.6
2. Ural region	1	33.3	0.8
V. Moscow Industrial	2	100	1.6
1. Nizhny Novgorod guberniya	2	100	1.6
VI. North Ural	1	100	0.8
1. Perm guberniya	1	100	0.8
VII. North Caucasus	1	100	0.8

Source: National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 98, inv. 7, file 59. Calculated by L. Sverdlova.

No. 25

Table 25

Information on residents of cities and trading districts in Kazan guberniya engaged in transit trade through Kazan in 1871

City, trading quarters	Total number of traders		Of all traders			
			Christians		Muslims	
	absolute count	%	absolute count	%	absolute count	%
Sviyazhsk	36	19.2	34	94.4	2	5.6
Chistopol	32	17.1	28	87.5	4	12.5
Arsk	19	10.2	14	73.7	5	26.3
Laishev	19	10.2	19	100	—	—
Mariinsk posad	17	9.1	17	100	—	—
Cheboksary	16	8.6	16	100	—	—
Tsaryovokokshaysk	15	8.0	15	100	—	—
Spassk	10	5.3	10	100	—	—
Kozmodemyansk	8	4.3	7	87.5	1	12.5
Tsivilsk	5	2.7	5	100	—	—
Tetyushi	4	2.1	4	100	—	—
Yadrin	3	1.6	3	100	—	—
Troitsk posad	2	1.1	1	50	1	50
Mamadysh	1	0.5	1	100	—	—
Total:	187	100	174	—	13	—

Source: National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 98, inv. 7, file 59. Calculated by L. Sverdlova.

No. 26

Table 26

Information on freight traffic on Kazan quays in 1835–1857

Year	Number of vessels loaded	Number of vessels unloaded	Total number of vessels
1835	423	437	860
1836	278	580	858
1837	315	496	811
1838	418	561	809
1839	441	468	909
1840	547	541	1,088
1841	496	529	1,025
1842	699	547	1,246
1843	391	490	881
1844	586	612	1,198
1845	416	522	938
1846	420	471	891
1847	406	426	832
1848	424	329	753
1849	448	428	876
1850	432	529	961
1851	383	202	585
1852	393	338	731
1853	376	254	630
1854	380	253	633
1855	409	245	654
1856	306	453	759
1857	499	236	735

Source: Materials for Geography and Statistics of Russia collected by the officers of the General Staff. Kazan Governorate/ Compiled by M. Laptev. Vol. 8. Moscow, 1861. P. 405. Compiled by L. Sverdlova.

Materials prepared by Nailya Tagirova

§ 2. Tatar Industry and Trade

The nature, level, and specific patterns of the development of Tatar entrepreneurship varied from region to region depending on the natural, climatic, historical, and socio-economic conditions. They were greatly influenced by the Tatar lifestyle, ethnic mindset, and the religious factor. The government's legislative policy was also of considerable importance.

Many Tatar entrepreneurs who became leaders in the commercial and production activities of Tatar burghers in the 19–early 20th centuries began by opening small businesses.

Accounting for just a small proportion of the Tatar population, merchants dominated its business. The social environment in which the Tatar merchant class formed in the first half of the 19th century consisted mainly of peasants and Tatar traders, replaced by burghers in the latter half of the century, although rural residents contributed to the process by entering the burgher class as a first step towards becoming guild merchants. The development of the merchant class was generally self-driven, ensured by annual guild fees. By the early 20th century, succession to family fortunes among Tatar merchants in areas with a dense Tatar population exceeded that of the Russian merchant class, with 6–7 generations compared to 3–4 generations.

The situation in mid-19th century Russia favored active involvement of commercial capital of various industrial activities. The same means of attracting Tatar bourgeois commercial capital to manufacturing were used as in the rest of Russia. They included ensuring superiority of trade intermediaries over individual goods producers, usually ruining the latter and turning them into hired homeworkers. Highly

developed industrial plants did not preclude either maintaining obsolete forms of organisation or the dominant pre- and early capitalistic forms of operation from being used at them.

The key processes in the socio-economic development of the Tatars, as well as the country in general, in the late 19–early 20th centuries, were the merging of commercial and industrial capital, concentration of production, capital centralisation, and the emergence of collective capital as trading houses—general partnerships and co-partnerships (limited liability companies), special partnerships, and joint stock companies.

Throughout the period being studied, Tatars remained essential to Eastern trade. Their influence spread to the Kazakh steppes, Turkestan, Central Asia, Western China, and Iran, actively maintaining exports of Russian industrial goods. Tatar entrepreneurs and merchants carried out most of their commercial operations in these regions, mainly in the form of exchange-based mediation for trade and procurement. Quite naturally, only a small number of Tatar entrepreneurs had access to foreign trade, while most small-, medium-, and even large-scale traders confined themselves to commercial operations within Russia. In the late 19th century, following the annexation of Kazakhstan and Turkestan and the establishment of a protectorate over Bukhara and Khiva, Russia expanded its commercial connections with these regions. However, the Tatar bourgeoisie gradually lost the Eastern market, which they had been struggling to get for the whole century. The Russian bourgeoisie was actively involved in commercial development in these territories.

Lyudmila Sverdlova

No. 27

Table 27

Growth of the Tatar trade bourgeoisie in Kazan in 1800–1858

Years	Number of merchant families	Number of people	Stated capital in rubles
1800	31	126	553,549
1801	32	131	603,286
1802	35	140	675,972
1804	—	158	—
1805	—	170	909,460
1,807	—	159	—

In 1848, 688 out of 2,022 merchants in Kazan guberniya were Tatars. In 1858, all merchants of Kazan stated a total of 351 capitals amounting to 1,224,000 rubles, including 83 Tatar capitals. Tatar merchants were especially numerous in Seitov township near Orenburg, where 1,820 out of 2,674 Tatar residents were engaged in trade as early as 1792.

Compiled according to the records of the Tatar Town Hall, Keppen's 'Index'⁹, and the book by Laptev. Source: History of Tataria in Documents and Materials. Moscow, 1937. P. 305.

No. 28

Table 28

Industrial Situation in Tataria in 1812

Plant owner and type	Location	Equipment	Number of employees			Per year	
			assigned and bought	landed and serfs	free employees	output	sales
<i>A. Cloth factories</i> ¹⁰		Machines				Cloth and woolen fabrics, arshins	

⁹ National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 22; Materials for Geography and Statistics of Russia collected by the officers of the General Staff. Kazan guberniya/ Compiled by M. Laptev. Saint Petersburg, 1861.

¹⁰ Italicised in the text of the document.

1. Foreman Ozerov's heirs (free)	Nikolskoye village, Yelabuga uyezd	3	–	50	–	3,603	2,855
2. Retired Guard Warrant Officer Osokin (duty)	Kazan, Laishev uyezd	104	1,292	349	–	109,981	132,366
3. State Councilor in Deed Sakharov's heirs (free)	Alekseyevskoye village	38	–	561	–	33,356	30,778
4. Public Assistance Office	Kazan	–	36	–	25	6,193	3,940
Total	–	145	1,328	960	25	153,133	169,939
<i>B. Tanneries</i>		Tank				Various skins, pcs.	
5. Merchant Abdulla Utemyshev	Yelabuga uyezd	15	–	–	11	2,750	2,750
6. Tatar Sagit Devetyarov	Slobodskoy uyezd	–	–	–	4	1,660	1,624
7. Tatar Masagut Suleymanov	Urzhum uyezd	3	–	–	4	500	500
8. Merchant Yefim Adamyshev	Kazan	14	–	–	7	1,600	1,600
9. Merchant Yakov Adamyshev	– " –	18	–	–	7	6,000	6,000
10. Merchant Grigory Adamyshev	– " –	11	–	–	7	2,150	2,150
11. Merchant Afan. Adamyshev	– " –	13	–	–	6	3,650	3,650
12. Merchant Pyotr Zaitsev	– " –	18	–	–	7	3,300	3,300
13. Merchant Ivan Gubin	– " –	15	–	–	7	6,000	6,000
14. Merchant Uskov	– " –	7	–	–	7	900	900
15. Merchant Yefim Yakovlev	– " –	8	–	–	4	1,700	1,200
16. Merchant Ivan Yakovlev	– " –	8	–	–	3	1,200	1,000
17. Merchant Guryan Kozhevnikov	– " –	10	–	–	7	1,600	1,600
18. Merchant Anton Efimov	– " –	2	–	–	6	1,650	1,650
19. Merchant Rodion	– " –	17	–	–	5	3,000	3,000
20. Merchant Kirill Trubin	– " –	5	–	–	6	2,500	1,000
21. Merchant Musa Apanayev	– " –	5	–	–	26	20,000	20,000
22. Merchant Salikh Alitov	– " –	3	–	–	31	9,000	9,000
23. Merchant Yusup Apanayev	– " –	8	–	–	6	7,630	7,680
24. Merchant Murtaza Suarov	– " –	28	–	–	13	3,160	3,160
25. Merchant Yakup Aitov	– " –	4	–	–	26	18,000	18,000
26. Merchant Khaybula Yakhvin	– " –	3	–	–	16	5,000	5,000
27. Merchant Gabbyas Abdulov Belyayev	– " –	2	–	–	11	5,000	5,000
28. Merchant Myardi Denmuhametev	– " –	1	–	–	7	3,000	3,000
29. Merchant Yusup Ilyazov	– " –	1	–	–	7	3,000	3,000

30. Merchant Murtaza Burnaev	Veresky village, Kazan uyezd	10	—	—	6	1,600	1,600
31. Merchant Ivan Kotelov	Yagodnoye village	6	—	—	55	43,000	20,000
32. Merchant Mukhamet Valitov	Starye Mengery village	10	—	—	12	3,000	3,000
33. Merchant Nazir Bayazitov	Yashkary village	10	—	—	12	3,000	3,000
34. Merchant Pyotr Kotelov	Yagodnoye village	20	—	—	14	6,000	4,500
35. Merchant Kotelov	— " —	5	—	—	42	30,000	23,600
36. Merchant Yakov Gulyashov	— " —	4	—	—	12	9,000	9,000
37. Merchant Kupriyan Kotelov	— " —	4	—	—	54	36,500	29,000
38. Merchant Stepan Rukavishnikov	— " —	2	—	—	11	6,000	6,000
29. Merchant Pyotr Kolanov	Igumnova village	2	—	—	20	10,050	10,050
40. Merchant Semyon Leontyev	— " —	2	—	—	7	2,500	2,500
41. Merchant Tikhon Leontyev	— " —	2	—	—	7	2,300	2,300
42. Merchant Luka Plokhov	— " —	3	—	—	10	7,000	7,000
43. Merchant Ivan Sherstnev	— " —	3	—	—	11	6,000	6,000
44. Merchant Vasily Sherstnev	— " —	3	—	—	18	9,140	9,140
45. Merchant Dmit. Makarovsky	Yagodnoye village	7	—	—	2	3,000	3,000
46. Merchant Ivan Kotelov	— " —	3	—	—	22	13,000	13,000
47. Merchant Timofey Bogomolov	Krasnaya Gorka village, Mamadysh uyezd	5	—	—	3	550	200
48. Merchant Miron Neumoin	— " —	12	—	—	4	1,400	1,400
49. Merchant Bikchenty Ablakov	near Yanbayeva village	5	—	—	4	800	800
50. Merchant Manasyp Ablakov and Khamit Urazov	near Yanbayeva village	10	—	—	5	1,500	1,500
51. Merchant Kunarey Bakeyev	near Bely Klyuch village	4	—	—	5	800	800
52. Merchant's son Yakup Gabyasov	Kazan	6	—	—	61	20,000	20,000
53. Merchant's son And. Medvedev	Yagodnoye Village, Kazan uyezd	2	—	—	2	3,000	3,000
54. Merchant's wife Zyulikha Abdulova	near Novaya Mengera village	10	—	—	12	3,000	3,000
55. Merchant's wife Anna Kukarinova	Kazan	3	—	—	7	4,000	4,000
56. Burgher Yefim Denisov	— " —	7	—	—	5	1,300	1,300

57. Burgher Yefim Tyapukhin	– " –	8	–	–	4	1,200	1,200
58. Burgher Rodion Krugovoy	– " –	6	–	–	7	1,900	1,900
59. Burgher Nikolay Glazunov	– " –	5	–	–	2	500	500
60. Burgher Klemen. Gonoshilov	– " –	8	–	–	6	2,100	2,100
61. Burgher Mikhail Biryukov	– " –	2	–	–	7	1,500	1,500
62. Burgher Sergey Novozhilov	– " –	2	–	–	15	6,000	6,000
63. Burgher Musa Mukhametev	– " –	4	–	–	8	4,000	4,000
64. Burgher Iv. and Alex. Tavrín	Cheboksary	1	–	–	2	200	200
65. Burgher Matvey Zadvorkov	– " –	1	–	–	2	200	200
66. Burgher Gavrilá Zarubin	– " –	3	–	–	3	500	500
67. Burgher Andrey Shilov	– " –	2	–	–	2	500	500
68. Burgher Pyotr Zadvornov	– " –	2	–	–	1	70	70
69. Burghers Ivan and Yakov Vizgin	– " –	2	–	–	3	400	400
70. Burgher Stepan Zarubin	– " –	2	–	–	3	600	600
71. Burgher Boris Yekimov	– " –	1	–	–	2	800	800
72. Burgher Osip Zaitsev	– " –	2	–	–	2	400	400
73. Burgher Andrey Zhidkov	– " –	1	–	–	2	200	200
74. Burgher Grig. Polyakov	– " –	3	–	–	2	500	500
75. Burgher Vasily Karytnikov	– " –	1	–	–	2	100	100
76. Burgher Mikh. Alatorkin	– " –	2	–	–	3	1,300	1,300
77. Burgher Miron Mishayevsky	Yagodnoye village	2	–	–	3	700	700
78. Burgher Stepan Bokhin	– " –	3	–	–	3	600	600
79. Burgher Yegor Khlebnikov	– " –	2	–	–	5	1,050	1,050
80. Burgher Yakov Medvedev	– " –	2	–	–	2	1,200	1,200
81. Burgher Yegor Kiselyov	Igumnova village	3	–	–	3	470	470
82. Burgher Grigory Bogomolov	Krasnaya Gorka village, Mamadysh uyezd	4	–	–	3	480	480
83. Burgher Stepan Treskin	– " –	3	–	–	3	360	360
84. Burgher Nikifor Belyshov	– " –	5	–	–	3	600	600
85. Burgher Prokofy Neumoin	– " –	7	–	–	3	840	340

86. Burgher Ivan Treskin	– " –	5	–	–	3	600	600
87. Burgher Ivan Petrov	Malaya Yelysheva village	3	–	–	3	400	400
88. Peasant Kondrat. Treskin	Krasnaya Gorka village	2	–	–	3	240	240
89. Peasant Sergey Neumoin	– " –	2	–	–	2	240	240
90. Peasant Osip Yakovlev	– " –	7	–	–	3	840	840
91. Peasant Semyon Andreev	– " –	3	–	–	3	360	360
92. Peasant Grigory Treskin	– " –	4	–	–	3	480	480
93. Peasant Sergey Barannikov	Kazan	3	–	–	3	450	350
94. Peasant Vasily Steshin	– " –	3	–	–	1	1,000	700
95. Admiral Office	– " –	28	–	–	17	273	273
Total		528	–	–	811	375,593	–
<i>C. Soap, candle and wax factories</i>		Cauldrons	–	–		Soap, tallow candles and wax, poods	Tallow candles, poods
Free							
96. Commercial Councilor Aleksey Kvasnikov	Kazan	5	–	–	9	7,000	7,000
97. Merchant Pyotr Kotelov	Yagodnoye village	5	–	–	8	8,000	8,000
98. Merchant Ivan Zharkov	Kazan	6	–	–	11	8,550	8,550
99. Merchant Musa Adamov	– " –	3	–	–	6	3,000	3,000
100. Merchant Aptykarim Yunusov	– " –	6	–	–	7	5,000	5,000
101. Merchant Grigory Kochetov	– " –	20	–	–	11	6,000	6,000
102. Merchant Yusup Kitaev	– " –	6	–	–	13	12,000	12,000
103. Merchant Mazit Bakirov	– " –	3	–	–	6	4,000	4,000
104. Merchant Yusup Apanayev	– " –	4	–	–	6	1,600	–
105. Merchant Yakup Shatunov	– " –	7	–	–	11	12,960	12,960
106. Merchant Yusup Shatunov	– " –	7	–	–	11	7,000	7,000
107. Merchant Apsalyam Rakhmatullin	– " –	1	–	–	4	1,500	1,500
108. Merchant Yusup Zamakov	– " –	5	–	–	8	5,000	5,000
109. Merchant Vasily Petrov	– " –	2	–	–	5	3,000	3,000
110. Merchant Pavel Likhachyov	–	3	–	–	9	6,000	6,000
111. Merchant Nik. Rostovtsev	–	2	–	–	4	1,200	1,200

112. Merchant Khamit Urazov	–	3	–	–	7	3,000	3,000
113. Merchant Pyotr Yevreinov	–	8	–	–	11	11,500	11,500
114. Merchant's widow Alex. Konyukhova	–	3	–	–	6	4,600	4,600
115. Merchant's widow Marya Serebryakova	–	3	–	–	7	600	2,000
116. Burgher Nikolay Melnikov	–	2	–	–	3	800	800
117. Tatar Bikbov Khalfin	–	4	–	–	5	2,600	2,600
118. Tatar Isay Zamanov	–	5	–	–	6	5,000	5,000
Total for 23 factories	–	113	–	–	183	125,310	119,710
<i>D. Cloth factories</i>		Machines				Arshins	Arshins
119. State Councilor in Deed Sakharov's heirs	Alex. village, Laishev uyezd	7	–	24	–	913	–
120. Foreman Ozerov's heirs	near Nikolskoye village, Yelabuga uyezd	10	–	15	–	800	650
Total		17 tanks	–	39	–	1,713	650
<i>E. Writing paper factories</i>						Poods	Poods
121. Foreman Ozerov's heirs	near Nikolskoye village, Yelabuga uyezd	2	–	15	–	1,016	476
122. Tatar Domney Mamatov and brothers	Urzhum uyezd	2	–	–	77	5,673	5,130
123. Sagishebanu Galieva	– " –	2	–	–	25	1,640	–
Total		6	–	15	102	8,329	–
<i>F. Kerchief and cotton factories</i>		Machines				Various cotton kerchiefs, red calico	
124. Merchant's wife Zyulikha Abdulova	Urnash village, Kazan uyezd	35	–	–	42	48,000	48,000
125. Merchant Mukhamet Velitov	– " –	25	–	–	42	52,000	52,000
126. Merchant Martaza Burnaev	Beresky village	30	–	–	47	48,000	48,000
127. Merchant Nazir Bayazitov	Yashkary village	35	–	–	42	48,000	48,000
128. Merchant Musa Khozeseitov	Ura village, Tsarevokokshaysk uyezd	33	–	–	68	56,000	52,000
129. Merchant Sulgiman Khozeseitov		40	–	–	81	76,000	44,000
130. Merchant Makhmut Khozeseitov		32	–	–	63	50,000	50,000
131. Merchant Mukhmin Khozeseitov		37	–	–	68	60,000	58,000
132. Tatar Nazir Khozeseitov	– " –	40	–	–	81	76,000	76,000
Total for 9 factories		307	–	–	534	514,000	476,000
<i>G. Rope factories</i>		Machines				Ropes, cables, tackle, yarn, etc.	
133. Merchant Alex. Blyudenev	Kazan	3	–	–	26	poods, 3,500	poods, 3,500

<i>3. Potash plants</i>		Cauldrons				Potash	
134. Titular Councilor Anna Pivovarova	Yakshino village, Laishev uyezd	4	–	5	–	150	–
135. Merchant Alexander Strelkov	Bogorodskaya Chucha village	4	–	7	–	1,122	–
Total for 2 plants		8	–	12	–	1,272	–
<i>H. Vinegar factories</i>		Tank				Vinegar, buckets	
136. Merchant's wife Matryona Serebryakova	Kazan	1	–	–	3	700	700
<i>I. Iron plants</i>		Furnaces				Various iron articles	
						poods	poods
137. Merchant Sobolev		1	–	–	3	1,000	1,000
<i>J. Copper and button plants</i>		Furnaces				Various copperware, bells, buttons	
138. Warrant Officer Osokin	On the Mesha River, Mamadysh uyezd	4	–	154	150	2,103	1893
139. Merchant Inozemtsev's heirs and merchant Utemyshev	On the Taymya River, Valoy	5	–	327	118	1,413	1,219
140. Merchant Ilya Astrakhantsev	Kazan	2	–	–	8	630	450
141. Merchant Ivan Astrakhantsev	– " –	1	–	–	3	161	161
Total for 4 plants		12	–	481	279	4,307	–
Total		–	1,328	1,507	1,966	–	–

45 out of 129 plants, or 35%, were Tatar. Tatar plants employed 1,509 out of 4,823 employees, or 31.4% of the total number of employees.

Compiled according to the 'Record of Manufactories in Russia for 1812'. Saint Petersburg, 1814.

Source: History of Tataria in Documents and Materials. Moscow, 1937. P. 284–290.

No. 29

Table 29

Trends in leather dressing in Kazan in the first half of the 19th century¹¹

Years	Number of factories	Leather dressed						Amount		Total value of leather dressed in rubles
		soles	Russian leather	calf leather	horse leather	goat leather	sheep leather	tanks	number of workers	
1815	87	21,160	57,880	10,850	1,300	219,400	10,900	549	665	321,490
1820	81	9,290	40,400	12,650	1,200	164,200	13,950	491	567	241,690
1825	47	4,500	9,000	13,365	800	282,800	15,600	378	601	326,065

¹¹ *Tanneries in Kazan in the 19th century*. Tataria's leather industry continued to grow in the 19th century. The 1828 Addenda to the Kazan Newsletter provide a list of 84 tanneries located in Kazan and the governorate, including large factories with over 10 cauldrons. The total output of Kazan tanneries increased. The 1814 statistics estimated it at 916,934 rubles, which according to the 1825 statistics increased to 1,554,435 rubles. Top quality leather, such as soles, Russian leather, calf and goat skins, were primarily made, yielding 18,251,319,200 rubles, or 85% of the total output.

1835	44	11,700	5,600	12,000	1,000	300,000	18,600	–	–	348,000
1840	46	15,540	13,500	13,700	2,300	292,400	14,300	–	–	351,740
1845	43	28,400	7,000	14,600	2,300	365,850	11,810	593	742	429,950
1850	36	8,000	24,700	11,900	2,450	284,650	9,600	612	649	341,300
1856	40	12,200	55,000	17,650	2,370	195,000	10,400	557	610	292,820

Reference article: *V. Vakurov*¹², Economic Conditions and Development of Leather Dressing in Kazan // Proceedings of the Kazan Economic Society, 1857, Part 3, pp. 93–118.

Source: History of Tataria in Documents and Materials. Moscow, 1937. P. 292.

No. 30

Description of red calico and other factories owned by Tatar merchants in Kazan guberniya in 1852

Number of factories in Tsarevokokshaysk district: three red calico, two cotton, two glass; number of plants: one distillery, one tannery, one red calico dyeing and three potash plants. Founders:

Red calico weaving and decorating factories:

a) Arsk 2nd Guild merchant Mukhmini Khozeseitov: three cauldrons, two boilers, thirty-five machines, three furnaces, and one bin. Operation begins in October and lasts until June of the following year. The factory employs up to 54 free Tatar employees responsible for red calico weaving and dyeing. Salaries: weavers receive 12 to 13 kopecks per end woven; dyers 12 rubles monthly. The factory's output for the period is up to 10,000 ends amounting to 58,000 rubles.

b) Arsk 3rd Guild merchant Usman Khozeseitov: two cauldrons, two boilers, twenty-five machines, two furnaces, and one bin. Operation begins in October and lasts until June of the following year. The factory employs up to 37 free Tatar employees responsible for red calico weaving and dyeing. Salaries: weavers receive 12 to 13 kopecks per end woven; dyers up to 12 rubles monthly. The factory's output for the period is up to 9,000 ends amounting to 33,750 rubles.

a) Arsk 3rd Guild merchant Zyugra Khozeseitova: one cauldron, one boilers, ten machines, one furnace, and one bin. Operation begins in October and lasts until June of the following year. The factory employs up to 12 free Tatar employees responsible for red calico weaving and dyeing. Salaries: weavers receive 8 to 10 kopecks per end woven; dyers up to 12 rubles monthly. The factory's output for the period is up to 2,000 ends amounting to 7,000 rubles.

These factories use the following materials: white spun cotton, madder, fish oil, oak gall, Kizlyar grass, alum, and unpurified potash, bought in Astrakhan and at the Nizhny Novgorod Fair. Finished red calico is sold at the Nizhny Novgorod and Irbit Fairs, as well as to the cities Rostov, Menzelinsk, Simbirsk, and Bugulma. All these factories are located in Sluzhilaya Ura village, Kubyan Volost, on land granted by Tsar Mikhail to the Princes Khozeseitov in 7145 (1657), which has an area of 2,442 dessiatinas 1,532 sazhen.

Paper finishing factories:

a) the factory owned by Arsk 2nd Guild merchant Mukhmin Khozeseitov, Urazlino Volost, in houses of state peasants on the Shora River. It has one wheel, two bins, five furnaces, two tanks, two cauldrons, and two water machines. Operation lasts from May to April of the following year. It employs up to 16 free employees, peasants and Tatars from Vyatka guberniya, Urzhum uyezd and this uyezd. Salaries: a skilled workman receives 150 rubles a year, and workers receive 30 to 60 rubles and board. The factory is located on the premises of a flour mill run by the same merchant Khozeseitov, which occupies, together with the factory, four dessiatinas of local residents' land, for which they receive 400 rubles each under a contract signed and approved by the Treasury Chamber. The following materials are used to produce paper: cloth, alum, and glue bought in Kazan and Vyatka guberniyas and in the city of Kazan, costing up to 3,080 rubles. Up to 2,500 packages of paper, amounting to 7,500 rubles, are produced during the operating period. Being unfit for local consumption, they are sent abroad, namely to Bukharia and other Middle Asian countries.

b) the factory owned by Arsk 3rd Guild merchant Zyugra Khozeseitova, Urazlino Volost, in houses of state peasants from Atnya village, Kazan uyezd, Alat Volost on the Shora River. It has one wheel, one bin, three furnaces, one tank, and one water machine. Operation lasts from May to April of the follow-

¹² Italicised in the text of the document.

ing. It employs up to 8 free employees, peasants and Tatars from Tsarevokokshaysk and Kazan uyezds. Salaries: a skilled workman receives 85 rubles a year, and workers receive 30 to 40 rubles and board. The factory is located on the premises of a flour mill ran by the same merchant Khozeseitova, which occupies, together with the factory, three dessiatinas of local residents' land, for which they receive 150 rubles each under a contract. The following materials are used to produce paper: cloth, alum, and glue bought in Kazan and Vyatka guberniyas, costing up to 240 rubles. Up to 700 packages of wrapping paper, amounting to 840 rubles, are produced during the operating period. It is sent to Kazan for sale.

Table 30

The industry of Kazan in 1853–1854

Names of factories and plants	Number of factories and plants	Number of owners, skilled workmen, and workers										Value of output in silver rubles
		nobles	1st Guild merchants	2nd Guild merchants	3rd Guild merchants	burghers	peasants	total	skilled workmen	number of workers	total	
1. Cloth factories	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	2	13	445	458	65,300
2. Nankeen factories	8	—	—	3	5	—	—	8	8	592	600	90,000
3. Tanneries	36	—	4	9	7	7	9	36	10	700	710	620,000
4. Sheepskin factories	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	2	2	5	7	5,000
5. Soap factories	10	—	1	1	1	7	—	10	3	50	53	34,000
6. Candle and tallow factories	13	—	1	5	2	4	1	13	5	80	85	280,000
7. Rendering plants	3	—	—	2	1	—	—	3	3	15	18	120,000
8. Glue factories	10	—	—	—	—	10	—	10	—	30	30	10,000
9. Wax candle and wax bleaching factories	4	—	—	—	4	—	—	4	4	30	34	66,000
10. Felt factories	4	—	—	—	1	3	—	4	—	10	10	6,000
11. Cotton factories	6	—	—	—	3	3	—	6	—	15	15	10,000
12. Bast factories	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	2	2	38	40	10,000
13. Rope factories	5	—	—	—	2	3	—	5	2	48	50	15,000
14. Cereal factories	2	—	—	1	1	—	—	2	2	10	12	4,000
15. Malt factories	3	—	—	1	1	1	—	3	3	10	13	4,000
16. Vodka distilleries	1	Owned by an excise lease commission agent										
17. Brewery	1	The same										
18. Tobacco factories	3	—	—	—	—	3	—	3	—	3	3	1,500
19. Dyeing factories	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	3	3	4,500

20. Chemical plant	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	9	9	2,000
21. Cast iron plant	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	12	12	6,000
22. Bell plant	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	2	2	1,500
23. Potteries	2	–	–	–	2	–	–	2	–	8	8	1,500
24. Brick plants	18	3	1	3	4	6	1	18	18	300	318	50,000
Total	139	5	7	25	41	48	11	137	75	2,415	2,490	1,406,300
Including												
Russians	–	–	3	19	33	40	11	106	–	–	–	–
Tatars	–	–	4	6	8	8	–	26	–	–	–	–

... The tannery in Kubyan Laschmann Volost, in Serving Tatars' houses, Vershyna Valoy Shashy village, founded by the 3rd grade license yasak Tatar tradesman from the same village Izmail Mukhamet-Rakhimov. The plant occupies one and a half dessiatinas without any payment to the residents; it has six tanks and one cauldron. Operation starts in October and lasts until the following May. It employs 8 Votyak free employees from Vyatka guberniya. Salaries: contractors received 30 kopecks per dressed skin and 10 kopecks per dyed skin, and workers received 12 rubles monthly. Materials with a total value of up to 700 rubles are purchased for tanning. Raw hide is purchased from residents of Tsarevokokshaysk and Urzhum districts, Vyatka guberniya, numbering up to 1,800. The leather is sold for up to 15,000 rubles in Orenburg.

The red calico dyeing plant owned by the Arsk 3rd Guild merchant Kurbangaley Burnaev, located in Kubyan Laschmann Volost, in Serving Tatars' houses in Borisovskiye Otary village. The plant occupies one and a half dessiatinas of land, for which each owner receives a payment of 50 rubles annually under a contract. The plant has 6 cauldrons, 4 boilers, 2 bins, and 6 furnaces. Operation lasts from October to the following June. It employs up to 55 free Tatars receiving a salary of 10 to 12 rubles monthly. The plant uses the following materials: madder, fish oil, oak gall, Kizlyar grass, alum, and unpurified potash, bought in Astrakhan and at the Nizhny Novgorod Fair. In addition, up to 12,000 ends of white calico for dyeing at a cost of up to 20,000 rubles are bought in Nizhny Novgorod. Dyed calico is sold at the Nizhny Novgorod Fair for up to 30,000 rubles.

Kazanskie gubernskie vedomosti. 1852. No.52. P. 611–614.

Source: History of Tataria in Documents and Materials. Moscow, 1937. P. 297–299.

No. 31

Report No. 1 by Priest of Chura village Gleb Lyapidovsky of 14 January 1872, to Archpriest of Krasnaya Gorka village, Mamadysh uyezd Yevgeny Antenorov, on sheepskin factories in his parish

I hereby report the following on your personal order following the annual inspection of the Trinity Church of Chura to present you with information on sheepskin factories located in Chura Parish, their number of Christian Tatar employee and general working conditions:

1) There are a total of seven sheepskin factories in Shemordan and Tirlova villages. Although unable to provide the exact number of workers at all these plants, I estimate the average number of workers at up to 200 at smaller factories and up to 400 or more at more developed ones, including 30 to 50 or more Christian Tatars from Chura, Nyrya and other parishes, depending on the total number of workers. They employ up to 170 or 200 Russian sheepskin and fur coat makers at all factories, and the rest of the workers are Tatars.

2) Living conditions of Christian workers vary. It is not uncommon for them to work in cooperatives in separate izbas. They are tailors. Some work with Tatars, namely astrakhan makers. Some also work with Russian sheepskin makers. Speaking of the price for which they work, it should be noted that nearly all Christians—Tatars are out of the question—take money from plant owners in advance in autumn to pay tributes and work for a very small price for the rest of the time, taking more for daily subsistence for themselves and their families. That is, some can barely repay their debts, while others remain indebted the next year. The average plant worker receives approximately 20 kopecks per winter

and summer day without board and 10 kopecks with board, except for contractors, whose work is more incomparably more profitable. Cooperative workers cook food for themselves. They enjoy complete freedom in staple products, while different workers receive food from owners, who do not limit Christians' food consumption this year. They buy whatever they need separately from Tatars, according to Christian requirements, even observing Christian fast days due to the Mamadysh Uyezd Police Officer, at whose request this was introduced. <...>

Source: National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 4, inv. 98, file 9, s. 52–53. Original.

No. 32

An extract from 'Materials for Research on Trades Practiced by the Population of Kazan Guberniya' by M. Rylov

The Forgotten Trade: The Present Situation and Pressing Needs of Boot Making in Kazan

There is hardly anyone who has not heard of the elegant Asian saffian shoes—'ichegs'—for which Kazan is rightfully famous. It is safe to say that everyone has experienced the delight of seeing them in Sennaya Square, in a Tatar inn, and in Galeev's shop windows in the Kazan Craft and Agricultural Exhibition, where they were truly a success. Made of colorful saffian decorated with rich gold, silver, and multicolor silk embroidery, such shoes can be truly luxurious and deserve to adorn the finest feet...

But how many citizens of Kazan have any idea of how the local industry works? Do they really know whose hands make the Asian shoes associated with Kazan and what labor and suffering it takes to produce these articles of Islamic taste and Oriental luxury?

We assume they are extremely few.

So let me introduce to the readers of 'Volzhsky Vestnik'¹³ to the trade known as 'icheg making'. It would be very informative to learn about it—if you wish—in terms of our handicraft industry.

According to private information, up to ten large companies produce and sell ichegs in Kazan. This trade is mainly localised in Sennaya Square, which has nine icheg shops. Only one, owned by Khvorov, is located in the market.

The trade in question is fully controlled by local Tatars, except for one Armenian (in Sennaya Square) and the above Russian Khvorov.

Ichegs are also sold beyond Kazan, at the Nizhny Novgorod, Menzelinsk, Irbit, and other fairs. They are also exported to the far Muslim-populated eastern periphery, namely Siberia, Transcaucasia, and Turkestan, then to Bukhara, Khiva, and so on.

As many as three million pairs of ichegs of various types are produced in Kazan. Their total value is at least 5 million rubles per year¹⁴.

In the meanwhile, only three exhibitors, large-scale Asian shoe traders, attended the Kazan Craft and Agricultural Exhibition, while the list of craft establishments in Kazan published by the Exhibition Committee does not mention the large industry branch of Asian footwear production.

However, this local trade is not fiction. It does exist, earn millions of rubles and employing approximately 2,000 women and up to 500 men.

Ichegs are made of goat and sheep skin. They can be black or colored, ornamented or plain. Colored cotton, silk, and gold are used for dimple patterns. Ichegs consist of the following three parts: 1) a hook, that is, the front pieces and the bootleg taken together; 2) the back piece and 3) the sole. The so-called two-klyush ichegs are made of an ornately shaped klyush (front piece), a bootleg, a back piece, and a sole. All other types of ichegs have a stitched-on front piece, like the so-called fancy and noble boots. The latter can be distinguished by a heel, which makes them similar to the European boot.

Regardless of their type, all ichegs have an ornately shaped back piece. Men's and black ichegs have backs of rear leather dressed in Persia and dyed light green; colored saffian ichegs have backs of saffian of different colors. The sole is always attached by Tatar men, while Russian women make the icheg itself. The sole is mostly made of coarsely dressed and red-dyed Asian Russian leather.

¹³ Social, Political and Literary Newspaper (Kazan, 1883–1904, 1905–1906), Editor-in-Chief: N. Zagoskin (1883–1891).

¹⁴ *Author's note:* We were unable to collect accurate data, because no official statistics are available, and merchants are rather reluctant to share the information.

Traders employ experienced skilled skin cutters, mostly local Tatars. Apart from their work, that is, cutting, skin cutters often work as salesclerks. They record all leather issued to contractors (of both sexes) and finished products received from them.

Even though ichegs are sewn by craftswomen, these craftswomen do not receive any sewing goods from traders directly, because merchants find it troublesome to pay a large number of sewers, while it has not occurred to the latter that they could form cooperatives. Thus, they lose up to half their salary, which they pay to artful contractors for mediation.

Four people are reported to act as such unwelcome mediators in Kazan and near it, namely the Tatar burgher Ishmetyev at the gunpowder plant, burghers Ivan Fyodorov and Yelena Zapadnova in Kizhitsy, and burgher Fyokla Ivanova in Sukonnaya Sloboda. Ishmetyev alone manages up to 800 craftswomen. To make their profit even higher, contractors pay the craftswomen not in money but in goods, also at horrible interest rates. They sell all goods, from chintz, tobacco, tea, and sugar to household utensils at revolting prices. Naturally, some of them understand what need means. However, some do not care for anything but their greedy stomachs.

As has already been mentioned, up to 2,000 craftswomen are engaged in icheg production. They all live in slobodas near Kazan, namely Sukonnaya, Nikolayevskaya, Admiralteyskaya, Yagodnaya, two Igumnova Slobodas, Kizhitsy, Kozya, Grivka, Porokhovoy Zavod, and in some suburban villages. The Kizhitsy contractors Fyodorov and Zapadnova manage up to 200 craftswomen. As has already been said, Ishmetyev hires up to 800 of them. In Sukonnaya Sloboda, contractor Fyokla Ivanova manages up to 100 craftswomen. The latter produce only costly goods with silk and gold embroidery, which is both tiresome and harmful to the eyes. This is why Fyokla Ivanova's profit is less than that of the other contractors.

The following types of Asian shoes are produced in Kazan:

Type name	Production cost per pair		Number of pairs made by one craftswoman per week	Per year
	shop prices	from contractors		
1. Black sheep skin whole-cut (Tashkent) ichegs	20 kopecks	10 kopecks	15 pairs	720 pairs
2. Same, but goat-skin	20 kopecks	12 kopecks	15 pairs	720 pairs
3. With a sewn front piece	14 kopecks	8 kopecks	15 pairs	720 pairs
4. Half-embroidered, cotton	1 ruble 20 kopecks	60 kopecks	1 pair	48 pairs
5. Half-embroidered, silk	2 rubles	1 ruble 20 kopecks	¾ pair	36 pairs
6. Fancy pattern ichegs	50 kopecks	30 kopecks	2 pairs	96 pairs
7. Two-klyush	12 kopecks	8 kopecks	15 pairs	720 pairs
8. Noblemen's boots	25 kopecks	15 kopecks	10 pairs	480 pairs
9. Half-ornamented, gold	5 rubles	5 rubles	¼ pair	12 pairs
	(material costs 2 rubles as estimated by the craftswomen)			
10. Silver and gold embroidered shoes	2 rubles	1 ruble 50 kopecks	1 pair	48 pairs
11. Silk embroidered shoes	1 ruble	50 kopecks	3 pairs	144 pairs
12. Fully ornamented ichegs: cotton	2 rubles 50 kopecks	2 rubles	¾ pair	36 pairs
13. Fully ornamented ichegs: silk	3 rubles	2 rubles 50 kopecks	½ pair	24 pairs
Average	1 ruble 40 kopecks	1 ruble 8 kopecks	6 1/3 pairs	3,792 pairs

This table shows how many pairs in total an experienced craftswoman makes weekly.

It should be taken into account that most of them have to work for over 15 hours a day, in cramped stuffy rooms in winter and usually outside in summer.

Their diet is very meager. We have seen many craftswomen literally live on rye bread without any addition, except for mushrooms or potatoes, never mind meat, which they only eat on 5–6 festival days. Only cow owners consume milk, although they mainly want to sell all of it in town. They live in extreme poverty. It is beyond doubt that the miserable craftswomen do not indulge in idle pastimes. However, their profit is meager because parasitic contractors devour most of it.

Let us study a family of four: the mother, one adult daughter, one 8-year-old son, and another daughter, aged 9. Their weekly expenses would be as follows:

Accommodation.....	25 kopecks
Firewood and lighting	40 kopecks
Food.....	1 ruble 20 kopecks
Tea and sugar.....	60 kopecks
Clothes and footwear.....	2 rubles

4 rubles 45 kopecks

A mother and her grown-up daughter could make 15 pairs each of the most common and profitable Tashkent ichegs every week, yielding 3 rubles. The little girl could make 5 pairs weekly, yielding 50 kopecks. This comes out to a weekly income of 3 rubles 50 kopecks, with expenses as high as 4 rubles 45 kopecks, which results in a weekly deficit of 95 kopecks. This could be compensated for by cutting back on clothes and footwear as well as—most importantly—food. If that still was not enough, pawning, often to contractors, was the only solution.

This is the troublesome situation of the miserable female workers of Kazan, who had no expertise in female labour, like the lacemaker Ms. Davydova. Statistics on indigenous female trade would be useful to show how heavily dependent Kazan women and girls were on their contractors, having to wait for a benefactor's hand to free them from the grip of exploitation. This was a broad and fruitful field for private charity that Kazan women were capable of pursuing.

The manner in which this might be brought about is quite obvious. Independent artels could be established for the residents of certain localities like Yagodnaya, Sukonnaya, Kozya, Kizhitsy Sloboda, Porokhovoy Zavod, and others. Each artel was responsible for electing its own head. The heads would be responsible for accepting cut leather from traders, issuing it to artel members, ensuring performance results, and settling accounts with owners. It might be necessary to persuade merchants to trust artels. To prove that craftswomen deserve this, we can mention the well-known fact that not a single crafts-woman has ever been reported to hide or speculate with any goods given to her by contractors, despite the fact that no receipts are issued and no records are kept to trace the issuance of goods. No disputes in the production of icheg have ever been referred to court.

The despondent situation of icheg makers in Kazan in need of a more rational model based on free labour and freedom from exploitation, which otherwise suppresses important local trade, in other circumstances might portend only the most promising. <...>

Source: M. Rylov, *Materials for Research on the Trades of the Population of the Kazan Guberniya*, 1887. P. 195–200, 209–218.

Tatar trade and industry in the 'Tärceman' ('Translator') newspaper

No. 33 Irbīt

On our way to Irbīt Fair we chanced to visit the settlement of Malchin, Tyumen uyezd, where the prominent merchant and benefactor Aja Nigmatulla Karmyshak oglu Seydyukov resided. After enjoying the respectful Aja's generous hospitality, which to us were reminiscent of ancient tradition, we arrived in Irbīt.

It is home to a large, two-storeyed mosque with a tall minaret. The mosque was built at the initiative of the Akhund of Petropavlovsk Abdul-Bari Yaushev. Two imams appointed by the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly were sent to perform divine services during the fair.

Being of great significance in general, the Irbīt Fair is crucial to Muslim merchants. The Quran and other books, both religious and secular, were brought here from Kazan along with Muslim household items like hats, skullcaps, footwear, leather goods, etc. It is host to the best book shop I know, ran by

Sh. Huseynov, as well as Magomejan Galiev and Magomed Sherif Musin's footwear shoP. It is common to find Kazan arts and crafts being sold here. Merchants from Semipalatinsk, Petropavlovsk, and other steppe cities bring raw materials, which they exchange for goods from Kazan and Moscow.

Astrakhan citizen

Source: Tärce-man-Translator. 1887. No. 13. 12 April.

No. 34 **Tatar Buffets**

Some newspapers have been spreading the rumour that the Ministry of Communication is planning to prohibit Tatars from running railway buffets. This measure is allegedly caused by the fact that Tatars, who manage all the buffets at key railway stations, exploit passengers by offering poor food at high prices. At present, over 60 buffets at key stations are kept by Tatars, whom certain railway bosses seem to favour.

This is merely rumour that we believe to be inaccurate. The slander must instead result from complaints by individuals discouraged by Tatar buffet keepers and industrialists.

It is entirely possible that some Tatar buffet keepers provide low quality food. Yet, it cannot be said that all of them are exploiters. It would thus only be appropriate to remove the offenders, and not all industrialists. The procedure for obtaining permission to keep a railway buffet and the process of maintaining it, as well as the pricing models and other economic regulations, are so strict that hardly any corrupt practices are possible. The fact that Tatars own as many as 60 railway buffets proves them to be in good repute not with 'railway bosses', but all the authorities, as Tatars can be found on every railway line.

Being honest, modest, and sober, Tatars have earned this reputation, which is appealing not just to 'certain bosses', as rumour has it, but to all fair people.

If Tatar buffet and restaurant workers were truly bad, we would have read numerous complaints in newspapers. None have occurred so far, which means it is simply not a convincing argument that all Tatars are exploiters.

Source: Tärce-man-Translator. 1891. No. 9. 15 March.

No. 35 **Kazan**

To say that Kazan Muslims are not engaged in crafts would be inaccurate. Manual labour is common here, not to mention leather and soap making. Kazan craftsmen produce Asian footwear, caps, skullcaps, and gold and silk-embroidered articles. Hundreds of men and numerous women and girls make their living this way. Unfortunately, their labour is so poorly valued that they can hardly subsist on it.

All articles crafted by our Muslims fit in with the Asian taste and are bought by Muslims only, albeit in different cities and regions. Taking into account how high the quality is, our craftsmen could earn several times more if it occurred to them that they could make goods acceptable not only for Muslims, but for other peoples. This would increase their audience and prices greatly.

Ahmed Safa Sabitov

Source: Tärce-man-Translator. 1891. No. 12. 12 April.

No. 36 **Kasimov**

The population of Kasimov is known for its high involvement in commerce. This city produces the most sharp-witted restaurant keepers, and being generally wealthy, they are generous benefactors eager to do good when so instructed.

Since I believe it to be my duty to speak of good things, I cannot help but present the following speculations. It would be quite useful to encourage handicrafts instead of confining ourselves to trade and buffet keeping. This would provide employment and subsistence earnings to a lot of people. A craft school for Muslims to ensure proper education in this sphere is also necessary. There is no doubt that the local well-off will support the initiative, provided that there is somebody to address it.

Hailulla, Tatar-bay village

Source: Tärce-man-Translator. 1891. No. 12. 12 April.

No. 37
Miscellaneous news

The demand for exported Orenburg knitted downy articles has become very high. Such goods are mainly imported by France and Belgium. Lace shawls are the most popular among them.

Source: Tärce-man-Translator. 1891. No. 15. 10 May.

No. 38
Saydashev's Brand

We have been trying to notice everything in the Russian Muslim community that can be considered suggestive of the activity of thought and energy. These include the entrepreneurial spirit of Kazan merchant Saydashev, whom Simferopol reports to have established a commercial business here in the south.

As the owner of a glass plant in the Kazan guberniya, Saydashev was awarded a certificate of recognition and a silver medal for his articles. This indicates the well-respected Muslim to be highly reasonable in how he conducts his business. One local company has been reported to have ordered as many as 100,000 bottles from him.

Source: Tärce-man-Translator. 1892. No. 44. 10 December.

No. 39
Muslim-Owned Factories

The Muslims of the Simbirsk guberniya have been long engaged in wool making and fulling mill operation. As soon as cloth factories with advanced machines opened in Moscow, Muslims fully realised how important they were, and turned their mills into small factories. Developing their businesses with devotion, they supplied cloth for state purposes, thus competing with Moscow manufacturers. Goods from Simbirsk factories can be found everywhere. Local plants also act as contractors for the government in producing large batches of cloth for soldiers.

There are a total of ten Muslim-owned factories, of which two are located in Saratov Governorate. Their total turnover is as high as ten million rubles. The largest of them belong to the Akchurins, while the Deberdeevs and Alievs own the rest.

Most of the workers and managers at those factories are Muslims. The Guryevskaya Factory, ran by T. Akchurin, also has a small founding and metallurgical plant.

Source: Tärce-man-Translator. 1897. No. 27. 7 July.

No. 40
* * *

The famous Irgiz merchant Kyashif Shagadullin was awarded a medal for his breeding of pedigreed horses at the All-Russian Industrial Exhibition. Kyashif Efendi has been reported to have also been awarded a gold neck medal by his chefs.

It is truly pleasant to see Muslims involved in businesses of social importance, which the awards suggest they are.

Source: Tärce-man-Translator. 1898. No. 6. 14 February.

No. 41
Tatar Buffets

<...> The recent congress of physicians in Saint Petersburg raised the issue of the current situation with railway passenger nutrition. The congress was willing to go forward with increasing supervision for station buffets. 'Salgir'¹⁵ commented on this commendable initiative as follows:

'Non-Christians have been forcing Russians out of many industries in Russia. Where non-Christians are more proficient and experienced than their Russian colleagues, this is quite natural and should not

¹⁵ Social, Political, and Literary Newspaper (Simferopol, 1897–?). Published and edited by N. Mikhno.

cause any great discontent. However, non-Christians succeeding in an industry to which they are alien and for which they are unfit is abnormal, and the situation has to be rectified.

We discussed the newborn issue in various aspects and collected the necessary data. Out findings are as follows: 1) Tatars own just a small percentage of railway buffets and restaurants in the capitals, meaning that any ousting is unlikely, while 'cooperation' would instead be the correct term; 2) not all Tatars, but only those known as Kasimov Tatars, who have been perfecting their skills in the best homes of Moscow and Petersburg under the guidance of French chefs working for amateur connoisseurs, become buffet keepers; 3) as non-Christian as they are, Kasimov Tatars are by no means foreigners; 4) they all employ skillful, expensive chefs, as do their Russian colleagues, without cooking anything themselves; 5) they have never treated anyone to horse meat, about which Salgir expressed apprehension; 6) Kasimov and, partly, Tambov Tatars, being sober, honest, and responsible people, enjoy high credit and preference in the capitals and large cities.

This and the fact that Russia in all of its vastness has enough space and work for everyone, we believe that any measures except sanitary supervision are unnecessary.

'Salgir' should have begun his speech with a subject of greater importance.

Source: Tärceman-Translator. 1898. No. 44. 8 November.

No. 42

What I Saw at the Exhibition

I was in attendance at the All-Russian Industrial and Artistic Exhibition in Nizhny Novgorod from 13 to 20 August. <...>

I have no doubt that Muslims, as skillful and hard-working as they are in their ancient trades, will be able to successfully introduce machines. However, they have still yet to do so. I have no idea what others saw at the exhibition. I saw a total of over 6,000 exhibitors, of which only 97 pertained to Muslims, and of whom 45 were Kirghiz horse breeders¹⁶. That is, other Muslim exhibitors were as few as 52. With a ratio of 6,000 exhibitors to the Empire's total population of 120 million, that would be 500 per 10 million.

There are over ten million Muslims within the confines of Russia. That is, they were several times less represented than they should have been at the exhibition, or they had nothing to exhibit. Both reasons are worthy of pity.

So what did Muslims bring to this educational bazaar of labour, knowledge and competition?

Fourty-four Muslims (all Kirghiz) exhibited steppe horses; one (Allahyar Zulgadarov from Yelizavetpol guberniya) exhibited stud horses (Karabakh and race horses); two Akchurin-owned companies presented improved machine-produced cloth; two Kazan companies (owned by Murtaza Azimov and Utyamishev and Co.) presented machine-produced coarse calico and nankeen. Also, Aja Ahmejan Galeev's company (Kazan) exhibited saffian articles and footwear, beautiful but markedly Asian.

All the rest of the exhibitors were craftsmen presenting hand-made carpets, silk, cloth, wool, cotton, down, felt, tobacco pouches, Asian footwear, silver articles, saddles, whips, bridles, Asian knives, daggers, burkas and karakul fur.

Bukhara presented similar articles, while Khiva boasted wool, cotton, and other natural fabrics.

Among the craftswomen, Fatma Baybekova from Moscow presented artistic embroidery. She embroidered a photographically accurate image of a mosque with silk, for which she used a photograph as reference.

The satin tablecloth embroidered by Sherif Jemal Khimidullina from Petropavlovsk was also particularly beautiful.

Ivory articles by Ali Ibragim oglu from Yekaterinodar, horse hair reins and belly bands by Kurban Ali Nasyriv and Temir Sabitov from the Irbit uyezd, Perm guberniya, and fruits brought in by Ahmed Selimov from Simferopol are also worthy of a mention.

So that is pretty much the entirety of what was offered by the Muslim industry. The list could have also included gold embroidery and soap from Kazan, silk from Nukha, Shamakhi and Karabakh, but the soap would have affected the overall picture too much.

Muslims were not represented in the iron, cast iron, copper, cart, textile, dry goods, and machine sectors. Our Muslims clearly lived back in the wooden age, five centuries away from today's time of

¹⁶ Kazakhs.

'iron and machines'. Their ears appear deaf to the shrill whistling of machines, steam locomotives and boats. But they have to strain them, for life will get more challenging with time.

Now that I have seen the exhibition I realise that it is not the arts or knowledge on which the Muslim people rely, but on natural riches like wool, cotton, silk, dried fruit, leather, karakul, etc., and to some extent, hand-made articles that are not very common, such as carpets, Asian fabrics, felt, niello silver articles, etc.

But since the rest of peoples also have wool, cotton, hand-made goods, and so on, we Muslims find ourselves at a disadvantage. <...>

Manufacturing, iron, and machine production require both knowledge and skills. We do not possess them. But what prevents us from learning, though? <...>

The thousands of Muslims who saw the exhibition can bear witness for me. We have to learn, for we know nothing! We have to work at factories and plants to learn from the Russians in practice. We have to enroll in agricultural, mechanical, craft, technical, and other schools, for which we need to study Russian.

This will support the Muslim people, which is a holy cause. Hard-working and gifted as we are, Muslims do not know how to work. This exhibition shows that they do not.

Ismail.

Source: Tärce-man-Translator. 1896. No. 35. 8 September.

No. 43

From the study 'An Overview of Domestic Industries in the Kazan Guberniya' Tatar headgear and footwear production in Kazan

The above articles are hand-made by craftswomen, in most cases at home with their families, and not in dedicated workshops.

According to the famous Kazan trader M. Galeev, Asian footwear was termed as such because the first of these items were imported from Asia. The then-popular shoemaker Mustafa Fayzullin from Kazan went to Seitov township, Orenburg guberniya, in the 1790s, where he bought Bukharian men's ichegs with overshoes. When he came back to Kazan, he copied them into both men's and women's shoes. He had many followers. The original pair is on display in Galeev's shop in Kazan.

Essential Tatar women's headgear includes caps and hats, while men wear skullcaps. Ichegs with chaushas are the most popular footwear for both men and women.

Tatar women usually wear caps, which are traditionally shaped to resemble a bag, with a tilt to the right. They consist of two parts—the qirpu band and the öst top, and their size varies. At present, the types that are 3–4 vershok long and wide are popular in Kazan. Another style with a one-inch fringe is also common. It is much longer than a quarter arshin, but not longer than half an arshin.

Elder Tatar women wear örpyak shawls and beaver fur hats with an embroidered velvet top. This hat is different from the men's type because its top is always one vershok or more taller than the fringe, which is embroidered with silver or gold lace a little over 1/2 vershok wide. The men's skullcap and the women's cap also consist of two parts, namely a fringe and a top. The only difference between them is that the women's cap has fringe twice narrower than that of the man's skullcap. Skullcaps also have their top and fringe stitched in straight or oblique stripes with a spacing of half a centimeter, the space of which is filled with oakum, bast fiber, or cotton. Women's caps are usually made of unstitched, smooth fabrics.

Both the cap and the skullcap have a soft textile ball or a multi-colour tassel of silk or cotton of varying length attached to the middle of its top. This is both decorative and practical, as it makes the cap easier to put on and take off. Some skullcaps are made of red cloth and have a long black tassel. However, they are only imported from Turkey.

The so-called Bukharian skullcap is semioval and made of silk. It has a short upright tassel and a narrow striped fringe running lengthwise. The latter is not obliquely, but horizontally stitched, and only mullahs can wear it. The cap, hat, and skullcap can be made of velvet, velveteen, satin, silk, and other fabrics.

Ichegs (chitiks) are soft boots of sheep or goat leather with a soft horse leather sole. Premium-quality ichigs were made of goat skin. There is a difference between women's and men's ichigs. The former are made of multi-colour leather, embroidered with gold¹⁷, silver, colourful silk, and cotton threads, and

¹⁷ Author's note: 'Gold' refers to gilded silver thread, not genuine gold.

some women's ichigs also have heels. They can be embroidered up to the knee or half-embroidered. Men's ichigs always come in black, and they have no embroidery or adornments except for green, rough saury leather on the heel.

Keushes (kaloshev), which are worn with ichigs, also come in a variety of styles. Women's keushes are usually high-heeled and have a low back. Their instep can also often be embroidered with gold. There is a silk or cotton tassel attached to the middle of it.

Men's keushes have low heels and a high back. They are unembroidered. Apart from chaushev, Tatars also wear so-called bashmak. The difference between the keush and the bashmak is that the former has a broad wooden heel and no back. Its instep is also of dyed leather: green, black, light blue, and other colours.

The headgear and footwear described above, both men's and women's, are only produced in Kazan¹⁸ and brought to all the cities and localities where Tatars reside. There are dedicated shops in Kazan, and only women, both Russian and Tatar, embroider such articles¹⁹. Several thousand craftswomen in Kazan and all across the uyezd work day and night to supply hundreds of thousands of hats and shoes to shops. According to traders, about 50,000 pairs of each type are supplied annually to each shop. The number of headgear is the same or even higher. Footwear and headgear embroiderers in Kazan number over 2,000, and are scattered in the New and Old Tatar, Sukonnaya, Kizicheskaya Admiralteyskaya, and Igumnova slobodas. There are over ten thousand of them in Kazan uyezd.

Several people are engaged in the production of headgear. Some are responsible for stitching skullcap fringes and tops or embroidering them, while others print the stitched skullcap fringes or tops. Some also embroider cap tops or fringes, or decorate embroidered skullcap/cap tops and fringes, or put the headgear on the last²⁰. These specialisations determine the wages: some are paid for stitching tops and fringes, others for embroidering them, and the rest for printing or decorating and putting the headgear on the last. Payments are made for each 100 units. The materials suggest that a hundred yarmokas cost 5, 7, 10 kopeck or more to produce. That is, a craftsman stitching 30–50 skullcaps a day can earn 30–50 kopecks or 45–76 kopecks. Velvet can only be stitched by hand. Both velvet stitching and printing in general are much more expensive than other types of work. More experienced craftswomen, embroideresses in gold, can make between 1 ruble 50 kopecks to 2 rubles a day.

Caps, skullcaps, and cheplashka are embroidered with chenille, metallic thread, twisted thread, gold, silver, and pearls. Pearl-embroidered caps or skullcaps are rarely made for sale. Those who need them usually order them from special craftswomen. Approximately 30–40 zolotnik or even heavier pearl caps are very rare. The cost of silver, gold, and pearl embroidery depends on the weight. It is generally 25–30 kopeck per zolotnik. Ready-made caps and skullcaps embroidered with silver, gold, and pearls cost 2 rubles 70 kopecks and more.

Headgear, both men's and women's, was embroidered as follows. A piece of calico or simple chintz one vershok wide was first attached to the cap fringe to be embroidered. A thin towrope was then used to place it in a tambour frame one arshin long and 5–6 vershoks wide. The top was put into a special 4–5 vershok square tambour frame. Having put the fringe into the tambour frame, the craftswoman attached images of simple writing paper to the frame and outlined them by embroidering the cap. Patterns varied, but leaves, hanging trusses of berries, and the like were the most in-demand.

Where metallic thread was used, it was cut into small pieces 2–3 lines long with small scissors, which were inserted into the thread in the amount needed to fill the length and width of the picture using a thin needle. To increase the elevation level of the embroidery for a more impressive appearance, a thin layer of cotton was placed over the pictures. It was barely visible when the embroidery was complete. The top of the cap, hat or skullcap was embroidered in the same way.

It should be noted that depicting living creatures is prohibited under Mohammedan law.

Apart from embroidering, men's skullcaps have to be stitched with straight or oblique stripes using a machine or by hand. The stripes are then stuffed with oakum or bast fiber using a special iron styloid. Finally, the fringe and top are sewn together and put on a last when embroidered.

Embroidering ichigs is very simple. The essential tools are a round wooden last 5–6 vershok long with a diameter of 1 ½ vershoks, a round belt one-inch wide and as long as a human calf and the shoe-maker's awl. Multi-colour cotton and silk threads as well as common thin cobbler's twine are used for seam embroidery.

¹⁸ *Author's note:* Knitted caps are made of silk threads in Moscow.

¹⁹ *Author's note:* Only men do the cutting.

²⁰ *Author's note:* The cap is not put on a last.

To embroider ichigs, the craftswoman places the last on her knee and puts the ichigs on it. She wears said belt over the last to fix it in place so that she can use both her hands. The belt thus holds the last with the ichigs on it, enabling her to embroider them freely.

The embroidering process is as follows. The craftswoman uses the awl to pierce just one side of the ichigs. Then she wraps the thread 3–5 times around the awl end and pierces the other side. Finally, she removes the awl carefully and runs the thin twine through. Thus, the thread wrapped around the awl between two leather pieces (ichigs) remains the same on the twine.

A pair of women's ichigs costs 16 kopecks to 10 rubles and more to embroider. The craftswoman uses her own thread (twine), while the employer provides the rest. At present, ready-made women's ichigs are sold for 1 ruble to 20 rubles and more. Men's ichigs cost 1–10 rubles. Women's and men's²¹ keushes cost between 70 kopecks to 10 rubles.

Source: An Overview of Domestic Industries in the Kazan Guberniya. Published by the Kazan Branch of the Imperial Russian Technical Society. Kazan, 1896. P. 55–61.

No. 44

Table 31

Tatar commercial and industrial companies in Kazan 1877–1905

No.	Company name and type	Date of establishment	Founders	Activities	Capital, rubles
1.	'Mishkin Brothers' Factory and Trading House	1877	Kazan 2nd Guild Merchants Muhamet-Alim and Aynetdin Mishkins	Cloth production and sale	30,000
2.	'Nurma Manufactory of Ishmuratov and Co.' (special partnership)	1884	Arsk 2nd Guild Merchants Ahmet and Abdrakhman Ishmuratovs, Kazan 2nd Guild Merchant Muhamet-Garif and Sterlitamak 2nd Guild Merchant Muhamet-Zarif Utyamyshevs	Manufacture and trade of coarse calico, nankeen, and other goods	20,000 (in silver)
3.	'M.-Sh. Musin and Co.' (special partnership)	1885	Kazan merchants Muhamet-Sharaf, Muhamet-Shakir and Muhamet-Sitdik Musin	Asian footwear production and sale	20,000
4.	'A. and I. Rakhmatullin and Co.' (special partnership)	1888	Kazan 2nd Guild merchants Ahmetzyan and Izmail Rakhmatullin	Kerosene and mineral oil production and other trade operations	150,000
5.	'B. Subayev, I. Burnaev and M. Saydashev in Kazan Trade House' (general partnership)	1888	Kazan merchants Baky Subayev, Ibragim Burnaev, Muhametzyan Saydashev	Trade of fur and other articles	300,000 (in silver)
6.	'Kazan Manufactory of Utyamyshev and Co.' (special partnership)	1888	Kazan 1st Guild Merchant Muhamet Garif Utyamyshev, Arsk 2nd Guild Merchant Gumer Yakupov, and Tsarevokokshaysk 2nd Guild Merchant Muhamet-Yusup Usmanov	Production and sale of calico, cotton, and other textiles	22,000 (silver)
7.	'Burnaev and Shafigullin' Trade House (general partnership)	1889	Kazan 2nd Guild Merchant Muhamet-Sadyk Burnaev and Zagidulla Shafigullin	Fur peltry trade	Not available
8.	'Sons of Abdrakhman Ibragimov' Trade House (general partnership)	1891	Musa (Tashkent), Shakir, Zakir (Bukhara) and Murtaza Ibragimovs	Trade of various goods	40,000 (increased to 120,000)

²¹ *Author's note:* For more details on trade, see Krivaksina's pamphlet 'Women's Domestic Industries in Kazan'.

9.	'Kh. Tagirov, A. Nasyrov, and Co.' Trade House (special partnership)	1893	Kazan 2nd Guild Merchant Hasan Tagirov and Simbirsk 2nd Guild Merchant Ahmetzyan Nasyrov	Smallware, textile and other trade	20,000
10.	'N. Muzafarov, M. Apakayev, and Co. in the Kazan' Trade House (special partnership)	1894	Kazan merchant Nizamutdin Muzafarov and Yaransk merchant Muzafar Apakayev	Trading textiles and other articles	21,000
11.	'Ahmetzyan Saydashev and Sons and Baky Subayev' Joint-Stock Business Association	1895	Kazan 1st Guild Merchant Ahmetzyan Saydashev, merchants' sons Mustafa and Muhametzyan Saydashev and Baky Subayev	Trading sugar, tea, fur, and other goods; glass manufacturing	500,000
12.	'Galim Subayev's Widow and Co.' Trading House (special partnership)	1897	Widow of Kazan merchant Fatikha Subayeva and Kazan burgher Iskhak Khamzin	Fur article trade	15,000 (in silver)
13.	'Karimov Brothers and Co.' Trading House (special partnership)	1898	Kazan 2nd Guild Merchant Muhametzyan Karimov and burghers Sharifzyan and Hasan Karimov	Smallware and book trade	21,000
14.	'Partnership of I. Arslanov's Soap and Glycerin Plant' (general partnership)	1901	Kazan 1st Guild Merchant Suleyman Aitov and son of Kazan merchant Habibulla Gizatullin	Soap and glycerin production and trade	50,000
16.	'Brothers Sh. and A. Yusupov' Trading House (general partnership)	1904	Kazan burghers Sharafutdin and Ahmetsha Yusupovs	Trading grocery, bread, and other goods	6,000
17.	'Alekseyevskoye Glass Plant Industrial Partnership' (special partnership)	1904	Honorary Citizen by birth Muhamet-Zakir Apanayev, Kazan merchant Badrettdin Apanayev, and Kazan burgher Gabdulla Apanayev	Glass and glassware production and sale	6,000
18.	'M. Galeev and Sons' Trading House (general partnership)	1904	Honorary Citizen by birth Muhametzyan Galeev and Galimzyan, Gazizzhan, Salikhzhan, and Abdrakhman Galeevs	Manufacture and trade of Asian footwear and other goods	25,000
19.	'A. Gubayev and M. Dyaminev' (special partnership)	1904	Kazan uyezd peasants Ahmet-Safa Gubayev and Muhamet-Safa Dyaminev	Asian footwear production and sale	12,000
20.	'The Apanayevs and Kazakovs in Kazan' Special Commercial and Industrial Partnership	1905	Honorary Citizens by birth Iskhak and Zakir Apanayevs, Muhamet-Rahim and Abdul-Gamid Kazakovs	Trading various goods and establishing various industrial plants	18,000

Source: N. Galeev, Tatar Commercial and Industrial Companies of Kazan (19–Early 20th Century)
 // Ğasirlar awazı—Echo of Centuries. 2000. No. ½. P. 251–259.

Materials prepared by Ildus Zagidullin and Khalida Bagautdinova

§ 3. The Socio-Economic Development of the Tatar Peasantry

The decay of serfdom as an institution and emergence of market relations stratified the peasantry and increased the popularity of non-agricultural trade among peasants. Part of the agricultural population regularly became involved in industry as individual entrepreneurs.

State peasants made up the majority of the Tatar rural population. Chiefly relying on arable farming and animal breeding, their economy naturally included domestic industries, mainly leather, wood, and wool processing. This was a sign of the commodification of the peasant economy as the basis for the development of entrepreneurship in the Tatar country. As the peasant commodity economy developed, it brought about rural ethnic trade, which in their own right underlay a largely scattered system of manufacturing. Tatar entrepreneurs were founding an increasing number of plants in the country. The reason behind this trend was purely economic—cheap labour, nearby sources of raw materials, and no Russian competitors. The absence of any language barrier and the confessional homogeneity of entrepreneurs and employees should also be taken into account. The conservative rural community was content with the situation. Being unable to compete with goods of higher quality, the products of such plants were cheaper and always sought-after, in particular in the ethnic community.

Social borders became increasingly blurred across the state in the late 19th century. While among the Russian merchantry entrepreneurship had ceased to be class-specific, the title itself now becoming associated with business activities, the Tatar business community just entered this stage in the early 20th century. Merchants as a class had not lost their importance and authority. The succession of Tatar traditions and customs, values, mindset, and family capital proved more stable than those of the Russians.

Lyudmila Sverdlova

No. 45

An extract from the book by A. Fuchs²²

'Notes on the Chuvash and Cheremis of Kazan Guberniya'

From there we ascended a hill and arrived at the large village of Urazlino (Tatar: Kozaklyar), where serving Tatars, or laschmanns, live. It has 132 households and 483 males. There are many good houses in the village, but they are all in line with Tatar tastes. They always stand in the middle of the yard, which is surrounded by a tall fence with a tall gate. The village has three mosques with a junior akhund and two mullahs. Most of the locals trade at the Troitsk and Semipalatinsk Fortresses in Siberia, some in Moscow. Some even go to Saint Petersburg to exchange goods they buy at the Nizhny Novgorod Fair for Bukharian and Kirghiz articles. Many do not come home until winter, when they have to obtain their passports. Local fields are well-cultivated mostly under wheat and barley. However, there are no woods. A verst from here there is the Tatar village Ulla with 71 households and 222 people. It is noteworthy that the village has a tavern, which is not typical for Tatars. We soon entered the large Tatar village of Izleytary, which has 79 households and 229 people. <...>

The Cheremis and Tatar people share a vice that harms public convenience and their own wealth. People in the neighbouring localities employ poor Cheremis and Tatar workers every year. Such workers accept money in advance to pay tributes, and either neglect to fulfill their duties or leave their employees when they need them the most for field work, on the pretext of household activities, or rather, illness. Such deception undermines agricultural activities and prevents poor villagers from finding employment because they have no credit. <...>

Source: A. Fuchs. Notes on the Chuvash and Cheremis of Kazan Guberniya. Kazan, 1840. P. 278–279, 320.

²² Aleksandra Fuchs (?–1853) was a Russian female poet and author of ethnographic short stories and memoirs. She was the wife of professor and rector of the University of Kazan K. Fuchs.

No. 46

**An extract from the study 'Statistics on Rural Land Communities in Kazan Guberniya'
by²³ Secretary of the Kazan Statistics Committee N. Vecheslav**

III. Mulma village, Kazan uyezd, Mulma volost, Mulma Rural Community²⁴.

1) Community composition²⁵.

The Mulma Rural Community consists of Mulma village and the settlement of Mulma, which lies adjacent. Both localities sit along the Serdinka River and are populated by Mohammedan Tatars. The settlement of Mulma was founded over 85 years ago, when Mullah Nigametulla Subkhankulov moved from said village. The peasants of this community are state owners and have community-owned land. The population of this community is: according to *ownership records*, 300 males; according to *family lists*, 347 males and 362 females. This includes 157 males of *working age* (17 to 55 years). A total of 134 families were recorded, including:

Large families (5 to 6 people)	7
Medium-sized families (3 to 4 people)	36
Small families (1 to 2 people)	91

The Mulma Community owns a total of 1,536 dessiatinas of land, including: *estate land* (in particular: homesteads proper, 7 dessiatinas; stackyards, 4 dessiatinas; vegetable gardens, 3 dessiatinas; hemp fields, 7 dessiatinas), 21 dessiatinas; *arable land*, 1,293 dessiatinas; woods, 90 dessiatinas; meadows, 51 dessiatinas; total usable land area, 1,455 dessiatinas.

2) Methods of community land use and allotment

Estate land is hereditary household property that cannot be re-allotted, except for hemp fields, which are re-allotted within each revision. Farm land is allotted as new homesteads.

Croplands are radically re-allotted from revision to revision. No lot-drawing or allocation procedure was ever established for arable land. Therefore, each peasant can use the bands allotted to him until the next revision. Croplands are divided into three fields, two of which are subdivided into 17 *parts* and one into 18. The parts do not have any specific names. Fields are divided based on differences in soil, location (mountainous, on hillsides, low-land), and distance from the locality (near fields, far fields)... Each part is divided into bands depending on the *number of people on census* lists. That is, each peasant receives land in different locations—17 bands in two fields and 18 in the third one. Band width varies from 1 to 3 sazhen, and land from 50 to 80 sazhen. Some of the *parts* are separated by roads, some by boundary belts enabling passage with a plough and even a cart. Deeper furrows separate the bands from one another.

Meadows are subject to annual re-allotment. They are divided into six parts depending on hay quality that do not have any specific names. Such re-allotment does not generate any new lots. Peasants draw lots annually to receive them. Each of the six parts is divided into bands depending on the population size. The narrowest of them are 1 sazhen wide, while band length varies from 40 to 60 sazhen.

Woods are divided into as many parts as there are people on the census list, and 1 or 2 cart per capita can be felled when necessary.

There are no *pasture lands*. During fallow periods, cattle graze in the hay and stubble fields. In the inter-fallow period, ravines and fallow fields are used. Each householder is entitled to allow his entire flock of cattle graze.

3) Organisation of community household activities.

Peasants in Mulma Community guard their horses alternately at night only. They hire a herdsman for 5 rubles a month for the rest of their livestock. He is obliged to also bring along assistant herd boys. The herdsman boarding procedure is as follows: each householder owning one cow must provide food for the herdsman for one day, those who own two, for two days, etc. The community owns no bulls. When necessary, they use a bull from other localities for an agreed remuneration. An alternating guard keeps watch over the community-owned woods. The Mulma Community does not lease its land out or take any on lease from other localities. The community does not have any community-owned rent property.

²³ He was the secretary of the Kazan Guberniya Statistical Committee in 1869–1877.

²⁴ Data regarding this community was collected in 1878 according to the programmes of the Free Economic and Russian Geographical Societies.

²⁵ Text italicised in the document.

4) Community field husbandry.

Dark brown clay prevails in the community, and they use the three-field system. No improvements were introduced to field husbandry. Grass sowing was never introduced to the general crop rotation. Only fields that lie up to one verst away from the locality are manured. The community uses the simplest farming tools. The prevailing crops are rye, oats and buckwheat, and also smaller amounts of wheat, barley and einkorn. A very small amount of flax and hemp is also sowed. Potatoes are the chief tuber cultivated.

5) The community's debts and duties (as of 1878).

The Mulma Community is to pay the following debts and duties:

Poll tribute.....	700 rubles	30 kopecks
Rent tribute.....	777 –	26 –
State land tax	86 –	11 –
Forest tax.....	47 –	5 –
Public duty	113 –	24 –
Zemstvo fees	213 –	84 –
Village food capital.....	74 –	50 –
Community duties	132 –	18 –

Total 2,144 rubles 48 kopecks

The duties are distributed in a way to yield 7 rubles 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ kopecks per *capita* on the census list, or 1 ruble 47 $\frac{1}{4}$ kopecks per dessiatina of useful land. Debt and duty assessment takes place every January when the tax registers are received. The tax distribution unit is each individual *person on the census* list. Community starshinas, starostas, and other elected officers enjoy benefits for physical duties in kind only. The duties of military servants who are currently serving in the army or have arrived home are distributed on an equal basis among all community members depending on the number of people on the census list in the year. Joint responsibility is the system adhered to, so any outstanding amounts are distributed among all community members on the census list. The community gives defaulters' land to the most responsible householders.

Physical duties are as follows: *cart* duty (90 carts supplied in 1877), *road* duty (120 workers sent for road repair in 1877), and *guard* duty (596 people supplied in 1877). The duties are fulfilled in turn and distributed among all community members on the census lists. Each conscript outfit costs 17 rubles, and allocation is done according to the census list. Joint responsibility applies to duty payment only.

6) Legal relations among community members.

No householder can deviate from the community's field husbandry system by sowing winter crops in a spring field or vice versa. No field work start date is established, and householders do not have to manure fields. It is optional²⁶. Similarly, householders are entitled to sell manure from their own yards, as well as livestock, to whoever they want. Householders can lease out their allotments, but not sell or pawn them. Retired soldiers or those on indefinite leave in the community, as well as soldiers' wives and widows, have the same land rights as other community members.

7) Additional information.

A) The Mulma Community.

It is so considered by the Mulma Community.

	Household count	Free-standing residential izba count	Total residential buildings
In the Mulma village	131	4	146
In the Mulma settlement	3	–	5
Total	134	4	151

An average crop yield²⁷ is enough for consumption, while a good yield ensures excess crops for sale, approximately up to 1,000 poods of rye and up to 500 poods of oats. In case of a poor crop yield, medium-income households are 4 months short of crops, and poor households 6 months short. The community has no commercial and industrial establishments or community-owned rent property. No local

²⁶ See above for field fertilising.

²⁷ Middle spring and winter crop yield has been established at sam-3, good yield at sam-4, and poor yield at sam-1.

trade exists or existed here before 1861. Seasonal work as day-labourers in Kazan, which ensures a net income of 3 to 3 ½ rubles per worker in addition to daily allowance, is common. The following number of people have been involved in seasonal work annually over the most recent three years (1866–1868):

With licences, monthly:..... 90 males

with passports, half-yearly 50–

Livestock decreased in the Mulma Community over the most recent three years (1866–1868), namely horses by 30 head, cattle by 70 head, and sheep and goats by 200 head. The reduction resulted not from murrains, which did not occur in the community in the period in question, but from selling livestock in the non-harvest years of 1876 and 1877. The community currently has 96 horses, 110 cows, 525 sheep and goats. The community has no reserve bread storehouse. Crop collection for this purpose was replaced with a contribution to the village food capital of 25 kopeck per capita in 1874. The community's capital amounts to 27 rubles 50 kopecks. The Mulma Community has the following arrears (1878):

Poll tribute.....540 rubles 1 kopeck

Public duty.....112 – 86 –

Rent tribute.....777 – 26 –

Forest tax.....47 – 5 –

Zemstvo duties213 – 84 –

Contribution to village food capital74 – 50 –

Total.....1,765 rubles 52 kopecks

These arrears resulted from the poor crop yield in 1876 and crop failure in 1877, and emerged in 1877. The Mulma Community has not sold property because of tax arrears since 1861.

B) By households in the Mulma Community.

(A description of one household from three groups: 1) Rich, 2) Middle-income and 3) Poor).

The households in the description were established before 1861 and have the following population.

Number of people, by age	1) Rich household		2) Middle-income household		3) Poor household	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
Under 12 y.o.	–	–	1	1	1	1
12 to 17 y.o.	1	2	1	–	–	–
17 to 55 y.o.	1	1	2	3	1	1
Over 55 y.o.	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total	2	3	4			
Including			4	2	2	
Workers	2	3	3	3	1	1
People unfit for work	–	–	1	1	1	1

Each household above owns the following number of per capita allotments: rich households, 4 allotments; middle-income households, 2; poor households, 1. The amount of duties and tributes per capita on the census list (7 rubles 20 ¾ kopecks) has been shown above²⁸. It should be noted that a rich household pays duties for 4 people on the census list, a middle-income for 2 people, and a poor household for 1 person. Each of the households owns the following amount of livestock:

	Horses	Horned stock	Sheep
Rich household	3	4	10
– middle-income	4	3	5
– poor	1	–	2

None of the above households owns any land bought or taken on lease from either co-villagers or neighbours. The families do neither seasonal work nor farm labour, nor do they employ workers. Tax arrears are as follows for the above households: rich—24 rubles 87 kopecks; middle-income—12 rubles 43 kopecks; poor—6 rubles 22 kopecks. The households did not sell their property to cover tax arrears.

²⁸ See above for the community's outstanding tributes and duties.

Source: Statistics on Rural Land Communities in the Kazan Guberniya. Collected and processed by Member and Secretary of the Kazan Statistics Committee N. Vecheslav. Kazan, 1879. P. 3–5, 29–37.

No. 47

An extract from 'Materials for Research on Trades Practiced by the Population of Kazan Guberniya' by M. Rylov Forgotten Trade: The Contemporary Situation and Essential Needs of Icheg Making in Kazan

XXIV. Felting

Felting is most common in the northeastern corner of Kazan guberniya, namely in the Mamadysh and Kazan uyezds, although it is represented in the remaining uyezds, except for Tsarevokokshaysk, as well.

Uyezds	Volosts	Localities	Traders		
			families	individuals	
Mamadysh	Bukmysh	Novaya Michen	74	83 ²⁹	
		Timershik	54	54	
		Menger	36	36	
		Bukmysh	25	25	
		Along the Suner River	5	5	
		Along the Shiksha River	4	7	
		Alan-Ilga	3	3	
		Yevlashtova	2	4	
		Meshebash	2	4	
		Bolshaya Shiksha Ouyaz, Ibiler, and along the Serda River	2	2	
		Novaya Shiksha Uternyaz, Kuyuk and Tyulyushka	1	1	
	Yelysh	Urusherma	–	28	
		Balandysh	–	17	
		Mikhaylovskoye	–	14	
		Bolshiye Savrushy	–	11	
		Mamalayeve, Starye Zyuri, and Drugiye Savrushy	–	8	
		Saltygan Klyuch, Nizhniye Shittsy, Novye Zyuri, and Karashurma	–	7	
		Tyubyak	–	11	
		Sosnovy Mys, Akul Bigineyeva, and Bolshiye Tyulyazi, each	–	6	
		Bolshaya Mesha and Srednyaya Mesha	–	5	
		Kazanchi Bigineyeva	–	4	
	Asan-Ilga	Drugoy Kukmor	–	10	
		Kukmor	–	3	Large workshops
	Novoye Churilino	Korsabash	30	50	
		Sikertan	30	34	
		Maly Muy, Chuma-Ilga, and Mrali	10	10	
		Tashkich	7	7	

²⁹ 34 according to the data of the 1883 Statistical Expedition.

Mamadysh	Novoye Churilino	Murya Musich	6	6	
		Along the Mendyush Spring	6	6	
		Nizhny Semit	5	5	17 according to the proceedings of the Statistical Expedition
		Uryas Kremni	5	5	
		Nizhniye Otary	4	4	
		Novoye Churilino, Verkhnyaya Michen, Bakshanda, Staraya Michen, Verskhy Semit, and Sary Mui, each	3	3	12 according to the proceedings of the Statistical Expedition
		Smak-Korsa and Mui (Kaziklar), each	2	2	From the proceedings of the 1883 Statistical Expedition
	Staraya-Yumya	Kurkino	–	43	
		Nurmabash	–	51	
		Sastamak and Verkhny Kukmor, each	–	17	
		Baylengar	–	14	From the proceedings of the 1883 Statistical Expedition
		Sredny Kukmor	–	11	
		Balykla	–	8	
		Iskiyurt	–	6	
		Bolshoy Kukmor	–	4	
		Semyon-Golovino, Malaya-Kiya-Yumya. Serdous, Oshforma Yumya, Staraya Yumya, Verkhnyaya Yumya, Staraya-Kiya-Yumya, and Pochinol Ishmuganov, each	–	2	
		Nizhny Kukmor and Studyony Klyuch, each	–	1	
	Yadyger	Maly Serdygan	–	3	
		Nyrya	7	7	
		Kuzmes	5	10	
		Chura	–	5	
		Baldyknya settlement and Burbash, each	–	4	
		Sabanchina	–	1	
	Kabyk Kuper	Nagasheva and Tulbayeva, each	–	3	
	Krasnaya Gorka	Krasnaya Gorka	3	3	
	Omary (Blagoveshchenskoye)	Digitli	15	–	
	Petropavlovsk	Vazheshur	3	–	
		Starye Kanisary	–	3	
		Suter settlement	1	–	
	Troitsk-Sekines	Kutush	3	–	
	Satyshevo	Gazhinskaya Pustosh	–	8	3 according to the proceedings of the Statistical Expedition

Mamadysh	Satyshevo	Sredniye Saby	—	6	From the proceedings of the Statistical Exhibition
		Satyshevo	—	5	From the proceedings of the Statistical Exhibition
		Chapki Saby	—	7	
		Yambulatovo	—	4	
		Mameteva Pustosh and Bolshoy Shinar, each	—	2	
		Novy Shinar, Tashla Ilga, and Starye Saby, each	—	1	
Kazan	Karmysh	Verkhnyaya Korsa	—	15	
		Nizhnyaya Korsa, Kurkhayvan, and Saray-Chekurcha, each	—	10	
		Verkhnyaya Masra	—	8	
		Maly Pshalym	—	6	
		Karmysh-Kazanbash and Kazylina, each	—	3	
		Kuperbash, Staraya Masra, Kuternyas, Verkhniye Meteski, Kutjuk, and Starye Turnali, each	—	2	
	Alat	Bolshoy Pochinok	—	20	
		Maly Pochinok	—	15	
		Potaniha (Ivanovskoye)	—	4	
		Malye Alaty, Alan, Bekser, and Topkina, each	—	2	
	Bolshaya Atnya	Malaya Atnya	12	23	
	Kaymary	Borisoglebskoye No. 1	10	24	
		Borisoglebskoye No. 2	5	5	
		Voznesenskoye (Mamonino)	6	10	
		Kaymary (Kirilovskoye)	1	6	
	Arsk	Arsk City and Sloboda	12	—	
		Chekurcha	up to 180	—	
		Tyubyak	—	3	
		Abzyabar	—	3	
		Verkhniye Vereski	—	2	
	Baltasi	Yarak Churma and Malye Lyzi, each	—	3	
		Bolshye Lyzi	—	1	
		Bolshaya Nurma and Baychurinsky Klyuch, each	—	2	
		Verkhny Yadyger, Yanchikova, and Vershiny Nurmy, each	—	1	
	Sobakino	Staraya Tura	4	4	
		Vysokaya Gora	3	3	
	Mamsya	Karatay and Shishor (Shurabazh), each	—	2	
	Kulayevo	Ivanovka	2	—	
	St. Kluchinskaya	Cherkas-Bursakova	—	1	

Laishev	Kazyli	Kolkomerka	6	6	
		Nizhniye Kazyli	2	3	
	Klyuchishchi	Klyuchishchi	–	3	
	Cheremyshevo	Cheremyshevo	Not available		
Spassk	Nizhneye Alkeyevo	Tatarsky Studenets	20	20	
	Levashevo	Sukhiye Kurnali	4	7	
		Staroye Lebedino	1	2	
	Marasa	Marasa	–	2	
	Bazarnye Matak	Matak	1	1	
Chistopol	Bogorodskoye	Bogorodskoye	4	9	
	Kargali	Kargali and Islyaykino	3	3	
	Novo-Sheshminsk	Novo-Sheshminsk	–	4	
	Kutushi	Nikolskoye	–	2	
		Kutushi	–	1	
	Sidelkino	Staraya Tokmakla, Staraya Toyaba, and Staroye Eshgebenkino, each	–	2	
Tetyushi	Shambulykhchi	Sibirchi	3	3	
		Novoposelennye Biyabashi	1	1	
	Yanasala	Kazyevo Klyuchishchi	–	2	
	Bolshaya Toyaba	Ayukuturgan	–	2	
		Kargala and Trety Cheremshan, each	–	1	
	Sredniye Baltai	Nizhniye Baltai	–	4	
		Tutayevo	–	1	
	Alkeyevo	Apanasovo (Temyashi)	–	1	
Sviyazhsk	Kushmany	Semikeyevo	10	10	
		Kobyzevo (Bogorodskoye)	5	5	
	Azelei	Fyodorovskoye (Novoye)	–	3	
Tsivilsk	Akzigitova	Akzigitova	5	12	
		Novaya Muratova	2	5	
		Staraya Muratova	1	1	
		Kugusheva	1	2	
		Kazylyary	Not shown		
	Tyaberdinsk	Mozharki	–	2	
Kozmode-myansk	Kozmodemyansk	Bolonikha	–	7	
		Krasnogorka	–	1	
	Kulakovo	Vanyukov Okol	–	2	
		Sarmankina	–	1	
	Bolshaya Yunga	Yul-Kushgara and Nuzhenaly, each	–	4	
		Pinel-Pernyagash	–	2	
		Tushev Okolok	1	1	
	Syundyr	Abat-Kasy	1	1	

Cheboksary	Alym-Kasinskaya	Malo-Knyaztenyakovo	4	4	
	Akulevo	Staroye Akulevo	2	3	
	Togasheva	Kugeseva	Not shown		
		Togasheva			
Yadrin	Asakino	Verkhny (Kugannary)	4	4	
	Norusovo	Norusovo	–	4	
		Yamanaki	1	1	

Felters produce such articles as warm footwear, hats, and felt.

Making felt goods of wool is a chiefly Tatar trade, though some felters are Russian and Votyak. Tatar-made footwear is especially careful in its construction. Votyak felters cannot compete with Tatars in this respect and have to reduce their prices.

Felting is a largely seasonal activity. Felters usually go to neighbouring villages or Vyatka and Ufa guberniyas, primarily the Birk, Belebey, Yelabuga, Menzelinsk, Bugulma, and other uyezds. Felters usually travel in pairs as one adult and one teenager. Felting season lasts from autumn to New Year and longer, sometimes until spring (March or April). However, it is not uncommon for felters to work in their places of residence. They make articles for sale or based on orders. They mostly receive orders from local buyers, but sometimes also from other residents. Prices can be set either per wool pound (10 to 25 kopecks) or per pair (approximately 60 kopecks). The former approach is mainly used when the felter provides the wool, while the latter applies when the customer supplies the material, which is mostly relevant for merchants and buyers. Articles meant for sale are partly sold to local residents, but mostly to town shops and local bazaars or fairs. The price of footwear depends on the wool quality and grade, size and aesthetic appeal. According to one correspondent (a priest), it varies from 50 kopecks for children's boots to 3 ½ rubles or even 3 ¾ rubles for the largest size.

In most cases it is the felter's family (the men) who do the actual felting. However, it is also relatively common to hire workers. Some large enterprises even employ a large number of workers (up to 60). They are located in Kukmor, Semyon-Golovin, and Pustosh along the Kurma River, Mamadysh uyezd. Some of the worker employed by large plant holders work in their own izbas, while others occupy their employers' workshops. Large, and sometimes also smaller resident traders practice felting year-round.

Felters buy wool at local markets or from local non-felters, mostly in cash. Wool prices differ depending on the grade. Teg wool costs up to 12 rubles per pood, common spring wool from 4 ½ to 6 rubles per pood, and autumn wool from 8 to 10 rubles. Red wool used for boot patterns costs 1 ruble 50 kopeks per pound. In addition to wool, felters also need flour and chalk, which were a large portion of production costs.

Correspondents and volost administrations provide different information on worker income. For instance, one correspondent (a priest) from the village of Ivanovka, Kulayevo volost, Kazan uyezd, presented the following cost and profit estimate. A worker can make two pairs of small and medium boots and two pairs of large ones a week, or up to 200 pairs amounting to approximately 525 rubles a year (felting is done year round). Deducting 250 rubles—the cost of 25 poods of wool, about 8 rubles for flour and chalk, about 25 rubles for workshop heating and tool repair, and about 50 rubles for wool loss (1/5 of its weight), the correspondent estimates the income of an independent worker at 192 rubles, daily needs included. According to the same correspondent, a hired worker received 5 rubles monthly with board. A correspondent from the village of Kukmor (teacher), where nearly all felters work for large plant owners, estimated a worker's income at 150 rubles per year (presumably without board).

Most correspondents estimated the income of a worker or even a pair at up to 50–60 rubles; some even report it to be as low as 20–30 rubles.

The correspondents did not complain about any decline in trade. On the contrary, some report it to have been progressing. Only the correspondent from the village of Kukmor reported the local owners of large workshops to face occasional difficulties while trying to sell articles. Meanwhile, they also need money to procure materials. The above priest from the village of Kulayevo finds the trade extremely lucrative. In his opinion, its development could be favourable for the population's wealth. As a potential measure to promote trade, the correspondent suggests that a school should be established under the aus-

pices of Chief Foreman Kirill Yevgrafov. The school could be established at the expense of Yevgrafov himself, who would earn about 10 to 20 rubles for teaching each teenager. <...>

Most tailors are non-Russians, primarily Tatars. For instance, in the eastern part of the governorate, namely in the Laishev, Mamadysh and partly Kazan uyezds, about 90% of the total tailor workforce (over 4,000 in the above three uyezds) are Tatars. However, there are also uyezds like Tsvil'sk where most tailors are Chuvash. Yet tailoring is still not common in the Tsvil'sk uyezd, or in the rest of the uyezds in the west of the governorate, as it is in its east and especially the northeast. There are volosts in the Mamadysh and Laishev uyezds where nearly the entire Tatar population works as tailors.

Tailoring is usually done during the autumn and winter season. When the weather starts to freeze and agricultural activities have been mostly wrapped up, tailors travel to nearby villages in pairs (mostly one adult male and a teenager) and stay wherever they find employment. Where tailors are few and jobs are abundant near their village, they do not tend to travel far away. On the contrary, the Laishev and Mamadysh uyezds do not have enough workplaces for the large numbers of tailors. Therefore, they must travel to the adjacent Vyatka, Perm, and especially Ufa guberniyas. Season length varies depending on the governorate. In some places tailors return home only a few weeks after leaving, while in others, like the Mamadysh uyezd, they stay in their places of employment from autumn to late spring, sometimes even until interfallow time. Some tailors from the Baltasi volost, Kazan uyezd, find jobs especially far away from home (in Tashkent, Troitsk, Petropavlovsk) and do not come home for 5 to 10 years. Sometimes they never return. Some tailors from the Novy Kishit volost, Kazan uyezd, travel to Orenburg in search of employment.

Tailors tend to use materials provided by their employers, working in the employer's izba with board included. The Proceedings of the Statistical Expedition state the following prices: 'an average fur coat costs 4–5 kopeck per sheep skin, a caftan 20 kopecks, a beshmet 30 kopecks.' Correspondents' estimates of the average annual income for tailors differed greatly. It is generally estimated as lower for western uyezds when compared to eastern uyezds, namely at 3 to 20 rubles in the west, which is not quite accurate.

As shown in the table, hat makers are largely concentrated in the Yadyger volost, Mamadysh uyezd. All the hat makers here are Tatars, and both men and women sew hats in their residential izbas. They make hats to sell at nearby markets, mainly those in Yanyl and Kukmor. The volost administration reports that annual income varies from 15 to 25 rubles for men and from 10 to 20 rubles for women. No more details are available.

Source: M. Rylov, Materials for Research on the Trades of the Population of the Kazan Guberniya, 1887. P. 235–257.

No. 48 **Bread Shortage**

Residents of the Kazan uyezd have been reporting to 'Volzhsky Vestnik' ('Volga Newsletter') that villages near the non-central city of Arsk are so poor that people are literally dying of starvation. For instance, three Tatars from the Tatar village of Khayvan became bloated from starvation. Only timely charity saved them from death. The public puts most of the blame on the Kazan zemstvo, which failed to help the impoverished population in due time. In particular, reports mention the practice of providing sowing money to the neediest peasants. However, it was elected community representatives who ended up receiving the money in the Arsk volost Administration. This resulted in only the most influential individuals in congresses receiving the aid money, while the poorest peasants remained in a state of deprivation.

Source: Moskovskiy Vedomosti. 1884. 6 March. No. 65.

No. 49 **Letters from the Mamadysh uyezd**

I

They say that the Mamadysh uyezd used to be its own happy little square of the earth several years ago.

Even though it might not have had rivers of milk and honey, its new land was fertile, and vast areas of uncut woods ensured a peaceful life of abundance. The population had only a vague idea of starva-

tion. Those who visited the uyezd 10 or 15 years ago say that villages were numerous and would have dozens of haystacks piled up like a wall as a sign of their affluence. The Mamadysh uyezd was known as the region's granary and one of the richest uyezds of Kazan guberniya. Times change, however. Look at the Mamadysh uyezd now, and you will see quite a different picture.

The observer who was once impressed by abundant crops is now stunned that they see none. One can travel across dozens of villages without seeing a single haystack now. Only the sorry-looking remnants of stray hay in barn-yards remind us of their past wealth.

One who ventures to look even closer into the granary finds it empty. I have been traveling a lot this last month, and I do not pass a single village without asking the locals how many homes have some grain left. It turns out *that in the vast majority of villages, half or more families have no bread at all*³⁰. This is not enough, however. Recently I carried out a census in 20 villages within my district (a total of 1,776 households and 8,416 people of both sexes) with up to 425 households with 1,911 family members who have not a single grain, not to mention cows or horses. Sheep, goats, hens, geese, and ducks are also rare. That is, up to 20 families and about 100 people in each of the villages, who should be living much more contentedly. Moreover, many householders I did not not collect data on own either 1 horse or 1 cow. If we assume the rest of the villages in the uyezd have the same poverty rate, this yields an awfully large number of ruined peasants and proletarians who are surely a burden both to their zemstvo and to the state! And this group continues to expand because the next harvest is still so far away. Proletarians get no allowance. Those who chance to have a horse or a cow cannot but sell it. Householders who are reluctant to do so or have already sold all of their livestock for a trifling price are sell their prospective harvest or *borrow a pood from the kulak to return two*.

I expect to be asked: how has this proletariat still survived? Because it has to adjust to all kinds of conditions. Extreme poverty is no exception. The famine foods that I described earlier, like the beater of scrapped flour, potatoes eaten for weeks straight, and slipslop, is what they subsist on. Their appearance, their sallow, withered faces are indicative of extreme malnourishment and utter susceptibility to typhus and other diseases. It is no exaggeration to say again that they *have no idea what they are going to eat tomorrow*.

We have been using donations to buy bread for the needy. Although we can only give it to those whom we see to be famished when traveling across villages, for there is not enough for those who come to us; over a hundred people visit us daily asking for bread. They have to trudge for 30 to 40 versts, feeding on the illusion that they might get 20–30 pounds of flour. They come here on muddy roads, wet, shabby clothes hardly covering their bodies. Their need must be truly excruciating to make them walk this far without even a hope of getting something! How many thousands of famished people would come if we gave bread to every visitor who, by the way, never fails to produce a village head's license or a certificate by the local volost administrator. Our scare stores would not last a week.

Hundreds of visitors cry and ooh and aah every day, throwing themselves at our feet and subjecting themselves to humiliations which only a famished man can stand. Every now and then we hear the 'orphans' 'haven't eaten for days', 'children are dying of hunger'. When we recommend individuals beg for bread, they answer, 'Who's got enough to share?' Indeed, we have more beggars than givers. As the saying goes, the hand that gives is never empty. I think, however, that any riches would be depleted under such conditions... It is not only me but other physicians who have to face the begging crowd. *Famished people have been storming the zemstvo administration*. They go to the police district superintendents, volost administrations—wherever there is the slightest hope of getting some bread. Please mind that these famished men leave their famished wives and children at home. Those who cannot find bread at home have to seek employment or beg in Kazan, Samara, Orenburg. One has to be very lucky to find a job and a crust of bread there. Most of them return empty-handed to be replaced by others. People keep moving without ever finding what they are looking for...

I have seen many people hydremic from starvation recently. They might become even more numerous with time. *I cannot but share with you the sorry fact that several people, namely 4, recently died of starvation in the village of Nizhny Tokapysh, Petropavlovsk volost*.

The Authorised Representative of the Minister of Internal Affairs verified the reports by the chairman of our zemstvo administration.

³⁰ The body of the text contains italicised fragments.

'Why did you not feed them?' Baron Uexküll³¹ asked the mother of dead children. 'I did when I had bread. Then they stopped giving it, and I had nothing to feed them with. They grew bloated and died'.

Apart from its intended purpose, the fact indicates that there is no bread in the village where this event took place or in those adjacent. If the people had had bread, they would have stopped the children from starving to death. When the head of the governorate inspected some houses in the village, he found it necessary to immediately issue a pood or two of *donation* flour from the storehouse in Nyrtty to them.

This reminds us of the sad fact in the history of the Kazan zemstvo Administration when the governorate meeting did not take place for the sole reason of the nonattendance of several neglectful members. But at that session they were expected to address the burning issue of food shortage and crop sowing. This taken into account, a private telegram over the Northern Telegraph Agency denies famine, fever associated with famine and starvation deaths in three more exposed uyezds of Kazan guberniya, admitting only 'extreme need'. When a lot of people are eating God knows what, under-eating, or have nothing to eat at all, do we call that need? It is not need, but famine. Need is when people are eventually able to find food, though this comes at the expense of great efforts. When they cannot obtain any and have to eat less than their body needs, when they get sick and even die of malnutrition, we call that *famine*. Famine ratios might differ, but this *is not* merely *need*. Strangely, everybody—peasants, zemstvo members, administration—keep saying unanimously that this year is way harder than 1877 was. Yet for some reason 1877 was considered a famine year, while this is not. Why hide this fact? Why deceive ourselves and others? To fail to do what has to be done or wait for disasters beyond mitigation? Now that the supreme authorities are ready to pay attention to Kazan guberniya, we must not hide anything. We have to speak the truth. If we admit our illness, perhaps we can get better, for timely detection of disease is the only guarantee for a cure.

The telegram by the Northern Telegraph Agency denies, also erroneously, any hunger fever in Kazan guberniya. I spoke with the Authorized Representative of the Minister about hunger fever in the Mamadysh uyezd during his visit to Nyrtty on 22 March. I shared with him the scientific fact that hunger fever as a specific disease does not exist in the Mamadysh uyezd at all. However, what is colloquially termed hunger fever, the collocation that scientists sometimes use, does exist in the Mamadysh uyezd. I mentioned to him the village of Bolshoy Mashlyak, where I had been shortly before that, namely on 21 March. I found 25 people there down with acute camp fever in 18 houses, of which in 10 I found no trace of any livestock and *not a single grain*. Thus, I had to give a pood or two of flour to the families. I cannot but attribute this high incidence to malnutrition, and term this hunger fever, that is, typhoid fever caused by undernourishment. Even common people admit this year's diseases to be connected with crop failure, and say that it is a *rough* year.

* * *

The Chinese have a special phrase for a happy land where the people are content.

They say, 'a land where swords are rusted and ploughs are shiny, where granaries are full and prisons empty, where temple steps are polished by prayers and court entrances overgrown with grass, where butchers and bakers travel on horseback and physicians have to walk is a happy land'. Sadly enough, our governorate zemstvo members have been fighting a cruel verbal war both against the administration and against each other, thus sharpening their swords. Their ploughs are growing rusty and granaries empty. We cannot tell whether happy and content people attend our churches and mosques to pray to the giver of all good with any regularity, but we know that wood felling, burglary, and even famine murders (see: 'Voronezhsky Vestnik') have been keeping grass off of the court entrance. We have no bakers or butchers whatsoever in the country. And what about physicians?

Physicians receive documents like this one:

To His Excellency

Zemstvo Physician of District 2, Mamadysh uyezd

The Volost Administration begs to inform Your Excellency

that peasants in all villages of this volost without exception are suffering from a starvation-induced disease.

Assistant Volost Starshina Muhametrahimov on behalf of the Volost Starshina
Scribe Kroshtalev

³¹ State Councilor in Deed at the Ministry of Internal Affairs Baron N. Uexküll-Gyullenband. He was instructed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs to study the economic situation in Kazan guberniya. Extracts from his report on the economic standing of the governorate's peasantry, in particular, Tatar, dated 20 May 1884, to the Minister of Internal Affairs D. Tolstoy [see: *Materialy*], 1936, pp. 3–24].

So I think it's not about transport, is it?
G. Popov

Source: Kazan Stock List. 1884. 18 April. No. 44.

No. 50

From the File on the Petition by the Yaushev Princes for Support in the Cultivation of Their Land, etc.

3 July 1884

To His Excellency the Kazan Governorate from residents of the Koshary village,
Bolshoy Menger Volost, Kazan Uyezd Princes Timirgaley and Muhametgaley, Galiaskar Yaushev,
and the agent and leaseholder of Prince Abdulganey Yaushev Vasily Domrachev

Petition

We possess full ownership of the land in the village of Koshary, which peasants from the above village re-allotted among themselves without authorisation to do so last autumn, depriving us Yaushev Princes of our land and allotting us the least useful plot. We initiated civil proceedings. The judges of the Kazan-Tsarevokokshays uyezd passed the following judgment: The ownership of land violated by the peasants of the Koshary village is to be restored, for which purpose Executive Order No. 1328 of last 12 June was issued to the Officer of Justice Chernobrovin at the congress, who restored it and transferred the land to us subject to the terms of 1883, that is, those that applied before the unauthorised re-allotment by the peasants of the Koshary village. On 16 June the peasants of the above village gathered for a village meeting, to which they summoned us and prohibited us to cultivate the land, threatening to take our life otherwise, which we reported in writing to the Bolshoy Menger Volost Administration on 17 June. On 18 June, the Volost Starshina arrived in said village, invited us and summoned a village meeting, and took no measures aside from persuading us to reach an agreement with the peasants, though he had to find out the initiators and also take preventive measures. The peasants ploughed our land and ploughed over all the borders on this pretext, which we reported to the Officer of Justice of District 2 of the Kazan uyezd on 23 June. On 29 June he arrived in the village of Koshary, but took no measures.

Therefore, Your Excellency, we beg you to instruct the persons responsible to take the following actions: 1) execute the judgment of the justice court in the appropriate manner, 2) prevent any unauthorised appropriation of our land by peasants and bring to justice those found guilty, and 3) provide police assistance for us to cultivate the land, as it is time to make hay and sow our winter crops. Otherwise, peasants will prevent us from cultivating it and even beat us to it. We hereto attach a copy of a copy of the register of the Officer of Justice Chernobrovin at the court of justice to confirm our ownership of the land. 2 July 1884.—Timirgaley Mratshina Yaushev attached his hand in the Tatar manner to this petition on his behalf and on behalf of Muhametgaley, Galiaskar, and Abdulganey Yaushev.

Timirgalu Moradşax uğlu ken yaz Yauşev qulım quydım.

The Authorised Representative of Prince Abdulganey Yaushev Vasily Domrachev attached his hand here.

Source: National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 2, inv. 3, file 1150, s. 3–4 reverse. Original.

No. 51

Response to Petition No. 921 by Princes Yaushev by the Kazan guberniya Administration, dated 9 November 1884

The petition by Princes Timirgaley, Muhametgaley, Galiaskar, and Abdulganey Yaushev and Vasily Domrachev has been dismissed owing to the circumstances described in the present Report No. 2087 by the Kazan Police Officer of 26 October. The decision is to be communicated to the petitioners through the Kazan uyezd Police Department and the case is hereby closed. 31 October 1884.

Councilor (signature)

Vice Governor (signature)

Governor (signature)

7 November 1884

Kazan uyezd Police Department. 9 November. No. 1967.

Source: National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 2, inv. 3, file 1150, s. 7. Original.

Materials prepared by Ildus Zagidullin and Khalida Bagautdinova

II. Tatar Education and Schooling

§ 1. Muslim Tatars

Extended and enhanced trade, economic, and cultural interactions with Middle Asia, the practice of sending Tatar youth to Bukhara, Khiva, and Kabul for profound religious education and spiritual perfection under the guidance of famous sheikhs, as well as the broad activities of the Naqshbandiyya Tariqa brought about the rapid restoration of Islamic education for Tatars and Bashkirs [Muhametzyanova, 2008, P. 20]. The large madrasah of Seitov township, Orenburg guberniya became the 'parent' to many educational establishments in the Volga-Ural region in the late 18–early 19th century. Its alumni became madrasah principles.

Catherine II's policy of 'religious discipling', within the framework of which Islam was regarded as a 'tolerable' religion, also favoured the renaissance and further development of Islamic education. Following an examination by the OMSA, future imams and muezzins not only obtained a spiritual title but became teachers—mudarrhises, mugallims, or mugallim-sabians—meaning that they had the exclusive right of teaching in their mahallah parish.

In nearly every locality with a mosque people sent their children to maktab to study the principles of Islam. Back in 1799, traveler G. Georgi emphasised the connection between the mosque and the parish school. In particular, he mentioned every Tatar village to have 'a special prayer house and a school' [Islam, 2001, P. 141].

Along with a family upbringing, the primary school implanted segments of the Muslim Tatar ethnic and confessional identity into the young minds to turn them into 'faithful Muslims'. Maktab knowledge could be used in everyday rituals to ensure compliance with Islamic moral standards.

Speaking of the names of educational establishments, the famous expert in Turkic studies and inspector of Tatar, Bashkir and Kazakh schools in the KED V. Radlov mentioned that 'the Tatars of Eastern Russia attach different meanings to the names depending on the location. For instance, the term maktab is used very rarely in the Kazan guberniya, while all schools, even the smallest ones, are referred to as madrasahs' [Ob`yasnitel' naya zapiska, 1930, pp. 143–144].

In 1818 the first Mufti of Orenburg M. Khusainov submitted a project to the government for the improvement of ethnic secular secondary educational establishment. This clearly complied with the autocratic domestic policy secular schools had been opened under for the children of feudal lords in Transcaucasia to turn the local nobility into loyal Russian subjects. In the Volga-Ural region, the military and political problem was solved in other ways. Therefore, the imperial government ignored the Tatar initiative. Approval was also denied to the projects by Chistopol merchant Muhetdin Burganov (1820) and V. Radlov, under which the Tatar Teachers' Institute for Muslims was to be established in Kazan (1873).

In the early 1860s, K. Faizkhanov, a lecturer in Eastern languages at Saint Petersburg university, devised the project of a Kazan 'Big madrasah', where 60 to 70 students could study at a time. K. Faizkhanov actually developed a model of secular education for the Tatars, taking as a standard the Russian educational system. Tatar education, as envisaged by Faizkhanov, included 1) comprehensive ethno-religious primary schooling, 2) a secondary school of secular education with subjects parallel to those in the Russian gymnasium, 3) Russian college. As is well-known, the project was never put into practice [Usmanov, 1980, P. 133].

In the 1880s a new scheme of national Tatar education was devised. A Crimean Tatar enlightener named I. Gasprinsky proposed to transform the Muslim community of Russia in the European manner, preserving its national and religious traditions. Gasprinsky admonished the Tatars to send their children to mixed Russian and Tatar schools, but after they learn the basics of Islam and reading and writing to national schools, where they can form a national identity. The enlightener believed that Russian Muslims must know three languages: their native one, the state language and one international language [Tärceman, 1891, No. 7]. I. Gasprinsky became the initiator of primary school reform, and an important role in the spread of the auditory method was played by the primer «Ходжаи сыйбиян» ('Children's Teacher'), written and published by Gasprinsky in 1884. Due to the letter-subjunctive educational method, in a single year a shakird learned how to read and write in their native language, as well as the basics of religion and theology, arithmetic and the Quran.

The characteristic features of the new-method maktab was the use of native languages in the education process. The free studying hours were used to teach certain secular subjects (geography and

arithmetic). Short-legged school tables were used for shakirds to kneel in front of, and a backboard. At the end of the school year (in April) all the students took examinations. Sometimes their parents and anyone else interested were allowed to attend the examinations.

In his newsletter 'Terjeman' I. Gasprinsky focused on the advantages of the new auditory method (ysule jadid) and advertised the success of the first new-method schools. Gasprinsky thought that education was the main requirement for a national renaissance among Russian Tatars. Influenced by 'Terjeman', new schools and charitable institutions opened throughout Russia, and a literary revival was also gaining steam.

The emergence of new-method maktab was perceived critically by traditionalist mullahs. They believed that the system of religious education can tolerate no novelties and that they only 'harm Islam'. As the teachers in new-method schools were paid by benefactors who also paid for the teachers' accommodations, the new school teachers were therefore independent of mahallahs. The Traditionalist mullahs (the qadimists) feared lest they lose sadaka, which they received from the parents of students, and their incomes and influence on their flocks considerably diminished. Because of the small size of mahallahs (200 to 300 males), one settlement could usually provide for only one maktab, which made the confrontation even worse. By the end of the 19th century new-method schools were spread in city maktab, not so widely spread among schools in the country.

Tatar school reform came to the attention of the authorities only in the late 19–early 20th centuries. The police department of the Ministry of the Interior started to look closely into the modernisation underway among the Tatars of the Volga and Ural region after the chief of the Principal Inspection of the Press N. Shakhovskoy sent them a telegram on 22 November 1900. The polemics between the jadidists and the qadimists raging in Tatar books over perspective Tatar development, was considered by high-ranking officials as almost a threat to Russian statehood. Prince N. Shakhovskoy advised the police department to collect information concerning the authors of 'innovatory writings', their public standing and wealth, their liaisons in Muslim circles, and also find out where they studied. The chief of police S. Zvolensky in circular letter dated 31 December 1900 No. 13407 asked the governors to send him information of 'state concern', namely 1) find out which authors in Tatar literature 'innovatory writings' can be ascribed to; 2) collect detailed information on their public standing, liaisons in Muslim circles, and where they studied; 3) find out whether they communicate with the Young Turks; 4) find out where and by whom the new-method Muslim schools were being established, who teaches there and who supervises and controls such schools [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 1, inv. 6, file 99, s. 4].

Attached excerpts from the rapports of governors enable us to observe new tendencies in the development of the Tatar community in the late 19th century, and provide us with the names of local public leaders who carried out the school reforms. We can see the role of school reforms in the social and cultural revival of the Tatar people, comparing the processes of modernisation in different regions and assessing their commonalities and differences. In the years of the first Russian revolution from 1905–1907 and the decade that followed, this revival in the new social and political conditions assumed wholly unique traits and took off in new directions.

Ildus Zagidullin

No. 1

News of the Tatar schools in Orenburg guberniya

The school authorities were informed of various Tatar schools which lay 18 versts from Orenburg in the Tatar settlement of Kargali, also known under the name Seitovo. This sloboda is home to up to 20,000 people of various ethnic groups. There are seven adorned mosques of stone and two of wood. Trades and the arts are rather widely spread. Each mosque has a separate Tatar school partly in the rooms downstairs, and partly in separated buildings. The schools were first founded 30 years ago. The teachers are learned akhuns and mullahs, and also partly private individuals; the students are, besides the local children, from other parts of Russia, and even from Khiva, Bukharia and other Asian principalities. They study the Tatar alphabet, the Arabic language in its entirety, along with Persian, as well as arithmetic, geometry, the basics of physics, philosophy according to Aristotle's works, the sacred history of the Mohameddians, reading and expounding on the Alkoran, and the sacred rituals of the Mohammedans. The books used for instruction are all handwritten, and many other, as the akhuns say, miscellanea from various authors, so that if they are printed, perhaps the scholars would find a lot for their studies. Moreover, that they are mostly received from Bukharia, where Asian schools are now

flourishing with up to 40,000 students. From among the other schools the best in the Argali settlement are, first off, the cathedral mosque lodged in a separate stone building with mullah Aburakhshan of Bagdad and the akhun teaching; second, the mosque of akhun Maulit Bashkov, Muftiev's son in law, in two wooden houses; third, in the same place near the mosque provided for by private mullah Mukhamet Amin. In each of these schools up to 150 students can be found during the winter, while in summer, due to their trade and work obligations, this number diminishes. The fourth is the school of the mosque of akhun Abdreshit Abdullin, with up to a hundred students in winter. In this same mosque is the Kirghiz school, in a separate house and subordinate to the Orenburg commission of the border. During my visit, this school was found to have one teacher receiving a wage of 120 rubles from the commission, and 10 students who get their alimant from the same commission and who study to read and write in Tatar and Arabic to become mullahs of the Kirghiz, wherever they wish. In all schools they study sitting on the floor or lying down, leaving their shoes outside.

Source: On the Advance of Public Learning // Vestnik Evropy [The Currier of Europe], No. 21, 1811, November.

No. 2

The Description of Tatar schools of the city of Kazan by the senior teacher of Kazan Principal Public School A. Pyatov, 15 May 1816.

1. In the New Tatar Sloboda (Novaya Tatarskaya sloboda)

a) At the Big Cathedral Stone Mosque there is a school built in 1796 by a Kazan third-guild merchant named akhun Ibragim Kudjyashev, who teaches at the same school. The lodgings of the school are two large upper rooms and a yard.

The said akhun acts as a school teacher from the very foundation of the school with up to 50 students. Although here the study is advanced and with the highest levels of certain subjects taught, the students do not complete a full course of study here.

b) At the stone, newly built mosque there is a school constructed in 1808 by the local Tatar commoners and second-guild merchant Bikbov Halfin. Last year in 1815 another upper room was constructed. Akhun Gabdusatar Sagitov, commoner subordinate to the Kazan Tatar city hall, has been teaching there since 1808. Those who dedicate themselves to his studies finish the entire course in no less than 15 years. The number of students here may be up to 80 people. The lodgings of this school are two chambers, a kitchen and a yard.

2. In the New Tatar Sloboda (Novaya Tatarskaya sloboda)

a) At the big Cathedral stone mosque there is a school built last year in 1808 by local Kazan merchant Mukhamed Abbasov. It features two chambers and a kitchen with a rather well-fenced yard and a water well. Since the founding of this school the office of a teacher here has been held by the licensed head of said mosque, mullah Abubakir Aramzanov, son of YusuP. This mullah is from the common people and supervised by the Kazan Tatar city hall. He earned universal trust through the diligence and zealous service he demonstrated in office, therefore he can teach 60 to 80 students at a time. His course of studies run no less than 15 years, and the students who successfully complete them, after being duly examined by the mufti, win the distinction of licensed mullahs.

b) At the newly built stone mosque there is a school constructed by the yasak-paying Tatar Yahveya Maksutov. The school has two chambers, one being upper room, and the other the kitchen. The teacher here is third-guild merchant Hamid Murtazin. This mullah has been teaching for 30 years, and contributed greatly to the founding of the school. Only initial instruction is provided here, consisting of the bases of the Mohameddan religion and the principles of other subjects. The number of students does not exceed 30.

c) At the stone mosque there is a school built in 1795 by the local Kazan merchant Nazir Azimov. It has a single upper chamber and a kitchen. The teacher is a yasak-paying Tatar, licensed mullah Amurkhan Ibraev, from the Tolkich village of the Chistopol' uyezd. The number of students does not exceed 40. Mohameddan rules of law are taught there, and some of the higher sciences.

Source: National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 977, inv. Council, file 318, s. 10–11. Original.

Printed in: The Madrasahs of Kazan: 19–early 20th century. Texts and documents. Kazan, 2007. P. 13–14.

No. 3 Tatar schools

To any outsider it doubtless seems strange to find the Kazan Tatars to be a people, in the general sense, more educated than even some European nations. A Tatar man who does not know how to read or write is despised by his fellow countrymen and is not respected by other Tatars. For that reason, all fathers try to enroll their children as soon as possible into a school where they can at least learn to read, write and understand the basics of their religion. In order to aid this process, every mosque should have a school overseen by an akhun; the mosque mullah functions here as a teacher who teaches said subjects daily. In two local Tatar slobodas there are 8 mosques, but only 4 schools, which, however, are packed with students. Their way of learning is somewhat different from ours: but there can be found certain similarities with our *boarding schools*¹ we well. The house for a school is purchased by some rich Tatar, then another Tatar for a single year or more pays all the expenses for heating and repairs to please God. Inside such a house, besides a small entrance hall, there is a large room where the floor is lifted up several steps, just like the stage in a theatre. On this podium the teacher, his assistant and the students are located so there is a step and a half of room left for their cushions, chests, utensils, books and writing sets. The teacher's assistant and students study and live in the same room, and participate in the housekeeping together; even if one of them is stricken with fever or another sickness, he has to lie on his cushion in that same room till he gets well. The teacher, in this case, functions as a doctor for him (the afflicted), treating him with simple remedies. The cushions of the teachers are separated from those of the students by curtains of colourful rags. Above the teacher's area shelves hang nailed to the wall where the useful books are stored. In this same spot one can see cobbler's tools as well, for the teacher both instructs and mends shoes, both his own and those of his students.

Children enter school when they have turned 7 or 8. The course lasts for at least 5 years, but those who dedicate themselves to learning, meaning they want to become priests or teachers, stay at school much longer.

The course of study starts with the *primer*, followed by the Gaftiak, containing excerpts from Alkoran, some abridged and some of them entire *suras* (so the *chapters* in the Quran are called). Then they read Tatar books printed here in Kazan, such as Pirguli, Sabatulgazisin, Fauzulnazat and Stuan, which expound on the Quran in verse or in prose, and finally the book by Muhammad-effendi, which instructs in the art of trade², and sometimes grammar (*nahu*) of the Arabic language.

Besides reading and the basics of the Mohammedan religion, this school also teaches Arabic, inasmuch as it is needed for a basic understanding of the Quran. Many also learn the Persian and Buharan languages to make communication with these peoples easier, and so they can read Turkish books where Arabic and Persian words are often used, as well as to know how to write in a *high style*, which means intermingling, without discretion, Tatar, Arabic, Persian and Turkish words. But they do not teach Tatar here according to the rules of grammar, neither do they teach how to write correctly, either: for the Tatar, they say, must learn his tongue from his mother, so it is useless to pay for that at school. It is significant that the local Tatars, living among the Russians and with whom they have mutual trade interests, are so uninterested in learning Russian. There is hardly a single person here who speaks it well, and even less who can write in it. When I asked why Russian is not studied in school, I was told that such a student, according to their opinion, would become a rascal, and would have no place among them.

The teacher (*stott* in Arabic, *halfa* in Tatar), who is also the mullah of a mosque, does not lodge at the school. Instead, he has assistants chosen from among the elder students who must live in the school in order to oversee it. He does not receive a fixed wage, but is content with the gifts his students present him. They mostly consist of flour, honey, tea and petty coin, albeit rarely, and sometimes he might receive a new robe. The children of local merchant Suyurov every Friday bring their teacher 8 loaves of bread. Here, as everywhere, the more strict and demanding a teacher is, the more gifts he receives, of course, from his students, but even given all that his income is never more than a *hundred* rubles annually. When I showed surprise at the meagre income of the teachers, the venerable akhun said: 'Ask your lord, the minister of education, that he take under his special tutelage our schools. We want our children to study the sciences, but we know not the means to bring this about; so we still send all those who want to become a *learned* priest to Bukhara, for they have no chance or means to receive the needed education here'.

¹ The body of the text contains italicized fragments.

² *Author's notes*: It can be said that trade constitutes practically the only occupation of these local Kazan Tatars. Those who possess at least a small amount of capital try to turn it into goods and conduct various trades. Some with large capital conduct trade with the Chinese, others with the Bukhara people, and the third, with the Persians.

Studies start in the morning, at dawn. During these hours the akhun instructs his students on religion. On Thursdays what was studied during the entire week is repeated, and those who fail to answer well are whipped or locked in the basement. The teachers supervise both the tidiness of their students and how they fulfill their duties: those who fail at either of these, as well as those who do not pray to God five times a day at school, are likewise punished. There is no time for rest allotted to the students. On Thursdays the studies stop in the afternoon and start again on Saturday morning.

For writing they use the feathers of an Indian rooster and Chinese ink mixed with water, and prefer coated paper. Some students during the course of their studies sometimes manage to read the *entirety* of the Quran four times over. They study sitting on their cushions with legs pulled up, reading aloud their lessons in a rueful, nasal tone. All this put together makes the spectacle rather remarkable. As the students stay at school without leaving for an entire week, they choose, usually by lot, the one who cooks for them; for there are no women allowed. They have a common cauldron where they boil their salma soup or dumplings. Everyone may eat his share when he wishes, but they usually eat first at 8 o'clock in the morning, and then dine at 6 at night.

The female sex among the Tatars of Kazan also receives an equal degree of education, and there are few among Tatar women who cannot read or write properly. They are taught by the wife of the mullah of the local mosque, for this woman has a great talent for teaching them these subjects. I saw myself letters brilliantly penned by these female students, as well as some Tatar songs they transcribed. Apart from that, almost all Tatar girls learn from their mothers or their relatives how to embroider; they are especially keen on embroidering Tatar boots and scull caps with gold, artfully devising the ornaments they arrange with such great taste.

Source: Kazanskiye Izvestiya (Kazan News). 1816, 19 January.

No. 4

The project of Orenburg mufti Khusainov on establishing Tatar schools in Kazan and Orenburg. 1818.

According to the rank and position entrusted to me, I would like to present His Majesty the emperor a way to ameliorate the life of his subjects. I dare to offer for the consideration of Your Highness, the commander and guardian of national enlightenment, the following project on improving the working conditions of my coreligionists of different ranks.

During my administrative work on issues in the Mohammedan religion, I learned from reliable sources that private schools for youth were established on the territories of mosques in many villages of my coreligionists. The imam mudarrises and ecclesiastic officials of different ranks who I inspected lecture the youth on religious instructions. But as teachers they are only taught in the spectrum of spiritual education, which deals mostly with serving God and people in accordance with their rank. Because of that, the academic programme for young people is not only too long, it can also hardly be considered healthy due to differences in the views and beliefs of teachers. Pupils are deprived of their formative years while they study, as there are almost no schools, despite all the effort I made to take care of Orenburg guberniya, that would fit my requirements for both the level of scholarly and spiritual education; schools similar to 'Neplyuevskoe' do not exist here anymore. The lack of enlightenment among my coreligionists and neglect of the government made their desire for wholesome education weak. Various prejudices, combined with the frivolity and barbarism planted in children by their parents from early childhood, rarely transform into practical awareness. In this case, I eagerly encourage the social circle of my coreligionists to multiply, as His Majesty the Emperor intended, taking care of the well-being of his subjects. I deem it necessary to establish special schools similar to the existing Armenian schools—one in Kazan, under the direct supervision of the university, and the other in Orenburg, under the supervision of the local military governor. I also offer to establish a second special department for education to be supervised in all of my areas, with all the necessary classes. I, as a hard worker, accept the responsibility to provide young hearts with all that is necessary for them to serve our country and be useful to it. For this I see the following reasons:

1) The majority of such Mohammedans reside in Kazan and Orenburg guberniyas, and many of them work out all sorts of evasions (sic) and trades not only with the peoples who live near the border with Asian empires, but also inside the Russian Empire and in Astrakhan.

2) As European teaching education, blooming in its enlightenment, is studied in Kazan university, it would be reasonable for our non-Christians to study it as well, and educate their pupils in a similar way to make them more useful and pleasant citizens of our empire.

3) With the help of such academies we can establish new scholastic relationships with other neighbouring Asian countries on the border. If we can manage to attain perfect levels of education among the youth, European and Asian scientific societies will be able to merge with ours and, with vivid gratitude to how caring the Russian throne is to its people, deliver the most worthy subjects in line with the intentions of His Majesty the Emperor.

4) If pupils who studied in these schools succeed in the enlightenment sciences, they can get moved up to university study and, upon finishing their studies, they will become much-needed experienced translators for the supreme command, local public offices and missions. In places where my coreligionists live, they will be useful as teachers for children, as teachers are almost extinct in all of Russia due to a lack of education. With their help, the existing ignorance of some frivolous and uneducated Mohammedans will turn into sanity and conform to the accepted order of society in just a few years.

5) Established education for the youth, thanks to the intelligence of my coreligionists, will appeal to the children of noble Mohammedans: khans, princes and the nobility of other neighbouring Asian countries. This will elate the blaze of glory and honour of Russian Imperial enlightenment, earning the loyalty and diligence of young people from all Asian nations. Meanwhile, such sciences that people leave Russia to study and use them as a substitute, develop into the utmost narrow-mindedness and can no longer exist.

6) For universal use we can publish textbooks in all subjects in Tatar, Persian, Turkic and Arabic languages. I have plenty of such books in my library collected during the course of 16 years in Bukhara and India³.

7) In order for healthy education to influence young Mohammedans better and more precisely, I deem it useful to have tutors in European sciences and languages along with teachers of Persian, Arabic, Turkic and Tatar languages, thus connecting them with the half of young Russian pupils under the supervision of trained professors.

8) At first, the formation (sic) of schools can be done using the budget formerly intended for establishing the 'Neplyuevskoe' school for children from families of local Asian and irregular forces⁴ in Orenburg. We can also use the remaining mosque budget under the borderline commission of Orenburg. But if that is still not enough, I hope that my sensible coreligionists will not be able to help but donate generously when they learn about your approval and the benefits of the education project. All things considered, it will be possible to increase the necessary budget with money from the penalty income in accordance with the Mohammedan faith, and in various cases connected with spiritual issues of the Mohammedan religion in different areas presented by the sacred Al-Quaran to the power of the mufti.

My coreligionists would deem themselves happy if they would be honoured by Your Highness' representation to use the priceless fruits of enlightenment, just as the Russians that are subjects of our united empire, and be equal to them when enrolling in sacred schools.

On behalf of all of them, I dare to offer this project to Your Highness for consideration, and most humbly request for you to honour it with acceptance.

10 September 1818

Mufti Gusein.

Source: Proceedings of the Scientific Society of Tatar Studies. No. 9–10. Kazan, 1930. P. 127–129.

No. 5

Extract from the record of educational institutions of Kazan administrative offices beyond the jurisdiction of the Ministry of National Education, 1844

15 November 1844⁵

Uyezd or city: The the city of Kazan:

<...> 2. Second part, the Old Tatar sloboda.

School name: Mohammedan.

Established: 1801

³ This reference to the library is made with a pencil on the side.

⁴ There is a mark in the margins made with a quill: 'All this sum is already intended for Neplyuev Military School which is part of the defence department'.

⁵ The date of the covering letter.

Subordinate to vedomstvo: did not report to anybody.

Financed by: the pupils.

Number of teachers: 1.

Number of pupils: 47.

Subjects taught: reading and writing in Arabic, Turkic, Persian, and Bukharian; explaining parts of the Al-Quaran and the first four arithmetic rules in Tatar.

3. Same part, same sloboda.

School name: Mohammedan.

Established in: 1836

Subordinate to vedomstvo: did not report to anybody.

Financed by: Kazan merchant Gaybadulla Yunusov.

Number of teachers: 1.

Number of pupils: 92.

Subjects taught: reading and writing in Arabic, Turkic, Persian, and Bukharian; explaining parts of the Al-Quaran and the first four arithmetic rules in Tatar.

4. Third part, same sloboda.

School name: Mohammedan.

Established in: 1832

Subordinate to vedomstvo: did not report to anybody.

Financed by: Kazan merchant Bashir Aitov.

Number of teachers: 1.

Number of pupils: 110.

Subjects taught: reading and writing in Arabic, Turkic, Persian, and Bukharian; explaining parts of the Al-Quaran and the first four arithmetic rules in Tatar.

5. Same part, same sloboda.

School name: Mohammedan.

Established in: 1826

Subordinate to vedomstvo: did not report to anybody.

Financed by: Kazan merchant Kurbangaley Risayev.

Number of teachers: 1.

Number of pupils: 80.

Subjects taught: reading and writing in Arabic, Turkic, Persian, and Bukharian; explaining parts of the Al-Quaran and the first four arithmetic rules in Tatar.

6. Same part, the New Tatar sloboda.

School name: Mohammedan.

Established in: 1817

Subordinate to vedomstvo: did not report to anybody.

Financed by: Kazan merchant Mukhamet Katayev.

Number of teachers: 1.

Number of pupils: 62.

Subjects taught: reading and writing in Arabic, Turkic, Persian, and Bukharian; explaining parts of the Al-Quaran and the first four arithmetic rules in Tatar.

7. Same part, same sloboda.

School name: Mohammedan.

Established in: 1837

Subordinate to vedomstvo: did not report to anybody.

Financed by: Kazan merchant Karbangaley Risayev.

Number of teachers: 1.

Number of pupils: 50.

Subjects taught: reading and writing in Arabic, Turkic, Persian, and Bukharian; explaining parts of the Al-Quaran and the first four arithmetic rules in Tatar.

8. Same part, same sloboda.

School name: Mohammedan.

Established in: 1837

Subordinate to vedomstvo: did not report to anybody.

Financed by: Kazan merchant Kurbangaley Sabayev.

Number of teachers: 1.

Number of pupils: 40.

Subjects taught: reading and writing in Arabic, Turkic, Persian, and Bukharian; explaining parts of the Al-Quaran and the first four arithmetic rules in Tatar.

Principle

Osip Kovalevsky

Source: National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 92, inv. 1, file 5525, s. 33 reverse–34. Original.

Printed in: The Madrasah of Kazan. 19–early 20th century. Collection of documents and materials. Kazan, 2007. P. 16–18.

No. 6

Mohammedan spiritual schools [maktabeh and madrasah] in the Simbirsk and Sengiley uyezds of the Simbirsk guberniya

The northwestern, northern and northeastern parts of Simbirsk uyezd, being rather close to Buinsk uyezd of the Simbirsk guberniya and to Tetyushi uyezd of the Kazan guberniya, are inhabited by indigenous people of Turkic and Finnish tribes. There are up to 25 indigenous settlements here that outnumber Russian villages. The settlements are populated by Chuvashes, Tatars and Mordvins. There are 20,000 Tatars in Simbirsk uyezd who live in 12 settlements and comprise one tenth (10%) of the total population of the uyezd (up to 190,000 people of both genders). There are more than 17,000 Chuvashes living in 13 settlements, comprising an eleventh (9%) of the uyezd population. Mordvins are less numerous than other non-Russians, with people of this tribe inhabiting 9 settlements with up to 12,000 people, comprising one sixteenth (6%) of the total population. In Sengiley uyezd, Tatars form one big volost—Timoshkino volost that includes only two villages (Timoshkino and Kalda). There are more than 2,000 Tatars here, comprising one twenty-fifth of the total population. There is one Mordvin school per three villages, or per 3,912 citizens; 1 in 8 children are of school age. Sengiley counts one school per less than three villages, or per 2,649 people; and 1 in 5 children are of school age. <...>

The conditions are drastically different for *Tatars*⁶, as they exceed other non-Russian peoples not only in quantity, but also in education. They obey Russians politically, not morally. Tatars are considered European merely externally, according to where they live; while in their way of living, their religion and traditions, their aspirations and sympathies, they remain sons of the Asian steppes, faithful followers of Islam and adherents of Oriental enlightenment. When I was travelling around Simbirsk uyezd to inspect schools in Tatar villages; I felt like a traveler in a faraway foreign country; where there are no Orthodox churches in villages and one can only see the gloomy minarets of Tatar mosques; where the streets are narrow and abnormal; residential buildings, constructed in a particular way, are situated in clumps, with almost no plan or order; where people are only seen in special traditional clothing of a peculiar fashion; where there is not a sound spoken in Russian, and you can only hear the unfamiliar speech of a completely different tribe. Living in isolation, in dense settlements, Tatars of Simbirsk and, especially, Buinsk uyezds contact Russians very seldom, perhaps only concerning matters of trade. That is why the men who speak fluent Russian among them are very few, and that is why Tatars do not adopt Russian rituals. The ideas of Christianity are circulated even slower among our Tatars and with much more effort. Right now it seems that Russian missionaries have completely given up on trying to convert Tatars to Christianity. Left completely unattended and only externally connected to Russia, Tatars live here, preserving all their peculiar national features. They don't like Russians, and even detest them, they don't feel the slightest moral attraction to their motherland which is still new to them, and avoid getting closer to Russians at all cost, if not in language, but in beliefs and traditions. One can say with certainty that Tatars will keep their national originality in all the variety of its distinctive features for as long as possible, until some energetic measures are made to bring them closer to Russians. Moreover, Tatars will not only preserve their own faith, traditions and education, but they will keep circulating it, as they do now, among other neighbouring non-Russian peoples; especially among the Chuvash, who are the most prone to merge with the Tatars based on similarities in languages, beliefs and traditions. In this sense, Tatars will significantly harm the work of our missionaries among the Chuvash, and hamper the spread of Russian civic consciousness in general. It hardly needs mentioning that in a political sense Tatars are an unreliable nation, obedient to Russia only out of necessity.

⁶The body of the text contains italicized fragments.

A powerful weapon for provoking, developing and maintaining Tatar isolation and Muslim fanaticism are *Mohammedan spiritual schools*. They exist on the territories of almost every mosque, and Tatars have much more mosques than Russians have churches. Usually, almost all the boys of a parish study in these schools. The education of *girls* is usually conducted in the house of the mullah by his wife, who is a very respected figure among the female part of the Tatar population, similar to the best wives of priests in our villages. Tatar schools are of a strictly religious and confessional nature, even though some non-religious subjects are allowed in the educational process. These schools are aimed at introducing pupils to Islam as soon as possible and, of course, bringing them up fanatically loyal to it. Mohammedan elementary schools are divided into primary and higher schools. The first, analogues of our grammar schools, are called *makteb*, or *maktabeh* (from the Arabic verb *kitabā*—to read). The second ones are analogues of our primary schools,—*madrasa*, *ormedrese* (from the Tatar verb *darsa*—to teach). However, as a result of the absence of a strictly developed study programmes, village mullahs do not always distinguish between these types of schools and call them one name or the other on different occasions.

In Simbirsk uyezd there are 18 Mohammedan spiritual schools. One of them is situated in the city of Simbirsk; one in the village of Novye Maklaushi⁷ of *Novo-Nikulino volost*; one in the village of Novye Timersyani⁸ of *Nagatino volost*; four in Bolshaya Tsilna⁹ village and two in Staroye Shaymurzino village¹⁰ of *Bolshe-Tsilna volost*; one school in Tatarskaya Bedenga village¹¹, in the villages of Novo-Irkeevo¹² and Syundyukovo¹³, and two in Elkhovo-Ozernaya village¹⁴ of *Syundyukovo volost*; two in Bolshiye Tarkhani village¹⁵ and one school in both Nizhniye Tarkhani village¹⁶ and Utyamysheva village¹⁷ of *Bolshe-Tarkhanovskaya volost*. Sengiley uyezd has 9 Tatar spiritual schools, seven of which are situated in Staroye Timoshkino village¹⁸ and two in Kalda village¹⁹. I inspected the Tatar schools of Simbirsk uyezd in February and the schools of Sengiley in May. I recorded the results of the inspection for each school, but here I find it more convenient to talk about all the schools in general, as they are organized almost identically to each other. In Simbirsk uyezd there are almost two Tatar schools per settlement, one school per 596 male citizens, and almost all boys study at them. In Sengiley uyezd, every second settlement has more than four schools, one school per 358 citizens. Taking such a significant amount of schools in Tatar settlements into consideration, one cannot help but be impressed that almost all Tatars are literate, they all know the basics of their belief system well and are solidly, fanatically loyal to it.

Tatar spiritual schools are usually *placed* in special academic houses, forlornly placed near the mosques. In rare cases, in the absence of a special academic house, the community would rent an apartment in the house of one of the parishioners for this purpose. Academic houses are built, maintained and heated on the money of one of the rich parishioner-benefactors, or using the money of the parish. In front of the classroom there is usually a small unheated entry hall with no floors installed. Here pupils fire up samovars, obviously not being afraid of starting a fire; they dump all the rubbish from the classroom in this entry hall. In the classroom, which is usually small and cold, with single layer windows all year round, they put shelves made of wide planks up on the walls where pupils keep their outdoor garments, bedding items (felt mats and pillows), chests with books, samovars and food supplies. In almost all the schools I visited the air was very sultry and humid. Pupils conduct all the ablutions demanded by religion in school buildings. These must be effective for keeping the body clean, but in reality, it only does harm, as due to the utmost poverty and lack of space in the room, it creates dampness, gives off a specific heavy and unpleasant smell, increases untidiness, and in winter it acts as the reason for constant cold-related illness. Add the fact that pupils put dirty khirqahs on their

⁷ Present-day village of Novy Maklaush in the Maininsky District of the Ulyanovsk Oblast.

⁸ Present-day village of Novy Timersyan in the Tsilninsky District of the Ulyanovsk Oblast..

⁹ Present-day village of Bolshaya Tsilna in the Drozhzhanovsky District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

¹⁰ Present-day village of Staroe Shaimurzino in the Drozhzhanovsky District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

¹¹ Present-day village of Tatar Bedenga in the Tetyushi District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

¹² Present-day village of Bakrchi in the Tetyushi District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

¹³ Present-day village of Syundyukovo in the Tetyushi District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

¹⁴ Present-day village of Yelkhovo Ozero in the Tsilninsky District of the Ulyanovsk Oblast.

¹⁵ Present-day village of Bolshie Tarkhany in the Tetyushi District of Tatarstan.

¹⁶ Present-day village of Nizhnie Tarkhany in the Tetyushi District of Tatarstan.

¹⁷ Present-day village of Utyamyshevo in the Drozhzhanovsky District of the Ulyanovsk Oblast.

¹⁸ Present-day village of Staroe Timoshkino in the Baryshsky District of the Ulyanovsk Oblast.

¹⁹ Present-day village of Kalda in the Baryshsky District of the Ulyanovsk Oblast.

moist, not yet dried bodies, and you get skin diseases. There are no tables like our desks in schools, and during classes boys sit on their haunches, or on the bare floor. The mullah sits in front of them in the same position on a special place covered with a rug or a clean sack cloth, with a book in his hands, on top of a chest or a small bench. This is the image of Tatar schools. It would be fair to say that they do not meet any basic requirements, both pedagogical and sanitary, and act as breeding grounds for infectious disease not only among pupils, but also the people surrounding them. School buildings, bad on the inside, are not equipped with anything on the outside. There are no backyards there, no outhouses; when I visited these buildings in winter, frozen feces formed significant piles, and it was not easy to get through them to the schools. It should be added that many pupils stay in schools not only during daytime, but also at night, as they come here with all the necessary supplies, thus turning the school into cramped, dirty and stuffy night shelters.

Mullahs handle the educating and mentoring in schools. Every day they spend around four hours here—two hours before lunch and two after. Former or current senior pupils assist the mullahs in teaching children and keeping order in schools. It should be noted that children of rich Tatars sometimes stay in madrasahs until 20 or even 30 years of age. Exposed to the direct influence of the mullahs for long periods of time, these young people manage to finish the whole course of Islamism and, deeply embracing its ideas, become its most sincere preachers and propagators. In village schools, along with literacy, these grown up pupils pass a whole system of lore, traditions and beliefs onto their younger compatriots, which serves as an important accessory to the main guidelines of the Mohammedan faith expounded in *Al-Quaran*. Learning from mullahs all that they know, grown up and wealthy shakirids often enter higher Muslim academies, for example, in Kazan and Ufa. Here they attend a complete course on theological disciplines, literature and the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, as the latter's ethnical discussions were known to the Arabs. Completing their education, shakirids travel to Arabia and Persia, or to Bukhara, sometimes to Egypt. Education and travelling open a road to the highest ranks and positions for the pupils—as imams, khatips, mudarrahs and mullahs. However, only few will finish the said journey of religious education, but these few become the staples of Islam afterwards, gaining reputation as scholars and apologists for Islam. Crowds listen to them as if they are prophets, representatives of the highest power available to people. I was lucky to have a talk with one such educated mullah, in the very village of Sary Shaymurzin, and I was greatly surprised by his theological expertise, his deepest faith in the absolute sacredness and superiority of Islam, and by the awe with which ordinary people listen to his speeches. It's a shame that the translator that helped me communicate with the mullah sometimes had trouble translating his speech, finding it too sublime for unprepared comprehension. However, not only scholars, but also ordinary mullahs are very respected by their pupils and parishioners in general, in a way that in our churches only few exceptional outworldly priests are. Respect for mullahs is connected to the fact that in their ordinary lives, with very rare exceptions, they are the most careful performers of the demands of their religion and its rituals. Mullahs are mentors to their parishioners who do not have the need to dishonour themselves in front of them by some down-to-earth deals and constant begging for payment: each Muslim has to bring a tenth of his income to the mullah by law. Moreover, mullahs receive significant lots of land, perform secret sacrifices during major holidays, receive an adequate salary for educating children and giving medical treatment, which is common. These conditions create an external, financial independence from the parishioners and ease the performance of some hard duties for them. To follow all the rules of exemplary life and behaviour, they have to come to the mosque five times every day, two times to school, and perform other duties in the parish—a long novitiate is necessary for that, which means preparation from an early age. I deliberately described mullahs in more detail to show what teachers in Tatar spiritual schools are like and what moral means they possess to succeed in what they do. These Tatar spiritual leaders greeted me with hostility, very coldly—I was an uninvited and unexpected guest to them, an infidel from the Russian officials who usually come, as Tatars believe, to disturb the peaceful course of patriarchal Muslim life, and sometimes to interfere with its confessional aspect. Upon arriving in a village, I stayed in a rented apartment, called the foreman, or an elder, or a mullah and, reporting the aim of my visit to them, I went to schools in their company. Mullahs expressed astonishment at why nobody has ever inspected their schools or interfered with their work in this field before: could it be that the government, they said, wants to establish Russian schools everywhere to make it easier to baptise Tatars? I reassured the ones those doubted by explaining that the government cares about ameliorating the external conditions of elementary schools, and no-one gave me the right to interfere with their religion. This statement calmed the mullahs down a bit, and they reluctantly went to schools with me. However, some of them refused to go, saying they are not feeling well or they don't have time. In this case I visited schools escorted by the foreman, or the elder, and

an interpreter. Inspecting schools alone, without an escort, would not be safe: I knew Tatars especially hate Russian officials and priests. In one village, Bolshiye Tarkhani, the volost foreman from among the Christian Chuvashes, an almost completely Russified man, tried to talk me out of visiting schools in every way possible, being afraid of vast revolts of Tatars, who, according to the foreman, had almost beaten up a district police officer the previous year. To tell the truth, I hesitated for some time in making the decision of whether to follow the foreman's advice or not, but talking with one of the mullahs calmed me down. The inspection of schools conducted in the presence of the foreman and mullahs occurred without any unpleasant adventures. Even though the Tatars knew about my visit, they did not gather in crowds in front of the schools and behaved peacefully...

Boys in Tatar schools learn to read and write in Arabic. They begin learning to read starts during the first year, and to write during the second or third year. Each boy studies a special part of the given course: one studies the alphabet (alef-bet); another prayers and aphorisms from the Quaran that are a part of the books which are studied in succession: Iman, Ya Sin and Khaftiyak; a third boy reads the Quaran. From the total amount of pupils I would usually find a fourth or a fifth who knew how to write. Senior pupils study Arabic grammar, and read and learn the Quaran by heart as mullahs explain it to them orally. Apart from that, they tell pupils the sacred historical tales (tarih) and novels [ikayat], as well as didactic fables [ak'yan]. These stories are carried over from schools to families like a holy legacy, and get passed on from generation to generation. Any system or order in education seems to be nonexistent among the Tatars, as each pupil learns their own lesson or listens to lectures and explanations of the mullah and digests them as far as their capability to understand and their age allow. Among cognitive functions, boys only use their memory to study. Coming to a school, I would listen to how separate pupils read. Usually they read their own texts aloud, all at once. I made them read prayers then: in this case usually two boys were separated from the general group of children, came to the middle of the room and, squatting, began to pronounce a prayer in a monotonous and highly dolesome singing manner. I was utterly discontent with myself as I do not speak Arabic. Not understanding the meaning of the prayers, I just listened to the external expression of how they sound and watched the effect the reading had on the boys. According to what Tatars generally say, the boys do not understand the Arabic language either. I also watched the mullah, the only person who understands every word of the prayers as I have already mentioned. In complete silence and evident indifference, boys hung their heads and listened to their comrades read, while the mullah constantly raised his head and eyes up, reverently repeating the sacred words after the children in whisper. Having heard the readings of the prayers, I would ask the mullahs whether the pupils knew any prayers for the emperor, and upon receiving a positive answer, I offered those who were able, to write something in Arabic. They scribbled several words or phrases in pencil on small scraps of paper; hardly any of them knew how to write, as I have already mentioned. Reading and writing in Russian is not taught in a single Tatar school. Mullahs told me directly that teaching Russian literacy was never part of their academic programme and never will be, as it has a purely ecclesiastical mission. Only one academy in Simbirsk uyezd had a pupil—a young man, who learned to read and write in Russian somewhere on the side. There is no distinct time period for education in Tatar schools: while some pupils stay in school for 2 or 3 years, others go there for 12 or 15 years, entering adulthood as schoolchildren. Classes begin in autumn, after field work is over, and last till spring. During this period of time, boys go to classes every day; on Fridays and on Thursdays after lunch there are no classes. There is no set amount of pupils in the class, either: every boy has to study, and every young man can attend school as well. According to the data I collected, 702 pupils study in 18 Tatar schools of the Simbirsk uyezd, and 205 pupils study in 9 schools of the Sengiley uyezd. There are 39 people per school in Simbirsk uyezd, in Sengiley uyezd there are 23 people. Pupils of Tatar schools are mostly dressed poorly. Being in a cramped school izba heated by the pupils themselves and forming a crowded group that barely fits inside such an izba, pupils of Tatar schools usually sit through classes wearing only undergarments, underpants and stockings. I have never seen a single pupil wearing clean garments, while some of them were practically wearing sack-cloth.

Such is the current condition of the Mohammedan theological schools of the Simbirsk and Sengiley Uyezds. From what has just been said above, it can be seen that these schools have plenty of deficiencies. They put a lot of obstacles in the way of developing both Russian civic consciousness and Christianity among the Tatars. If these schools are not meant to be retained in their present state, it would be useful, in my honest opinion, to take the following measures:

1. It should be made obligatory for Tatar societies to construct more spacious buildings for schools according to the largest possible number of students, to provide a special room for those who stay over-

night, to keep school buildings clean and tidy at all times, and to avoid the situations when the students are not under the supervision of adults.

2. To oblige mullahs, who receive their position after passing a recently established exam in the Russian language, to make sure that they do not preclude their students from studying how to read and write in Russian but find time to teach this subject to them instead.

3. It is necessary to work out a structured curriculum for Tatar schools with a distribution of learning material for a certain number of years; to specify the age for school admission and graduation. Such a curriculum could be developed by the Mohammedan Spiritual Assemblies, one of which is, for example, located in Ufa. After having been approved by the government, the curriculum may then become prescribed for all schools.

4. It is necessary to include teaching how to read and write in Russian as well as arithmetics in the curriculum. For these purposes one needs to create several good and not very expensive study guides specifically for Tatars. Teachers in Russian-Tatar governmental schools, who can be found, for instance, in Kazan and Ufa, could take it upon themselves to write such guides.²⁰

5. It would be better to assign the task of teaching the Russian language to particular *Tatar* teachers, who have completed their training at teaching schools and have actually become professional primary school teachers. Material support for the teachers should be entrusted to local communities, while part of the money should be paid from the public treasury. Special examinations should be established in the schools that provide Russian lessons so that the students can receive a deferment from military service.

6. Apart from the above mentioned classes, it would be useful to open model one-year schools with Tatar teachers at the government's expense in the most populous Tatar villages, at least one or two schools in an uyezd with a large Tatar population.

7. Finally, it would be fairly useful to have special *Russian* inspectors of Tatar schools in the Kazan school district, who have a good command of the Arabic and Tatar languages and have received a basic education that gave them enough skills for inspection service. If it is considered useful to have a special inspector for Chuvash schools, it can hardly be denied that such officials would be necessary in Tatar schools as well. Everybody knows that there are far more Tatars than Chuvash, and that the Tatars, who can read and write but are absolutely fanatical, need stronger external pressure, so that they become more trustworthy of Russian civic consciousness and Christianity. Inspections of Tatar schools by officers who know neither the Arabic nor the Tatar language can hardly be useful for the desired effect. These inspections may result perhaps in the improvement of the physical condition of Mohammedan schools. As for the problem of changing their internal structure in accordance with missionary and political aims, the practical solution of this problem could be a long-term strategy and manageable only for those who have special skills for that kind of activity; besides, the latter will have to devote a great deal of work and effort to this. Especially difficult will be the beginning of the task.

Source: A. Anastasiyev. Mohammedan spiritual schools [maktab and madrasah] in the Simbirsk and Sengiley Uyezd of the Simbirsk Guberniya // Off-print from an unofficial department of 'Bulletin of the Simbirsk Guberniya,' 1893, Nos. 65–69. pp. 3–20.

No. 7

Report on the condition of Russian-Tatar schools in the Vyatka Guberniya made by the inspector of Kazan Tatar Teachers' School Sh. Akhmerov, 15 September 1890 No. 326 to the trustee of the Kazan Educational District.

To His Excellency Mr. Trustee of the Kazan Educational District.

As a consequence of the order of Your Excellency No. 4387 issued on 7 September this year I have the honour to most respectfully inform you about the following.

From the aforementioned order it is clear that the inspection of one-year Tatar schools in the Vyatka Guberniya has uncovered the following problems: a) teachers of the Russian language in these schools themselves struggle with fluency in Russian; b) the teachers prefer to speak Tatar with their students; c) they teach mechanically, and the students do not understand what they read; d) the students fail to learn

²⁰ The author is wrong: The Tatar school for teachers in Ufa was transferred to Orenburg in 1877 and closed in 1890.

Russian e); textbooks sent by the Tatar school inspection do not offset the demands of Russian-Tatar schools—in a nutshell, the training unit of Tatar schools is rather unsatisfactory. And since the teachers of those schools have completed a course in the Kazan teaching school, the responsibility for the insufficiency of the educational process falls on the teaching school.

In the majority of cases students enter the Kazan Tatar teaching school almost without knowledge of the Russian language. Their basic writing and reading skills do not go beyond mechanically repeating dictated words and reading printed texts. The aim of the teaching school is to provide such people with a 4-year training course, so that they can work as Russian language teachers in Tatar schools. It means that they should do their best to become as proficient as possible in the language, which they, in their turn, will have to spread among the younger Tatar generation in urban and rural localities. Being keenly aware of the importance and great significance of the Russian language for future teachers of folk Tatar schools, all the teachers of the teaching school, including those who specialise not only in Russian but also in other subjects of the course as well as tutors, pay all their attention to this subject. As a result of the joint activity of all the school's teaching staff by the end of the course, which lasts for 4 years, the students obtain a rather good command of the Russian grammar, etymology, and syntax and enough speaking skills, although with some mistakes in their fluid speech and everyday language. As the experience of not only Kazan but other schools shows, it seems to be impossible for them to reach a higher level under present circumstances. Results in Russian language education achieved at the school have always been considered effective by local officials as well. However, young people, having completed their studies in the teaching school with a certain amount of knowledge still incomplete and requiring further development, practice, and supplement, become teachers in Tatar rural localities, which are often separated by many kilometers from Russian villages all around. As a result, real-world Russian conversation practice comes to an end since nobody speaks any other language except Tatar in the village. The textbooks that are available at the teaching school were read for the most part in a long time ago, and their novelty has worn off. Students cannot speak a word of Russian, and they are only curious about the new teacher who has arrived in their village uninvited, and whom their fathers look upon with suspicion. They become his students without realising how necessary it is to know the Russian language because the Russian-Tatar school is not a vital need for them. They can study at their favourite and respected madrasah or maktab, where everything is local and always familiar. A Muslim with their strong religious culture, their firmly organised everyday life, their customs, schools, is not aware that they need foreign education, and if they learn how to read and write in Russian, they only pursue it for practical purposes. This is a substantial difference between the Tatars and other foreigners, who have neither their own religious and moral culture nor their own educational establishments, so Russian school is the only place where they can receive a basic education. The teacher, whose activity does not meet any affection, and who is cut off from the locals, expends a great deal of energy in acquainting boys to school and teaching them to attend lessons. Severe requirements do not help at all: supposing the teacher begins to take rigorous measures, the boys will stop going to school. All village teachers complain that the students do not attend classes regularly: one week they are present, another week they are not. Their parents take little note of their children's studying Russian and in most cases do not take any measures to encourage them to do so.

As you can see, the teachers of Tatar-Russian schools find themselves in a truly deplorable, miserable situation. It does not seem to me impossible that they not only fail to advance and progress in their intellectual development but begin to regress in it instead as they gradually lose the habit of speaking Russian; with that they lose the possibility of acquiring new knowledge as well that of renewing and sustaining their former knowledge from sources of Russian education. In such conditions it seems to me that even a highly educated person with a good command of Russian will find themselves in a difficult position, and even a Russian will themselves learn Tatar faster than making their students learn it. If the student of the teaching school needed 4 years for the adoption of the Russian language so as to speak Russian more or less fluently and read books, all this while being taught by a brilliant staff of teachers with all their strong tension and efforts, I have no idea how long it will take them to teach Russian to a village Tatar boy, especially when that Tatar boy instantly returns to his family and does not hear a single word in Russian after 2–3 hour of studying half in Russian and half in Tatar as needed. Moreover, one should note that he goes to school only for 5 or 6 months a year, although irregularly, while missing a lot of lessons. The working conditions of the Russian-Tatar village school teacher can perhaps be compared with the working conditions of the Russian teacher who received their education in a foreign school and was sent to a Russian village to teach a foreign language to Russian boys.

Russian-Tatar schools in towns are in comparatively better conditions. Here the Tatars are more aware of the necessity to have Russian speaking, reading, and writing skills. There are a lot of children of tradespeople, children of such people as soldiers, caretakers, different servants of public offices and social institutions, etc., who have connections with the Russians, and the teachers themselves always have a chance to practice Russian and use Russian books. That is why, under favourable conditions, when Tatar society is not frightened by different rumours deliberately spread by fanatics and caused by the misinterpretation of executive orders, teaching at schools in towns is more effective even with a large amount of students. However, the teachers in towns still fail to make their students attend classes regularly. Even the slightest rumour, which agitates people's minds, results in almost complete student absence. This happened in 1882–1883, when word spread about bringing Tatar spiritual schools [madrasah and maktab] under the control of the Tatar school inspection and about the visit of the inspector to these schools. The type of situation repeated itself in 1888, following the supreme order issued on 16 July 1888 requiring the educational qualification of the Mohammedan clergy; such requirements, although not connected directly with Russian-Tatar schools, make the Tatars wary of anything that, in their opinion, can hold a spiritual influence over the youth and bring them closer to Russian life. Any school in a Tatar's view is a kind of maktab or madrasah—that is, an institution that pursues religious and moral aims.

Generally speaking, neither the teachers nor the students of Russian-Tatar schools should be demanded the same things as are usually demanded in Russian schools as national peculiarities together with the complexity of the Russian language and the attitude of society towards them reduce the level of requirements.

One more rather serious inconvenience in teaching Tatar children how to read and write in Russian, as has been rightly pointed out by the inspection of Vyatka schools, is caused by the lack of textbooks, which are compiled properly and with regard to the peculiarities of these schools. The existing textbooks, published by the former inspector of the Tatar, Bashkir, and Kirghiz schools of the Kazan educational district Radlov, could become helpful and suitable guides and course books only if they were used by experienced teachers and with constant management, control, and instructions to the teachers on how to use them. One cannot but admit the certain disadvantages of these textbooks, but those textbooks written for Russian schools are suitable for Russian-Tatar schools neither by their content nor for other reasons. That is why Radlov's textbooks are exclusive, and I have no idea what kind of other textbooks may be able to substitute them now, so I believe that there is a critical need to publish better textbooks and guides; but such books have not been compiled yet.

As for the measures to improve the educational process in one-year Russian-Tatar schools by increasing the duration of training in the teaching school—that is, the establishment of a 5 or 6-year long course, this measure can only be beneficial for the general development of the students of the teaching school and further improvement of their knowledge of the Russian language, but it seems to me that it won't help to escape those extremely unfavourable conditions for the promotion of Russian education and language among the Tatar Mohammedans, which are rooted in the way of life of the Tatar people, and neither the improvement of the teachers' knowledge nor the publishing of better textbooks will advance the process, leaving only remedial actions left to be taken instead. The underlying reason for the failure of Tatar-Russian schools is in the religious and everyday life of Mohammedanism, in the steadfast seclusion of their school's management structure, and in their alienation from Russian life and activities. It is necessary to raise awareness for the need of Russian education and consequently the knowledge of the Russian language as a means of obtaining Russian education. With the lack of sympathy and trust of the locals towards Russian-Tatar schools, the latter will hardly be able to improve their state and will be destined to a wretched existence on infertile soil. Russian-Tatar schools can hardly overcome the obstacles and difficulties on the road of their prosperity caused by the indifference of society, the hostility, and, at best, sneering attitude of the authoritative Mohammedan clergy and madrasahs and maktab. Any school can develop through only being aware of its power and feeling the sympathy and moral support of those for whom it exists. If the purpose of the existence of Russian-Tatar schools is in the promotion of Russian education, ideas, and knowledge among the Russian Muslims—that is, if the purpose is in the spiritual rapprochement and unity of the Muslims with the indigenous population—the coexistence of two different education systems will always be the greatest evil. On the one hand, the Ministry of Public Education will try to sow the seeds of European education on completely unprepared and unresponsive soil; and, on the other hand, the younger generation will be brought up in a spirit of deeply ingrained Islamism and ancient traditions of the maktab and madrasah, supervised and controlled by the local clergy only, which looks with suspicion upon the simultaneous existence

of their own school, revered by all as a breeding ground for spiritual training and the other school as strange in its spirit and aims. So, if one desires to influence the root causes that hinder the penetration of Russian educational elements into the Mohammedan environment, it is necessary to take in hand the upbringing of the younger Tatar generation, but this is certainly a rather challenging task, and it can be achieved not at once and not by strong measures but by gradually imposing government control over Muslim schools [maktab and madrasahs], which are under the sole supervision and control of mullahs, so the government knows neither the curricula nor the way and atmosphere of teaching there. Meanwhile, these schools are real and the most important sources of Tatar youth's education. The idea to establish control over all Mohammedan schools is not strange or new for the government, as it was in 1882 when the supreme order of 5 February was issued, under which all aforementioned Muslim educational establishments of different names had to be put under the control of the Ministry of Public Education. Such a task was imposed on the existing inspector of Tatar schools of the Kazan educational district, but the first attempt of bringing the supreme order into action turned to be unsuccessful. In my notes on Tatar education, presented to the Minister of Public Education at the beginning of the current year, at the request of His Grace, I had the honour to report on the reasons of this failure and to suggest the way how, in my sincere judgment, it would be possible to establish control over madrasahs and maktab, and to describe my work as the acting inspector of Tatar schools after Radlov's retirement from service, from 1885 to 1890.

Holding this interim appointment, I was deprived of the opportunity to make frequent trips for the observation of Tatar-Russian schools in the district, first, because it would distract me from my direct duties as an inspector of the teaching school and would require very long-term leaves of absence. Second, there are very few such schools, and I did not have enough motive for travelling to any district or governorate for observation of 1 or 2 schools. Third, since business trips needed to be made when required and at the discretion of the district curator, and my travel expenses appropriate to the position of a Tatar school inspector were not covered, but in the case of a business trip I was given money from the travel treasury. My business trips occurred when there was particular need for them. I was requested to travel on business twice during the period when I held the position of Tatar school inspector: once I travelled to the Vyatka and Kazan Guberniyas [Laishevo Uyezd] in December of 1883 to inspect the recently opened schools in the village of Kugarchin and two reopened one-year Tatar schools in the village of Akkuzino and Bitkovo of the Yelabuga Uyezd. The purpose of that trip, as I stated in my report, was not only revisionary but also a general one, as I set my mind on getting an idea of the attitude of the communities towards the schools in the region close to Kazan, the centre of Mohammedan fanaticism, and the region farther from it [Yelabuga Uyezd] in order to acquire an overview of the spiritual influence of Kazan on the nearest settlements. This task interested me then because I had to find out which district should be inspected first in case of an order from higher authorities to implement the inspection of Mohammedan schools. As for teaching and learning activities, I found all the schools I visited satisfactory and did not notice any particular problems, on the contrary, the schools in Bitkovo and Terski [the latter is financed from Yelabuga zemstvo funds] made a very favourable impression. The second business trip was to Astrakhan in 1887. Asking permission of the district curator, I reported to His Excellency about my intention to attempt inspecting local Mohammedan theological schools [maktab and madrasahs]—that is, to take a step toward bringing into action the supreme order of 5 February 1882 and, in addition to that, to revise existing schools foreign to the Tatars. This intention was approved by Mr. curator, who instructed me to exercise extreme caution so as not to cause any public unease in Tatar society and to begin inspecting only with the consent of the local governor. Astrakhan seemed to be a more convenient place for this purpose because it is quite an important centre of Islamic culture; however, the clergy and Mohammedan schools in Astrakhan are significantly isolated from Kazan's influence. As concerns the educational process, I found the situation in Russian-Tatar schools rather favourable. Moreover, my expectations about beginning to set up control over the Mohammedan schools in places furthest from Kazan were justified, which I had the honour of mentioning in my trip report.

Next the inspection of Vyatka schools finds that 'teachers of Tatar schools, who are graduates of the Kazan teacher training school, are not given the right instructions concerning the teaching techniques which are necessary to use in non-Russian schools while teaching Russian. This is seen from the way they give lessons in their schools.' In order to develop teaching skills, students of the teacher training school—beginning in year 4—take turns every day practising teaching techniques at the elementary school affiliated with the teacher training school. They do it under the direct supervision of a teacher at this elementary school and an inspector from the teacher training school. Teachers listen to them as they give a lesson, and the shortcomings of the pupils giving lessons are pointed out and discussed with

every pupil who has given a lesson. During lessons on pedagogy and didactics they are given both general teaching techniques and those most suitable for use in Tatar primary schools. Whether or not these techniques are correct, I can only say that there might be a lot of shortcomings as we had no ready-made models to follow when we developed them. Tatar-Russian teaching is a relatively new thing, which began only after the Inspectorate of Tatar schools was set up in the 1870s, when there was not a single school. These techniques had to be worked out depending on the circumstances and peculiarities of the newly-established schools. I myself studied them, too, working as a teacher for 6–7 years at the Tatar junior college and in a Russian class affiliated with a Kazan madrasah headed by the former inspector Radlov. I studied and have been studying them since 1878 as a teacher and since 1881 as an inspector of the teacher training school. During my visits to the schools the teachers, who had completed a course at the Kazan Tatar teacher training school, used these techniques, and, as far as I can see, they are using them now while teaching Russian classes at the madrasah and in Kazan Tatar schools.

In the light of the aforementioned, in conclusion, I have the honour to most respectfully present to your Excellency my humble views:

a) There is an urgent need to compile and publish the best books for Tatar schools since the books published by Mr Radlov as pilot models are not devoid of imperfections. Moreover, it is necessary to publish translations of the books, which the Tatar population could use to learn about the history and geography of Russia and other useful facts from various fields of knowledge. It could arouse Tatars' awareness of how beneficial access to Russian culture can be and could also give rise to closer relations with the Russian world and its world outlook. The exclusively religious education, which Tatar young men receive at madrasahs and maktabas, provides them no practical skills and deprives them of an well rounded development, leaving them totally ignorant of the world around them.

b) The poor state in which the Russian-Tatar schools currently find themselves is rooted in the cultural and social conditions in which they have to exist. It is also caused by the fact that Islam is estranged from the Russian world. It [Islam] is quite a tight-knit community, which satisfies its own spiritual needs. Therefore, so far it has not sought light and knowledge outside its limits. Mullahs and the madrasah as well as the religion of the Quran in general give them spiritual nourishment in abundance and meet the shallow needs of the ignorant Tatar's mind and heart. Under these circumstances the Russian school is still powerless to win popular support and arouse society's interest towards it. Nor can it pave the way to this community and make its presence secure and lasting in a community, which for centuries has been firmly enveloped by well-established religious and moral outlooks. A school teacher in a Tatar settlement is a worthless and isolated member, who is influenced by the environment rather than influencing it. The pupils attend school making strictly precise demands to teach them to read and write as they do not need anything else. If the teacher does not want to comply with their requirements, they do not come. The small number of pupils may displease the authorities, so to avoid dissatisfaction, the teacher gladly admits whoever comes, and they also care about those pupils who play truant and admit pupils at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of the school year. Due to all this there are as many as 4–5 departments in the Russian-Tatar schools but not two–three, and some pupils are taught by the teacher individually. The future teacher of a Tatar-Russian school is admitted to the teacher training school when they have reached 15 years of age, having been brought up by a Tatar family, in a Tatar madrasah, and in the Tatar community. After staying here for 4 years, they, as teachers of Russian, come back to the same community. It is little wonder that old habits, their native tongue and native customs, their Tatar way of life soon take the upper hand and suppress the awakened powers and abilities within them. The knowledge and ideas instilled into them gradually become less coherent and partly become forgotten, and in several years' time the teacher loses half of the acquired knowledge. The inadequate state of education in the Russian-Tatar schools is not the fault of the teacher training school. This inadequacy is caused by the insurmountable living conditions, which make the Russian-Tatar schools stillborn institutions.

c) Extending the course to 5 or 6 years will improve the qualitative and quantitative knowledge of the pupils studying at the teacher training school both in Russian and other subjects, which will result in their better general development. But this fact won't bring tangible results while there are fundamental obstacles in the living conditions of the Tatar masses, and the aim of closer relations and the unification of the non-Russian Tatar elements with Russian people will remain almost as in its current state.

d) The education of Muslim youth should be in the hands of government bodies, and Muslim colleges should not be an abnormal phenomenon within the general stream of public education in Russia, which is where they are now. While not only purely Russian educational institutions but also schools of other nationalities enjoy the state's attention and wide patronage, Mahometan maktabas and madrasahs

are left to their own resources, thus de facto left without any supervision, and their life, direction, and spirit of teaching are being developed quite freely and, unfortunately, to the detriment of the government's aspirations aimed at educating non-Russians.

I provided the Russian-Tatar schools with the available textbooks, which had been compiled directly for Tatar schools, as well as with various manuals and textbooks in general. I sent books on those subjects that I supervise to schools on the basis of need, while those subjects that were supervised by local head teachers and the inspectors of public schools [colleges] received books by application.

f) While inspecting the schools, I found their state of education satisfactory, and the minor shortcomings were pointed out to the teachers directly and orally. I did not introduce changes into the techniques and methods of teaching, steadily following in this respect Radlov, the former inspector of Tatar schools, who was more experienced in teaching non-Russians than I. I did my best to maintain the things he had created and what I had been instructed to do before a new inspector was appointed by the ministry. This appointment did not take place, and I worked until the expected time arrived, and the Inspectorate of Tatar, Bashkir, and Kirghiz schools of the Kazan school district was abolished.

Source: The Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, fund 47, inv. 2, file 39, sheets 591–605. Copy.

***Education and training of Tatars in the columns
of the newspaper 'Tarzheman' ['Translator']***

**No. 8
A Letter from Siberia**

Adji Nigmatulla bai Seidyukov, the famous merchant from Tyumen, who lives in the village of Malchin, and is known in many places of Western Siberia and Stepnoy Krai for his utmost charity, did his native village much good. I made up my mind to write about this so as to show this honourable man as an example to other people who are interested in the life and achievements of the Muslim community. Adji Nigmatulla bai had a substantial stone building built in the village of Malchin for a library and supplied it with a thousand books in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, both printed and handwritten. Having deposited enough money in a bank to employ a keeper and a watchman for the library on the bank's interest, he took care of it for all the time. The library is open for any person willing to use it. Visitors will find cordial hospitality here.

Upon learning of the best methods that exist in primary education, Adji Nigmatulla bai decided without hesitation to donate a model maktab to his village. To this end, a competent teacher was invited, and a special stone building was built. In five months' time the new children, of which there were 55, learned to read and a few to write, which was an unheard-of success in our parts as contrasted with the old method and discipline used in our maktab. On seeing the unexpected success, many Muslims were moved to tears, feeling sorry for the time they had lost in ignorance. At present, nearly 100 children are planning to study and they come to school most willingly, while they had to be driven with a stick to the maktab where the old method was used. I will inform you of the teaching methods next time.

M. Kh.

Source: Tarzheman-Translator. 1891. No. 6. 22 February.

**No. 9
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<...> Reformed maktab already exist in the Yalta Uyezd, in Bakhchysaray, Feodosiya, Simferopol, Kasimov, Kazan, Iletsk, Orenburg, in the village of Chukry in the Ufa Guberniya; in the village of Malchin in the Tobolsk Guberniya, the city of Tara, in Semipalatinsk, and some other places. Everywhere there is news of excellent progress. In several months' time children begin to read and write in Tatar, read in Arabic, and by all means they will be more successful after one year than after three years, as it used to be.

Source: Tärceman -Translator. 1891. No. 8. 8 March.

No. 10

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A letter from Sergiopol, the Semirechensk Region, says that until recently there was not a madrasah in this town where Muslim children could learn religion. Imam Habibulla Mkhzum Kazyev, who has been recently invited, opened a good madrasah and was able to admit no fewer than 70 pupils.

Elementary education in this madrasah will be taught under a new method using the textbook 'Khovadzhe i-Subyan.'

Mudarris [the teacher] completed a course of Muslim sciences in the city of Troitsk, in the madrasah taught by damolla Akhmed Khadji gazreta²¹.

Tärceman-Translator. 1891. No. 11. 3 April.

No. 11

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From the town of Karkaralinsk, Khalilulla Bikmetev reports to us that imam and mudarris Mr. Kes-haf-Eddin Shakhmerdan oglu, on using the new textbook 'Hovadzhe-i-Subyan' to teach beginners in his madrasah, achieved amazing results: after studying for 4 months, 8–10-year-old boys mastered reading and writing so well that they can write down everything they hear and can read and understand any book and manuscript. All this was proved by an examination given to the children.

Source: Tärceman-Translator. 1891. No. 12. 12 April.

No. 12

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We have received word from Moscow that at the examination held in the maktab run by mullah Safa Alimov, in the presence of honourable people and parents, 7–8-year-old children displayed unprecedented progress in reading and writing. After beginning their studies last October they were already able to write and read in Tatar and read and understand Arabic by this March, having studied for 6 months. The children's progress was certified by those present, among whom was the signature of the Orenburg merchant Adji Akhmed Khusainov. This maktab makes use of the textbook 'Hovadzhe-i-Subyan.'

Source: Tärceman-Translator. 1891. No. 14. 26 April.

No. 13

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The problem of how to improve the teaching methods used in children's elementary madrasahs and in higher colleges [madrasahs], which was raised by the 'Translator' several years ago, seems to be more and more worrying to Muslims. Those children's maktabas which employ the new kind of teaching are known to have been opened in different places and are quite successful. Next is the turn of the madrasahs. In Bakhchysaray the madrasah 'Zindzherli' began to teach in the new fashion, and another one here will soon be reorganised. Other guberniyas also seem to be thinking about the reform, for recently Mr Khasyankayev, the kalfa at Agryz madrasah, which is in the Vyatka Guberniya, visited Bakhchysaray²² to study the new method so as to use it in his madrasah. Mr Khasyankayev is considering running the shakirds' hostel and classes more efficiently by introducing compulsory examinations and limiting the length of the course. This young mullah produced the best impression on us, being deeply convinced of the necessity to reform our system of education and extend the training programme. It was nice of him to remark that we keep learning but still know nothing.

Source: Tärceman-Translator. 891. No. 23. 14 July.

²¹ Khazret is meant here.

²² Khalfa is implied.

No. 14**Ufa**

It has been some time since the local Muslim community spoke of the necessity to open a maktab, which employs the new method of teaching, but in spite of the large population and the presence of the Religious Mahometan Association, things did not get going. It was only a month and a half ago that the young mullah Mr Bagaeddin Maksudov opened a maktab in his own house and began to teach using the new method. On visiting his classes the other day, I was amazed at his achievements, and I have no doubts that by the summer the children will have learned reading and writing. I would like to draw attention to the Ufa murzas [gentry] to this maktab. If they support Khodji Maksudov's good initiative, it will be for a good cause, which will make the children's elementary education easier.

A. F.

Source: Tärce-man-Translator. 1891. No. 37. 27 October.

No. 15**Kazan**

In the Yunosov orphanage, which is in our city, children have been taught to read and write in their native Tatar tongue since it was established, but their progress did not meet expectations. Mr Magomed Hakhim Yunusov, the present headmaster of the orphanage, who has travelled a lot and is familiar with schools using the new type, decided to improve teaching in the orphanage. Owing to his efforts, reading and writing in the native tongue have been taught using the new method with the help of the textbook 'Khovadzhe-i-Sybyan,' and the children are making good progress. Mr Khasan-Gata-efendi, who is familiar with the new method and is educated enough to succeed, was entrusted with this task.

The experience of using the new method can have a significant impact on the city's Muslims, that is why all people of good sense must be grateful to M. Yunusov for his good initiative.

Ahmed, M.

Source: Tärce-man-Translator. 1891. No. 44. 13 December

No. 16

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As is seen from the latest reports made by the district and guberniya statistical committees, the Muslim population of the Kazan Guberniya enjoy very few services of the district council, the administration, and city societies in the sphere of public education. To this end, it makes use of specialised Muslim schools, called madrasahs and maktabas, while in district, city, and government schools, where teaching is done in Russian, very few Muslim children study. The number of those studying in the above-mentioned Muslim schools is growing every year, so is the number of schools themselves. Especially noticeable is the growth of madrasahs and maktabas and those studying there in recent years. According to the Guberniya Statistical Committee, in 1889 the number of madrasahs in the guberniya did not exceed 563, and there were 18,354 boys and 9,536 girls studying there. In 1890 there were already 677 madrasahs, with 19,927 boys and 11,390 girls in them. Last year the number of madrasahs grew to 722, and the number of pupils was 20,965 boys and 12,154 girls. Owing to this growth in the number of schools, the Muslim community of the Kazan Guberniya seems to be better provided with schools than the Russian population. While for the Russian population on average there is one school per 1,345.8 people [data as of 1891], the Muslim population has one school per 885 people.

There are 15.6 Muslims for one pupil studying in a madras and one female pupil, while among the Russian population there are 18.5 men for every one male pupil, and 81.9 women for every one female pupil. The Muslim community of the Kazan Uyezd has the largest number of schools, where, according to the Guberniya Statistical Committee, there were 207 schools last year [whereas there were 106 Russian schools].

Source: Tärce-man-Translator. 1892. No. 32. 7 September.

No. 17 About Our Life

The letters we have recently received are unanimous in saying that the new idea of reorganising maktab and improving their teaching has taken up a decisive struggle everywhere against the old idea of the sanctity of the old order, although it was obvious that it was useless. The movement for reform and renewal embraces larger and large areas, which means that there are mindful and intelligent Muslims everywhere wishing to do good for society. <...>

Things are not so successful in the Malmyzh Uyezd of the Kazan Guberniya. There is a large village called Tyunter where there is a maktab and a madrasah. One mullah is an ardent supporter of the new order, while the other is a fervent supporter of the old order and is in a rut. Naturally, this rouses a blind underground struggle, which endangers successful teaching. It is comforting at least that little by little public awareness is leaning more and more towards reform.

In the village of Ideyevo of the Tambov Guberniya, in connection to the new method, a worse situation has arisen, where the villagers are displeased with the children's progress as they are taught by a mullah using the old method <...>

Source: Tärce-man-Translator. 1894. No. 7. 20 February.

No. 18 Kazan

In 1893, on advice proposed by the honourable mudarris Galimjan Barudi, 'a maktab for orphans' was opened at the madrasah. Many of the local merchants covered the expenses to maintain one orphan from those begging at the market and sent them to school to study. In this way the number of children beggars has considerably decreased, and the progress they have made and their good conduct gladden both the donors and all good people.

If those donating to the orphans and their patrons increase their benefactions a little, then those orphans could be taught some trade, which would give them a means of living after they have completed their training. Note that all the donors are regular readers of 'Translator.'

Jamaleddin Khuseynov.

Mudarris Galimdjani Efendi is a very respectable man. He maintains sokht on his own money, teaches free of charge, and is very concerned about improved teaching and the lives of the pupils; he also writes and publishes books.

'Editor'

Source: Tärce-man -Translator. 1896. No. 2. 14 January.

No. 19 * * *

Perm. N. Timkin writes to us: In the newly taught maktab run by Mollah Memed Kerim effendi and established on the recommendation of akhun damolla Nurulla khazaret assisted by the honourary Muslims, examinations were given before Ramadan. Teaching using the new method began on the first of September last year. The large audience and clergymen from among the townspeople, neighbouring villages, and factories were very glad with the children's great achievements made within such a short period of time. There are 130 children studying. Having started with the alphabet, they can readily read, write, and skillfully answer the questions based on the subjects they have covered.

These exams completely consolidated the circulation of the new method and better school routine in the maktab that we have in our region.

Source: Tärce-man-Translator. 1896. No. 9. 3 March.

No. 20 Girls' Education

There are quite a few bad things in the life of Muslim communities, which are maintained by tradition and dominance of 'custom,' which is contrary to common sense and sharia itself. It must be said that

one of this sad things is the complete disregard for the education and training of girls. While something in this respect is done for boys, girls become completely forgotten; some people even say that they do not have to learn [know] anything!

Muslims living in the Volga River basin think it is quite sufficient if a woman can read a little, much less write, but she must know the main rules of the Faith. It does not seem much, but sadly Crimean Muslims have made this miserable syllabus still shorter and only teach girls to read and know the rules of the Faith. In the Caucasus and Central Asia they went even further. As the Muslim alphabet in both the printed and written scripts is absolutely the same, then, fearing that a girl who can read will easily be able to learn to write by herself, girls are not given a book to hold in their hands due to this ungodly custom, and instead the rules of the Faith are just memorised by repeating them after the woman teacher!

Out of ignorance, Muslims are afraid that writing will be put to use by women for evil ends, for example, to communicate with strange people and so on. They think that it follows in accordance with the Sharia and do not suspect that this custom is contrary to the sharia and is a product of Chinese, not Muslim life. In China, according to custom, a woman is not only deprived of literacy, but her feet are also disfigured to prevent her from walking quickly or running.

Muslim law, however, stating that 'reading and writing are different parts of one and the same art' [science], strictly requires that both Muslim men and women be taught 'science.'

Alas, Muslims chose to obey a more barbaric law than sacred law.

A literate girl might write an amorous note...therefore down with literacy! Smart, isn't it? Following this logic, all horses and donkeys should be let free as they sometimes stumble and break the pots they are loaded with; likewise, qadis should not be taught laws as they sometimes can abuse them; oil lamps and candles must be destroyed for they sometimes cause fires...

A man of good sense cannot accept this logic; a true Muslim cannot reject the direct precept of sharia; therefore, it is time to stop being slaves to nasty custom.

However, we are happy to testify that there are quite a few Muslims who are aware of this ruinous, strange and anti-Muslim custom.

They realise that a bad tree cannot yield good fruit, that an educated mother can raise her children better, that the good rules learned from one's mother are never forgotten. Therefore, the more a mother—that is, a woman—knows, the better one's general education and life will be. The ignorant cannot be equal to the learned said the Prophet.

If the still-strong tradition creates obstacles on the way to reorganising women's maktab on a new basis, then, on the other hand, the awakening conscience meets women's training half-way. This is explained by the fact that like rare stars twinkling in a black and cloudy sky, there are so far only five maktab for girls where the new method is used, and the girls are taught to read, write, count, as well as Muslim law and some needlework. These are the maktab in the city of Tara [Siberia]; in the villages of Dzhav-Bash and Tatarbai, which are in the Kasimov Uyezd; one maktab in Bakhchysaray, and a maktab in the town of Nukh in Elizabeth Guberniya. All these maktab are taught by women using the phonic method and the syllabus of our textbook <...>.

Source: Tärce-man-Translator. 1896. No. 36. 15 September.

No. 21 Rare Muslim Women

It is very gratifying to hear of literate and even more gratifying to hear of educated Muslim women. We will give two examples for our female readers and subscribers. From Ufa, we are told that Bibi Khanifa Niazova from Tara, daughter of the famous mullah Burundukov who teaches girls, is known for her in depth knowledge of Turkish and Arabic written languages and has a perfect command of sharia science.

Bibi Khanifa does honour to the Muslims of the city of Tara. <...>

Source: Tärce-man-Translator. 1892. No. 40. 8 November.

No. 22
An attack against reforms

Recently Tatar society has been interested in improving the teaching in maktab and making it easier. To this end elementary reading books have been published, and in many places maktab and school routines have been more or less improved. The results have won still greater sympathy of the people. However, there are still quite a few blockheaded, inveterate advocates of stagnation who are ready to argue that two times two is five. They want to improve or adjust the teaching.

Not long ago one of these advocates published a 16-page book entitled 'The Alphabet.' It contains only 2–3 pages resembling the 'alphabet,' while the other pages are devoted to useless speeches and evidence of 'sinful' innovations in education. Having written and published 'The Alphabet,' from which not only children but also teachers will not understand anything, the mullah author, in order to impress the 'Innovators,' misuses the Quran and the Prophets' words and tries to show the sinfulness of the new teaching method.

This impudent treatment of the holy texts for the sake of stagnation compels us to give a brief answer to this half-mullah. We say 'half-mullah' because a real mullah would never write or publish silly things.

The half-mullah says that those using the new method are changing the ancient holy alphabet. This is a most outrageous lie. Take all the new alphabet books and see if they have even one new letter. You should be ashamed to lie to an entire people! What will they say about you? The half-mullah says that the new method is a product of the new times and betrayal of the sacred old times. The mullah does not know history, or he would not say such things. The desire to improve teaching and make it easier is very old. The first Muslim Kufa writings were without dots and signs. Soon after the Prophet dots and signs were introduced to make it easier for people. Then other improvements were made as both ulamas and the people thought made good sense.

The half-mullah says that he follows his ancestors. That is a lie. The ancestors cared about general education and did their best to make it easier, but what he wants to do is quite the opposite.

The half-mullah says that, according to holy precept, minor deeds done by the Sunnah are more beneficial than major deeds done according to a bad custom.

Of course, it is better to earn less by working honestly than to earn much, say, by stealing or by fraudulent bankruptcy; but what makes you think that to 'teach children for five years and make them learn nothing' is Sunnah? Why do you distort and confuse the hadiths by quoting those that are not applicable here?

Non-Arabic people cannot write in their native tongues without using the letters 'ch-zh-P.' These three letters were adopted back in the Abbasid Caliphate, but through your ignorance and lack of knowledge you revolt against them. You should be ashamed. You say the Prophet said to take the road that most Muslims take.

If it is so, if you understand what you are writing, why then are you opposed to improving maktab teaching? The majority of Muslims are taking this road. The new method and better training are in fact dominant among Muslims in Tunisia, Egypt, Turkey, India, and many other places, to say nothing of many regions of Russia. But you know nothing and read nothing, and you think that you make up 'the majority.'

We hope that the honourable Kazan ulamas will teach you some more, and the Orenburg Mufti will notice your inappropriate writings.

Source: Tärce-man-Translator. 1896. No. 46. 25 November.

No. 23
From the lives of Russian Muslims

<...> In most guberniyas, where there is a Muslim community, societies and individual benefactors are introducing new teaching methods. From the Kasimov Uyezd 'the voice of a Muslim woman' is sounding, advocating for educating and training girls. To do this, she publishes thousands of copies of a book to popularise a good deed.²³

Mr Khuseynov in Orenburg and Mr Galeev in Kazan have established madrasahs where teaching is done comparatively well. In Troitsk school reform has become so popular that a pamphlet will soon be

²³ *Author's notes:* See No. 21.

published that demonstrates the necessity of reforms and disproves the old ideas in the book written by Arifulla Efendi from Kazan.

We will finish our review by giving you a pleasant piece of news that a Muslim has the honour to take an active part in the Moscow Elizabethan Charitable Society. Recently honourable Adjı Hudein Baibekov has been elected as a member of the auditing commission of this society, which is under the highest patronage of Her Majesty Empress Maria Feodorovna.

Source: Tärceınan-Translator. 1897. No. 22. 3 June.

*Excerpts from reports filed by the heads of provinces
and regions of the Russian empire about innovative Tatar schools.*

No. 24

**Notification No. 6 on innovative colleges sent by military governor of the Turgay Region
on 12 January 1901 to the police department**

Top Secret

To the Police Department

Following Memorandum No. 13419 of 31 December of the previous year, I have the honour to report to the department that in my region there are no authors of innovative books among the Tatar writers. Therefore, I leave items 1–3 of the above memorandum unanswered and find it necessary to dwell only on item 4.

In the Turgay Region religious education of Kirghiz young men is mainly in the hands of Tatars, who temporarily live in great numbers on the steppe among the nomads as their tutors, or they admit Kirghiz children to their Tatar schools that are found in the neighbouring towns and villages: in Orenburg (at the mosque run by Khusainov), in Kargal (at Ishan Hairula Zeinullin), in Iletskaia Zashchita, Orsk, Verkhneuralsk, Troitsk, and others. All these places have Tatar schools with innovative teaching methods. In the region itself the Kirghiz do not have schools that use the new methods, though it is difficult to deny that those Kazan Tatars, who supervise Muslim education among the nomads, do not use the new method of teaching Muslim grammar. Before 1984 the indigenous schools were supervised by the uyezd administration; after that year they were removed from its jurisdiction and assigned to the officials at the Ministry of Public Education, who actually do not supervise them and even have no idea of the number of these schools. This can be proven by a memorandum recently sent to me by the trustee of the school district (No. 5821 of 20 December of last year), in which he asks me to gather complete information about all Mahometan schools in the region, including the dates they were established, their locations, the teachers' names, etc. Therefore, the indigenous schools in the region remain without the necessary supervision, although in the immediate past the district education committee made attempts to put them under supervision. In 1893 this committee worked out a draft of 'Instructions on Measures Aimed at Establishing the Actual Subordination of the Indigenous Schools in the Turgay Region, Both Maktabs and Madrasas, to the Educational Authorities.' However, the instructions were never adopted.

Although I am unable to give the names of those Kirghiz who could be authors of the innovative writings or name schools in the regions where new methods of teaching are used, I can still say that the innovative works of Tatar writers are accessible in the steppe. In 1899 Aktyubinsk head of uyezd found out (by chance) packages of books addressed to Hazret Safa Nurfeisov (from Bakhchysaray) published by Gasprinsky; or another example: last year the house of Kirghiz Suleiman Suyundukov was searched, and among the books that belonged to him there were 8 books published in Istanbul, several books from Bakhchysaray, and a map (of Muslim countries) of the same edition. These examples are not the exception, according to eyewitnesses among the officials of the regional government, innovative writings have disseminated widely in the steppe; they are delivered to the well-to-do people from among the Kirghiz and Hazreti.

Having mentioned the hazreti, I must add that over the last 5–10 years in my region there has been an increase of both hazreti and ishanas, who surround their lives with mystery and can influence people, according to those who know the steppe well. It looks as if the ishanas and hazreti have in a sense divided the region into sections, built homes for themselves, acquired murids (their followers), and are people of importance to whom attention must be paid. There are hardly any people at my disposal through which I could receive exact and truthful information about these religious leaders' activity in the steppe. In uyezds that are 50–80 square versts in size, besides the head and his assistant there are volost stewards from among the Kirghiz, who in most cases are illiterate, look at life through the eyes

of common people, and willingly conceal any backwardness or religious ignorance. Nevertheless, I am gathering information about the hazreti and ishanas, and if their activities provide information, which will help to clarify the question asked by the department, then it will be added to this answer of mine.

In conclusion, I consider it my duty to say that in general the Kirghiz are not fanatics of the Mahometan faith, and their resettlement to Russian areas, sufficient expert supervision by peasant supervisors, and police supervision, the bodies whose establishment my predecessor and I have been especially requesting, will ensure that Turgay Region is on the right track of merging with the fatherland and is made free from manifestations of fanaticism in the faith professed by Kirghiz people.

Military Governor, General Major: signature

Senior Councilor: signature

Clerk: signature

Source: State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 102, DP00, inv. 226 (1898) file 11, part 3, pp. 27–29 reverse. Original.

No. 25

Notification No. 559 by Perm Governor to the police department of 27 February 1901 about innovative colleges

Top Secret

To the Police Department

Following Memorandum No. 13412 of 31 December 1900, I have the honour to inform the police department that there are no authors of innovative works among the Muslim community living in my province; there is also no connection between the supporters of the new movement and the Young Turks, nor are there new trends from Turkey or any other foreign Muslim centre among the local Muslim community. This community mainly consists of people engaged in all sorts of trade and unskilled laborers, who are hardly interested in Mahometan literature or show any intellectual interests. Only Shagimardan Sagdudtinov, mullah at Nadezhdinsk mosque, which is in the Verkhotursky Uyezd, and the ahunds Muslyumov from the village of Tersyuk and Yagudin from the village of Ichkishi, both of the Shadrinsk Uyezd, are subscribers to Tärceman (Translator) magazine edited by Morza Ismail Gasprinsky from Crimea. In addition, in the city of Yekaterinburg, on Studyonaya Street, in the house of the Agafurov brothers, Mahometan children are taught Tatar reading and writing and the foundations of Muslim religious doctrine under the guidance of Yekaterinburg mullah Abdul-Khakim Abdul-Latypov using the Gasprinsky textbook. The teaching aids and premises are provided by 'Brothers Agafurov Trading House.' Up to 60 boys attend lessons there. Besides this, at Nadezhdinsk Plant, which is in the Verkhotursky Uyezd, Muslim children learn Mahometan reading and writing under the guidance of the local mullah Shagimardan Sagdudtinov using books published in 1897–1899 by the same Gasprinsky. The mullahs did not seek any permission to teach their parishioners' children as they think that their title obliges them to teach. There are no other schools where new teaching methods are used, and Mahometan children learn to read and write and the Mahometan religious doctrine at the local mullahs' homes or at maktab connected to a mosque where old methods of teaching are used.

Governor, Lieutenant General: signature

Acting Clerk: signature

Source: State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 102, DP00, inv. 226 (1898), file 11, part 3, pp. 43–44. Original.

No. 26

Notification No. 48 of 7 March 1901 by the military governor of the Ural Region to the police department about innovative Muslim schools

Top Secret

To the Police Department

Following Memorandum No. 13420 of 31 December of last year, I have the honour to inform the department that 1) according to the information sent to me by the regional inspector of public schools and heads of uyezds, in my region there are no authors of innovative works among the Tatar men of letters; 2) no propaganda of new ideas in Tatar culture in the region is observed; 3) the few Tatars living in the town of Guryev, who know of the innovative ideas spread by Gasprinsky about the convenience of the method in teaching literacy and the use of general education for Muslims, are probably quite indifferent

to these ideas; 4) in aul (village) schools, madrasahs, and maktabas the Mahometan religious doctrine is taught by semi-literate public and private mullahs, who strictly adhere to the old doctrine, and 5) according to the inspector of public schools who supervised all the elementary schools in the region, including the madrasahs, only in the Ural second madrasah the teacher Nuriakhmet Gyadsyatullin and his assistant Akhmet-Safa Baiteryakov teach Muslim children using the new method. This madrasah is run by public mullah Tuffatullin, and besides the above two teachers there is a senior teacher called Miftakhuddinov, who uses the old teaching method. Gyadsyatullin first studied in Bugulma and then in Orenburg madrasah, while Baiteryakov, according to him, studied at the Ural madrasah. Gyadsyatullin is 40 years old, and Baiteryakov is 27. Besides, in the Temir Kirghiz Uyezd, in aul No. 6 of Elebensk volost (district), mullah Hagi Kultullin teaches his children reading and writing using a phonic method. Kultullin himself originally studied in Sterlitamak or Kargal (he himself does not know it well) and then in Khiva.

Military Governor, Lieutenant General: signature

On behalf of the Councilor: signature

Sources: State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 102, DP00, inv. 226 (1898) file 11, part 3, pp. 47–48. Original.

No. 27

Governor of Ryazan notification of 13 March 1901 No. 489 to the Police Department on new method Muslim schools

Top Secret

To the Police Department

Following Memorandum No. 13413 of 31 December of last year regarding the new social and intellectual movement revealing itself among the Muslim population of Russia and reflected in the spheres of religion, school, and literature, I have the honour to inform the Police Department that in the guberniya I am entrusted with the Muslim population is concentrated almost entirely in the town of Kasimov and its uyezd, hence signs of a progressive movement among the Tatar ethnic group could emerge only in this district.

By my privately gathered detailed information, there are no authors of any innovative literary works whatsoever from among permanent residents of the town of Kasimov and the Kasimov Uyezd, and similarly there are no persons who have a higher scientific education. It is being noticed in the Muslim community that the young generation strives to educate children with a new phonetic method using the textbook of Ismail Gasprinsky, who received the status of an honorary member of the Kasimov Islamic charity society. There are books of the latest edition in circulation among the local Tatar population that by their content are considered innovative views, such as works by Devlet-Kildeev, Bayazitov, and Murza Alim. The whole young generation should be regarded as supporters of the new movement among the Kasimov Tatar population, but it is difficult to ascertain whether there is any connection between the followers of the reformist views in Kasimov and the Young Turks. It has been established that the teacher of the Kasimov madrasah Muhammed Khasan Toshrov corresponds with Constantinople, to which he nearly on a monthly basis sends cash transfers of 15 and more rubles to the address: Nursalih Karimov, Constantinople. One of the teachers of the town maktabas Hasan Bulatov, who runs a private school, used to study in Constantinople, but it is still unclear whether he maintains relations with it at present. Through the postal telegraph office many Muslims receive the Tarceman (Translator) newspaper published by Gasprinsky. No other traces of communication of the Kasimov Muslim world with any foreign centres have been discovered, which can be partly explained by the fact that Kasimov is not an autonomous centre of Islam and depends on Kazan, from which books are often sent to teachers and pupils of Kasimov Muslim schools. So last December many books were sent to Kasimov to Fatahetdin Batarov and Abdulla Syundyukov, and to Hasan Bulatov this January.

Since undoubtedly the most powerful tool for influencing the young generation and bringing it up in a particular direction and principles is education of the youth, Muslim schools and the organisation of the teaching process in them deserve special attention under the present conditions. Meanwhile, these schools are not under the control of the Russian authorities and not visited by any Russians; and since classes are taught in the Tatar language, and teachers do not send in reports about the lessons and programmes taught in schools, it does not even seem possible to have them put under any real supervision. All information about Tatar schools, when required, has to be borrowed from these same Muslims. With

all this, knowing the external condition of Muslim schools and the intellectual level of their pupils and teachers, it must be concluded that the educational process in Kasimov Muslim schools is organised extremely unsatisfactorily.

The town of Kasimov and its uyezd have a madrasah, a secondary educational institution, and 17 primary schools, maktab, a list of which is attached hereto. The madrasah has a nine-year course of study. The goal of this institution is to prepare mullahs. The main subject taught in the madrasah is the Quran and Arabic, the secular lessons include geography, logic and history, but these subjects are of secondary significance. Maktab teach Islamic law, reading and writing in Tatar, and the four arithmetic operations. The Russian language is not studied either in madrasahs or in maktab, classes are taught in the Tatar language, and that is why many madrasah graduates can hardly speak Russian. In order to obtain the certificate of command of the Russian language, which is necessary to be appointed as a mullah, some of them study with Russian tutors.

The contingent of teachers in both the secondary and primary schools is quite poor. For the nine-year madrasah there is only one teacher, a certain Hasan Tagirov, who studied in the Kazan madrasah and is not regarded by his pupils as a well-educated person. He is even not acquainted with the phonetic method of teaching language.

In the majority of maktab the function of teachers is fulfilled by mullahs, often absolutely poorly educated people, who are, on top of that, distracted from school affairs by their congregational duties.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Muslims are not satisfied with their mullahs and demand proper teachers for maktab. By the information collected from the Muslims, the phonetic method of teaching reading and writing exists only in six maktab, while the other ones use the old letter-subjunctive method. Such an inadequate situation will continue in Muslim schools as long as Muslim education continues to be, as it is now, private and remains out of any control of the educational authorities. In view of the above and for my part I would consider it necessary to arrange for the appropriate supervision over Muslim schools and introduce compulsory Russian language classes. An understanding of the Russian language would be quite useful also in the sense that, having studied Russian in their primary schools, the Muslims would go more willingly to Russian secondary educational institutions, which is presently difficult because Muslim children almost have a complete lack of knowledge of the Russian language and cannot study the disciplines of a school course taught in this unknown language.

By the way, this explains the fact that in the secondary seven-year mechanical-technical college in Kasimov, despite measures taken to help Muslim children to access this educational institution, there are at present only six Muslims out of the total number of 205 pupils, while this academic year not a single Muslim has demonstrated the intention to enter the college.

Irrespective of the above, in order to make it easier to supervise all the new tendencies emerging in the areas of school, religion, and literature in the Muslim world as well as the state of public opinion of the Tatar population, it would seem quite appropriate if a special interpreter was assigned for local authorities, who lack knowledge of the Tatar language, and the local police is helped with a free access to the required reports and various confidential information from the Kasimov postal telegraph office about the correspondence maintained between the local Tatars and other centres of the Islamic world and about all the Kasimov Islamic books that are being mailed.

Governor, Equerry of His Majesty's Court: signature

Head of the Registry: signature

Source: State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 102, DP00, inv. 226, (1898) file 11, part 3, pp. 51–53a. Original.

Table 1 (see below pp. 951–954)

**A list of the Tatar schools (maktab and madrasah)
in the town of Kasimov and the Kasimov Uyezd by 1 January 1901
(Appendix to the Governor of Ryazan Notification of 13 March 1901, No. 489)**

Source: State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 102, DP00, inv. 226, (1898) file 11, part 3, pp. 55–60. Original.

	Name of the school and its location	Population size in the area		Number of pupils		Year the school was opened	By whose authorisation	Whether Russian is taught, and if yes, who teaches this subject	Who teaches in the school (name, surname, title, moral qualities, and loyalty)	Which subjects and in what language and by which method (phonetic or other)	Which of the leaders of the Mohammedan faith visited schools and when (control)
		male	female	boys	girls						
3	Parochial maktab in Kasimov	583	659	45	–	More than 80 years	It is not known who authorised it, and there is no permit at the school	Is not taught	Hasan Izatulov Devlikanov, a peasant of the suburban Tatar Sloboda of the town of Kasimov; Salim Gireyev Muratov, Kasimov burgher (meshhanin), of good conduct and loyal	The Quran, arithmetic, the Arabic language, all in Tatar using the phonetic method	
4	Maktab in the village of Sobakino	352	317	50	–	Exists since time immemorial, according to the residents	There are no records about it, but undoubtedly no authorization has ever been granted	Is not taught	Mullah of the village of Sobakino Zakir Kondrakov and a peasant of the village of Gorenki, the Kerensky Uyezd of the Penza Guberniya, Aynulla Arslanov, 47 years old, have been together teachers in the village of Sobakino already for 8 years, these persons are of good conduct and loyal	Subjects taught in Tatar and Arabic using the old method include the story of the prophets, eluciations are given on the Quran, the four basic arithmetic operations and prayer procedures in the mosque	The schools have never been and are not visited by any leader of the Mohammedan faith, and there is no control whatsoever over them.
5	Maktab in the village of Tsaritsyno	310	325	35	–	No one remembers the opening of the school	It is not known	Is not taught	Mullah Alek Devlikanov and peasant of the village of Staroe Allagulovo of the Krasnoslobodsky Uyezd Abdrahman Fancullin Avannov, 65 years old, a teacher for 40 years, both are of good conduct and loyal	The same subjects are taught in Tatar using the new method	

	Name of the school and its location	Population size in the area		Number of pupils		Year the school was opened	By whose authorisation	Whether Russian is taught, and if yes, who teaches this subject	Who teaches in the school (name, surname, title, moral qualities, and loyalty)	Which subjects and in what language and by which method (phonetic or other)	Which of the leaders of the Mohammedan faith visited schools and when (control)
		male	female	boys	girls						
6	Maktab in the village of Torbayevo	371	319	30	16	More than 70 years ago	It is not known girls have been admitted to study for five years	Is not taught	Peasant of the village of Mokrye Kumali of the Laishvevo Uyezd, the Kazan Guberniya, Mahmut Zemyaletdinov, 27 years old, teaches for the first year, studied in Kazan; the girls' school is located in a private house, the teacher is the widow of a peasant of the Kazan Uyezd Sagadat Latfullina Suleymanova, 26 years old, studied in the city of Kazan, of good conduct	In Tatar using the phonetic method, subjects taught are arithmetic, geography, and Russian history	
7	Maktab in the village of Bolotse	457	474	50	–	More than sixty years ago	It is not known	Is not taught	Two mullahs of the village of Bolotse Arif and Shakir Biktemirov are of good conduct and loyal	In Tatar the same subjects using the phonetic method	
8	Maktab in the village of Podlipki	–	–	29	–	From time immemorial	It is not known	Is not taught	Mullah Hasan Shirinsky and a peasant of the village of Bolshiye Rebuskiny of the Kurysh Uyezd, the Simbirsk Guberniya, Arifulla Tatretzinov, 25 years old; both these persons are of good conduct, loyal	In Tatar using the old method, teaches to read and write and gives elucidation on the Quran and the story of the prophets	
9	Girls' school in the village of Podlipki	–	474	–	19	At the end of 1900	Without permission	Is not taught	Peasant woman of the village of Ust-Rakhmanki of the Krasnoslobodsky Uyezd Latifa Sayfetdinova Chudinina, a 35-year-old widow, of good conduct and loyal	In Tatar using the old method, teaches to read and write	

	Name of the school and its location	Population size in the area		Number of pupils		Year the school was opened	By whose authorisation	Whether the Russian language is taught, and if yes, who teaches this subject	Who teaches in the school (name, surname, title, moral qualities, and loyalty)	Which subjects and in what language and by which method (phonetic or other)	Which of the leaders of the Mohammedan faith visited schools and when (control)
		male	female	boys	girls						
10	Maktab in the village of Koverskoye	59	46	4	3	More than 70 years ago	It is not known	Is not taught	Mullah Utyaganov Abdul Kayum, of good conduct and loyal	In Tatar using the old method, teaches to read and write	
11	Maktab in the village of Almatovo	105	112	15	–	At the end of 1900	Without permission	Is not taught	A private in reserve of the peasants of the village of Bigeyevo of the Kuznetsky Uyezd, the Saratov Guberniya, Musya Abdul Alishev Ayupov, 26 years old, studied at the Kastrov college in Kasimov, is of good conduct and loyal	In Tatar using the old method, teach the story of the prophets and the Quran	
12	Maktab in the village of Shakhshanovo	98	96	14	2	At the end of 1899	Without permission	Is not taught	A peasant of the village of Staroye Allagulovo of the Krasnoslobodsky Uyezd Dzyarulla Rakhmatullin Ivanov, 29 years old, studied at the Bolotino college, is of good conduct and loyal	By the phonetic method in Tatar and Turkish languages, teach the story of the prophets, the Quran, and the four arithmetic operations	
13	Maktab in the village of Muntovo	185	177	25	–	About a hundred years ago	It is not known	Is not taught	A peasant of the village of Kondrykul of the Belebeysky Uyezd, the Ufa Guberniya, Muhamet Zakir Muhamet Gadeyev, 30 years old, has been a teacher for two years, himself studied at the Kastrov college in Kasimov, is of good conduct	By the phonetic method, teach the story of the prophets, the Quran, and arithmetic in Tatar and Turkish languages	

	Name of the school and its location	Population size in the area		Number of pupils		Year the school was opened	By whose authorisation	Whether Russian is taught, and if yes, who teaches this subject	Who teaches in the school (name, surname, title, moral qualities, and loyalty)	Which subjects and in what language and by which method (phonetic or other)	Which of the leaders of the Mohammedan faith visited schools and when (control)
		male	female	boys	girls						
14	Maktab in the village of Cheta-yevo	31	17	4	—	More than a hundred years ago	It is not known	Is not taught	Mullah Altybaev Abdul, of good conduct and loyal	In Tatar using the old method, the subjects taught are the story of the prophets, the Quran, and arithmetic	
15	Maktab in the village of Teminovo	109	168	15	2	In 1898	Without permission	Is not taught	Mullah Muhametjan Bayazitov, of good conduct and loyal	At Teminovo school, in Tatar, the same subjects using the new method	
16	A private school in the village of Bagishevo	57	35	20	2	In 1865	With the permission of the mullah of the town of Kasimov	Is not taught	A peasant of the village of Allagulovo of the Krasnoslobodsky Uyezd, the Penza Guberniya, Abubeker Ibragimov Altysh, of good conduct and moral qualities	Mohammed-an divine law, arithmetic, and writing exercises, using the old method	The mullah of the town of Kasimov visits the school from one to five times a year
17	Maktab in the village of Sentovo	52	52	9	6	In 1883	With the permission of the mullah of the town of Kasimov	Is not taught	A peasant of the village of Staroye Allagulovo of the Krasnoslobodsky Uyezd, the Penza Guberniya, Ahmedjan Kader-Alenbekov, of good conduct and moral qualities	Mohammed-an divine law, arithmetic, and writing exercises, using the old method	

No. 28

Table 2

**List of Muslim schools with new teaching methods located within the boundaries
of the Samara Guberniya²⁴**

No.	School location	School founder	Staff of school teachers	School supervising and controlling authority
	The city of Samara	Not available		
	<u>Uyezds: Samara²⁵</u>			
1.	The village of Nizhny Kurmysh of Shlamskaya volost	Mohammedan community with its own resources	Mullah Fathutdin Miftahetdinov	Mullah Miftahetdinov
	<u>Stavropol</u>			
2.	The village of Abdreyevka of Vasokopolskaya volost	The same	The brother of the local mullah Yarulla Shamsetdinov	Mullah Bilal Shamsetdinov
3.	The village of Sredny Santamir of Starobelskaya volost	The same	Mullah Giyametdin Gaynetdinov	Mullah Gaynudinov
	<u>Buzuluk</u>	Not available		
	<u>Buguruslan</u>			
4.	The town of Buguruslan	The same	Mullah Husnutdinov	Mullah Husnutdinov
5.	The town of Buguruslan, girls' high school	The same	Wife of mullah Sututdinov	Mullah Husnutdinov
6.	The village of Asekeyevo of Sultangulskaya volost	The same	Akhund Abdul-Kadyrov	Akhund Abdul- Kadyrov
7.	The village of Kirmal Kutluyev of Ivanovskaya volost	The same	Mullah Abdul-Kadyrov	Akhund Abdul- Kadyrov
8.	The village of Cheganly of Bolshe-Surmetievskaya volost	The same	Peasant Vagiz Kamaletdinov	Mullah Fayzullin
9.	The village of Mochaleyna of Podbelskaya volost	The same	Peasant Mukmin Gimranov	Akhund Subbeev
10.	The village of Staroye Yermakovo of Staro- Sosninskaya volost	The same	Akhund Bagautdinov	Akhund Subbeev
11.	The village of Balnola of Baytuganovskaya volost	The same	Peasant Shigabutdin Miglanov	Mullah Abdullin
12.	The village of Novoye Mansurkino of Sosnovskaya volost	The same	Peasant Agmulla Safiullin	Mullah Ahmet- Sagirov
	<u>Bugulma</u>			
13.	The town of Bugulma	The same	Mullah Ahmetdin Muhametzyanov	Mullah Muhametzyanov
14.	The village of Almetyeva, of the same volost, two schools	The same	Mullah Nurgayaz Huzyazhanov	Supervised by mullah Huzyazhanov and peasant Iskak Ilyasov
15.	The village of Verkhnyaya Cheyudayka of Mordovsko- Afonkinskaya volost	The same	Peasant Kamaletdin Fayruzov and mullah Abdul-Galim Bagautdinov	Mullah Bagautdinov

²⁴ Appendix to the Governor of Samara Notification of 21 March 1901, No. 1349.

²⁵ Marks were made in the text of the document.

16.	The village of Podlesnoye Utyamyshevo of Mordovsko-Afonkinskaya volost	The same	Mullah Ahmet-Muhamet Vafin and azanchi Zalaletdin Muhamet-Safin	Mullah Ahmet-Muhamet Vafin
17.	The village of Staraya Utyamysheva of Mordovsko-Karmalskaya volost	The same	Azanchi Gifran Vildanov	The local mullah
18.	The village of Sarabakulovo of Mordovsko-Karmalskaya volost	The same	Mullah Muhamet-Shakir Nizamutdinov and Zamaletdin Nagumanov	Them as well
19.	The village of Verkhniye Chershilye of Nizhne-Chershilinskaya volost	The same	Mullah Hanif Gabdul-Kayumov	Him as well
20.	The village of Minlibayevo of Mordovsko-Ivanovskaya volost	The same	Mullah Muhamet-Kanif Abdul-Galimov	Him as well
21.	The village of Urmyshevo of Varvarinskaya volost	The same	Mullah Gabdul-Gafurov and peasant Shakirzyan Ahmetzyanov	Mullah Gafurov
22.	The village of Deniskino of Chetyrlinskaya volost	The same	Mullah Aksan Shagiakhmetov	Him as well
23.	The village of Sugushly of Spiridonovskaya volost	The same	The local mullah	Him as well
24.	The village of Yultemirova of Spiridonovskaya volost	The same	The local mullah	Him as well
25.	The village of Karkaly of Spiridonovskaya volost	The same	The local mullah	Him as well
26.	The village of Toktarova Urdala of Skhodnevskaya volost	The same	Zaki Akhmetgareyev	Him as well
27.	The village of Yepankuly of Tumutukovskaya volost	The same	The local mullah	Him as well
28.	The village of Tatarsky Kandyr of Salikhovskaya volost	The same	Muhametzaki Rahmankulov	Him as well
	Nikolayevsk and Novouzensk	Not available		

Source: State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 102, DP00, inv. 226 (1898) file 11, part 3, pp. 73–75. Original.

No. 29

Saratov Vice Governor Notification of 1 May 1901, No. 1853, to the Police Department on the new method Muslim schools

Top Secret

To the Police Department

Following Memorandum No. 13415 of 31 December of last year, I have the honour to inform the Police Department that among the Tatar population of the Saratov Guberniya, being a rather ignorant mass, there are no persons writing innovative works in the Tatar literature. There is only one peasant of the village of Tatarskiye Kanadei of the Kuznetsk Uyezd Muhamet-Yusup-Safin Kazakov, who writes an occasion article for the Bakhchysaray newspaper Tärceman (Translator). Last year he also compiled an alphabet book titled 'A Russian Teacher for Muslims' that was approved on 27 November of the same year for publication by the Saint Petersburg censorship committee.

This population holds firmly to its old traditions, and any new ideas of progress and culture are alien to it. The Tatar population is extremely unsympathetic even to the new method of teaching the Tatar language using the European phonetic system, and in some villages mullahs, who had just started teaching children using this method, had to return to the old one due to the persistent demands of fellow villagers.

Nevertheless, the new method of teaching the Tatar language taken from the Crimean magazine of Gasprinsky was introduced and became finally established in some of the Tatar schools of the Saratov Guberniya, namely in the above-mentioned settlements of the three uyezds—that is, in Kuznetsk, Petrovsk, and Khvalynsk.

The Kuznetsk Uyezd²⁶

1) In the village of Nizhnyaya Yelyuzan of Chaadayevskaya volost (the teacher is the son of the local mullah Sabir Sharifjanov Vyasanov); 2) in the village of Isikeyevaya of Planskaya volost (the teacher is the local mullah Abdul-Latif Kulafin); 3) in the village of Tatarskiye Kanadei of Yevlashevskaya volost (the teacher is peasant Muhamet Muhametjanov); 4) in the village of Bolshiye Truyevskiy Verzhiny of Yevlashevskaya volost (the teacher is the local mullah Gezhametdin Meftyahetdinov Mamyshev); 5) in the village of Kuncherovo of Kuncherovskaya volost (the teacher is Volsk Aksyan Yunusov Muhametov); 6) in the village of Demina of Kuncherovskaya volost (the teacher is the local mullah Salahetdin-Abdul Latifov Chukanov); 7) in the village of Mogilki of Kuncherovskaya volost there are three schools (the teachers are the local azanchi Jelaletdin Sharifov Negmetullin, local mullah Aynetdin Shayakhmetov Mansurov, and a burgher (meshhanin) of the Seitovsky posad of the Orenburg Guberniya Hayrulla Khabibullin Reimov); 8) by the village of Verkhozim of Kuncherovskaya volost, at the factory of the trade partnership of Ishmuhamet-Abdula Deberdeyev and brothers, there are two schools (the teachers are the acting mullah peasant of the Penza Guberniya Husyain Ismetullov Tugushev and unmarried woman from Bakhchysaray Idaye-Veli-Shi Murza Kaytazova); 9) in the village of Pendelka of Annenkovskaya volost there are three schools (the teachers are azanchi Abaydulla Fahretdinov, peasant of the Simbirsk Guberniya Shaydulla Gaytullov Rezyapov, and peasant of the Simbirsk Guberniya Hayrulla Ayzatullin Usmanov).

The Petrovsk Uyezd

1) In the village of Stary Vershaut of Kozlovskaya volost (the teachers are the local mullahs Muhamet-Zarif-Muhamet Mubinov Rahmankulov and Muhametdin-Muhamet Mubinov); 2) in the village of Karlygan of Savkinskaya volost (the teacher is peasant Muhametjan Sharifjanov Nugaybikov); 3) in the village of Sulyayevka of Pylkovskaya volost (the teacher is peasant Galyamutdin Khantemirov); 4) in the village of Novy Vershaut of Savkinskaya volost (the teachers are the local mullah Satredin-Muhamet Mubinov Kuramshin and his son Safa Satredinov).

The Khvalynsk Uyezd

1) In the village of Verkhnyaya Tereshka of Sredne-Tereshinskaya volost (the teacher is the local mullah Abdurahman Hosyanov); 2) in the village of Bakhteyevka of Staro-Lebezhayskaya volost (the teacher is the local mullah Ibni-Abbyas Umyarov Yagudin).

All these schools, except for the two schools at the factory of the Deberdeevs in the Kuznetsk Uyezd, were opened by rural communities, are managed by local mullahs, and are subject to supervision by educational authorities. The phonetic method of teaching was introduced by the mullahs, who considered it to be better, though the rest of the Tatar population, as indicated above, in many places are not in agreement. In the schools at Deberdeyevs' factory the new method of teaching was introduced by the factory owners themselves, who finance these schools and, in view of the advantages of the phonetic system of teaching, invited a male and a female teachers familiar with this system.

The Deberdeevs are relatives of Ismail Gasprinsky; besides, one of the Deberdeev brothers Abdul married a Turk eight years ago and settled down in Constantinople.

The Deberdeevs previously used to supply cloth to the Turkish army and often visited Turkey, at present they occasionally go to Constantinople to their brother Abdul and have visited Gasprinsky. The Deberdeevs, however, have in no way showed themselves to be supporters of any new progressive ideas.

Acting Governor, Vice Governor: signature

Head of the Registry: signature

Source: State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 102, DP00, inv. 226 (1898) file 11, part 3, pp. 76–77 reverse. Original.

No. 30

**Governor of Nizhny Novgorod Notification No. 980 of 5 May 1901
to the Police Department on the new method Muslim schools**

Top Secret

To the Police Department

Following Memorandum No. 13409 of 31 December of last year, I have the honour to inform the Police Department that in the governorate I am entrusted with the Muslim population resides on a per-

²⁶ Italics were done in the text of the document.

manent basis only in two uyezds, Vasilsursky and Sergachsky, and there is no one in their midst serving in Tatar literature as an author of innovative works, and equally no connection has been so far revealed between the supporters of such views among the Tatar population and the Young Turks.

In the Sergachsky Uyezd familiarisation with secular Tatar literature has been detected only in the village of Gribanovo. The teacher of the ministerial school Abu-Nagim-Shukurov has a textbook by Gasprinsky and the weekly newspaper *Tärceman* (Translator) published by the same Gasprinsky in Bakhchysaray that Shukurov gives to pupils at classes and for home reading. He uses the textbook for teaching the Tatar language to his own children and, when requested, to other boys from among the pupils of the ministerial school he is in charge of. Education in the latter is conducted using textbooks in Russian under the control of officials at the Ministry of Public Education. Abu-Nagim Shukurov studied at Orenburg Russian-Tatar Normal School²⁷, has been residing in Gribanovo already for a long time, and is married to the daughter of the local mullah, who is the religious teacher in the above-mentioned school. There are no schools with the new teaching methods in the Sergachsky Uyezd, and to teach children the Quran, local mullahs, who are hostile to any kind of novelties, have at their disposal lower ranking schools.

There are sixteen Muslim schools in the Vasilsursky Uyezd, and two of them teach classes using the new methods. Both schools are in the village of Andreyevka, and their teachers are mullahs Iskak Museyev, a graduate of Azimov Islamic School in Kazan, and Myasum Sharipzhanov.

In both Vasilsursky and Sergachsky uyezds the Tatar schools are not under the control of any party whatsoever.

Lieutenant General

Head of the Registry: signature

Source: State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 102, DP00, inv. 226 (1898) file 11, part 3, pp. 78–78 reverse. Original.

No. 31

Governor of Kazan Notification No. 1876 of 13 May 1901, on the new method Muslim schools

Top Secret

To the Police Department

Following Memorandum No. 13407 of 31 December of last year, I have the honour to report to the Police Department the following information about the spread of the progressive trend in the field of educational tasks and methods among the Tatars of the governorate I am entrusted with.

The new trend (new method) already has a substantial number of followers, particularly among mullahs, Russian classes teachers at madrasahs, and wealthy merchants, who are waging an open and fervent struggle against the advocates of the old ways in the sphere of literature and school pedagogy. Naturally, at present it is difficult to predict the outcome of this struggle. The old adherents, having in their ranks the majority of mullahs and the peasant population in remote areas, are still very strong, but the rapid growth in the success of the new method is, nevertheless, beyond any doubt. In Kazan, which is the educational centre for the Tatars of the Volga-Kama Region, it is being distributed to distant villages by graduates of the Tatar normal school appointed as Russian classes teachers at madrasahs as well as by young mullahs, who have acquired knowledge of the new method in Kazan madrasahs and started to introduce it in makhtabs, which they open with the help of philanthropic merchants.

Almost all representatives of the new direction, active in the world of letters, are residents of Kazan; among them one can mention: 1) mullah Gaysa Yahyin, religious teacher at Kazan Tatar Normal School, who translated the fables by Krylov and Russian and German (brothers Grimm) folk fairy tales into Tatar. One of the original works by Yahyin, a book called 'Xalyasat' ul' misail,' contains key provisions on Islamic doctrine; another work of his published in 1898 aims to prove that studying the Russian language, which is a necessary subject for the Tatars, in no way contradicts the principles of Islam.

2) Shakirzyan Tagirov, teacher of the Russian class at madrasahs of Staro-Tatarskaya Sloboda in Kazan, published a quite popular textbook in 1892 for those starting to study Tatar and Arabic, the first edition of which was accompanied by a short methodological instruction. Tagirov, who initially studied at Kazan madrasahs, later in 1880 completed the course being among the students of the first graduation year of Kazan Tatar Normal School and has been a teacher since 1884.

²⁷ Orenburg Tatar Teachers' School is meant here.

3) Mullah Ahmed-Gady Maksudov, religious teacher of the first town primary Tatar school, is known as the author of the Arabic grammar book for the Tatars; besides, he translated a short textbook of the Russian language into the Kazan Tatar dialect, compiled by Kazas for schools of the Taurida Guberniya; finally, under the title of 'Primary textbook,' which has gone through two editions already, Maksudov grouped the rules of the phonetic method of reading Arabic and Tatar words, accompanied by daily prayers. Maksudov is a graduate of Tatar normal school.

4) State councillor Ibragim Teregulov, teacher of natural science in Kazan Tatar normal school, graduate of Kazan Veterinary Institute, is known as the author of popular booklets in Tatar on various issues of natural science and economy. Many copies of his published brochures 'Water,' 'Earth,' 'Air,' and 'Care of Horses' are ordered by the Ufa Guberniya Zemstvo council for further distribution among the Tatar population.

5) Mullah of the 5th mosque of the city of Kazan Galimzyan Galeev, son of a local merchant, is held in respect in the Kazan Muslim community due to his scholarship and wealth; having completed his education in local madrasahs, Galeev travelled to Bukhara and Constantinople to perfect his knowledge of the sciences.

After taking up the position of the mullah at the 5th mosque, Galeev enlarged the old madrasah, improved conditions for the residing shakirds, having arranged for a medical ward and common dining hall in the madrasah; apart from theological disciplines, there are also lessons in general educational subjects (history, geography, and mathematics), in lower level schools at the madrasah (maktab, one for boys and another one for girls) reading and writing are taught using the new method by the textbook prepared by Galeev himself. Shakirds graduating from the Galeev madrasah, who managed to acquire pedagogical skills by giving lessons to pupils of the mentioned maktab, take with Galeev's patronage teaching positions in uyezds of not only Kazan but also neighbouring governorates, later becoming mullahs. Galeev is able to render material support to his former students and sometimes to pay a stipend to teachers of rural Tatar schools out of his own pocket.

6) Among the ardent supporters of the new method one should also mention Ahmed Husainov, an Orenburg merchant, now residing in Kazan, possessing quite a substantial wealth.

Himself only able to read and write, Husainov, like many other wealthy Muslims, is wholeheartedly devoted to the cause of educating his co-religionists. In Orenburg he finances at his own expense a reorganised madrasah that adopted the subject education system and introduced the study of general educational disciplines. Many rural schools (maktab) in the Kazan Guberniya owe their existence to his support; he pays stipends to teachers, supplies schools with school books, etc. Besides, Husainov provides funds to publish teaching guides and books promoting the new method.

7) Known publishers of Tatar books of the new direction are also: merchant Valey Bakirov, a wealthy person; and brothers Muhamedzyan and Sharipzyan Karimov, owners of a Tatar printing house.

Among the schools using the new teaching method, apart from the above maktab at the mullah Galeev madrasah, worthy of mention are the following: In the Kazan Uyezd, in the village of Chuvail of Kovalinskaya volost, the teacher is a peasant of the Simbirsk Guberniya Shakirzyan Khamidullin, receives a stipend from merchant Ahmed Husainov; the maktab is managed by Gady Shamsutdinov. In the Tetyushsky Uyezd, in the village of Atabayev of Bolsheklyarinskaya volost, the teacher is the local mullah Shagi-Muhammed Usmanov, known for compiling a new method alphabet book and a guide for Muslims about the new system of children's education. These books are published with funding from the above merchant Ahmed Husainov and are provided to all willing to study or teach using the new method. Mullah Usmanov is a graduate of the Azimov madrasah in Kazan. In the village of Idryas-Tenikeeva of Ilyinsko-Shongutskaya volost the teacher is mullah Ahmetzyan Abdul-Gafarov, a graduate of the Azimov madrasah in Kazan. In the village of Bolshiye Klyari of the same volost the teacher is mullah Shagimuhammed Nurmuhametov, a graduate of the Azimov madrasah. In the village of Klyanchevevo of Bolshe-Klyarinskaya volost the teacher is mullah Shagabuddin Miftahutdinov, a graduate of the Buinsk madrasah of the Simbirsk Guberniya. In the village of Bolshoy Turme of Shemyakinskaya volost the teacher is mullah Zeitdin Sharafutdinov, a graduate of the Apanayev madrasah in Kazan.

There are three schools using the new teaching method in the Spassk Uyezd. A maktab in the village of Bolshiye Tigany was opened on 15 October 1899, the teacher is the son of the local mullah Harras Bogdanov, who first studied by the old method in Kazan madrasahs and then in the reformed madrasah of merchant Husainov in Orenburg. The stipend for the teacher as well as funds for teaching materials are provided by the above-mentioned Husainov. Two schools were opened in the village of Novyye Chelny in October 1900: one with funding from Chistopol merchant Zarif Badamshin, the other was financed by the local prosperous peasant Hayrulla Nasyrov. The teachers are peasant of the Chistopol

Uyezd Ahmet Zakey Mustafin in the first school and a merchant's son Negametulla Shafigullin in the second one, both of them being graduates of the Chistopol madrasah.

A maktab in the Mamadysh Uyezd in the village of Chabiya-Churichi of Abdinskaya volost was opened on 25 November 1895; the teacher is mullah Mubaraksha Fattahuddinov, a graduate of the Satyshevo madrasah of the same uyezd.

In the Tsivilsk Uyezd, in the village of Akzegitova of Novo-Kovalinskaya volost, a maktab was opened back in 1870, financed by merchant Zagidulla Sharifullin. In 1897 the new method of teaching was introduced in it. The teacher is a peasant of the Chistopol Uyezd Garifulla Hayrullin, who studied in Kazan madrasah.

In the Tsarevokokshaysk uyezd there are three schools where they teach using the new method. In the village of Kiklova the school was built with funds from Gaynulla Sabitov, a local peasant, and is maintained by him and other students' parents. The local mullah Nutfulla Sebegatullin is a teacher. In the village of Sluzhilaya Ura the school is supported financially by Mukhametzyan Tagirov, a local peasant living in Kazan. Reading and writing are taught by Samigulla Sebegatullin, a local mullah. In the village of Sary Uzyum there are no special school premises, but mullah Abdul Qasim Rakhmetullin teaches reading and writing using the phonetic method at his home.

As to other uyezds with a Tatar population (Chistopol, Sviazhs, Laishevo, and Cheboksary), mullahs still teach reading and writing using the former alphabetic method there, which is somewhat simplified in conformity with Gasprinsky's textbook. The mullahs themselves barely know the purely phonetic method.

If we turn to the question of the attitude of most of the Tatars to the new teaching method, it must be first of all noted that the old adherents, which are guided by mullahs who adhere to restraint and worship old traditions, are still very strong. They consider innovators to be dangerous for the faith, and all sorts of innovations, disastrous for the Tatar ethnic group. Adherents of the old ways struggle against innovators not only in practical ways but also in literature. In this respect, a brochure by Mukhuddinov published in 1899 in Kazan is very interesting. It asserts that the new method, by which the author means not only the phonetic method of teaching reading and writing but also all other innovations rooted in the life of local Muslims in the past few years, is contrary to the dictates of God and prophets. Bringing up an old Arab saying, the author recommends fighting against innovation with force.

The extent of strength of these views among the Tatar population is shown by the following example. In the villages of Kichkinyash and Urazlinoy of the Tsarevokokshaysk Uyezd innovative mullahs introduced the new teaching method in their schools. However, when it was necessary to expand the school building in the first village and to allocate a new place for it, the parishioners agreed to do this only if the old system of teaching was reinstated, although the new method had been used in teaching for seven years already. In the village of Urazlinoy peasants forced their mullah to return to the old order the very next year after the new method was introduced.

In the literary field innovators are more successful in the struggle between the two sides since their camp includes a lot of educated and cultured people. A book called 'Shakird and Student' published in 1899 in Kazan, which touted the benefits of European education in comparison with the narrow religious Islamic one, comparing Russian and Tatar students, caused a sensation in the local Muslim society and inflicted a serious blow upon the old group.

As to relations between representatives of the new teaching method and foreign educational centres, it should be noted that local Tatars usually travel abroad at the time of the hajj to Mecca with the goal of visiting holy places of worship; just a few go to Constantinople or Bukhara to improve their knowledge of the sciences. Some mullahs and merchants, such as the above-mentioned father and son Galeevs and mullah Apanayev, actively meet with foreign coreligionists coming to Kazan. However, there is no serious evidence that would show Kazan innovators have interacted with the Young Turks party.

It is necessary to mention that the movement connected with the new teaching method can be divided into two directions. Kazan Tatar Teachers' School at the Ministry of Public Education serves as a centre for the first of them. Its graduates leave it with a belief that their kinsmen need to know the Russian language and European culture, and with their influence in various fields they gradually destroy the fanatical Tatar aversion to everything Russian.

Quite the opposite spirit dominates in Galeev's madrasah mentioned above, which prepares mullahs. General subjects introduced in its curriculum and the general systematic nature of the classes hardly serve the purpose of familiarising Muslims with Russian culture. It has been asked repeatedly in previous years if students of madrasahs and maktab arranged by the Galeevs are avoiding Russian classes, and whether the Galeevs are trying to wrest their madrasah out from the control of the educational authorities.

Although there is no direct evidence proving mullah Galleyev is willfully evading the requirements of the Ministry of Public Education to introduce mandatory Russian classes for the shakirds, nevertheless, it can be said with certainty that we should not expect the Galeev family to do much to help assimilate the Tatars, judging by their beliefs.

Governor: signature

Chief of the Chancellery: signature

Source: State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 102, DP00, inv. 226 (1898), file 11, sheets 85–88. Original.

Published: M. Farkhshatov. *Autocracy and Traditional Schools of Bashkirs and Tatars at the Beginning of the 20th Century (1900–1917)*. Ufa, 2000, pp. 145–147.

No. 32

Notice No.²⁸ of the Governor of Tomsk dated 7 June 1901 to the Police Department on New Method Islamic schools

Top Secret

To the Police Department

Based on Order No. 13434 dated 31 December of this year, I have the honour to notify the police department that quite a large number of Tatars in the guberniya entrusted to me, as it turned out according to the data collected, do not strive for an education and continue to remain faithful to the old customs inherited from their ancestors.

Any innovation, be it based on science or on a change in the customs established by lifestyle, is treated by the Muslims with suspicion and even some hostility. Each settlement has its own school at which they are taught by a mullah or other competent person chosen by the community, and studies themselves do not go beyond reading the Quran. The textbooks they have were mostly published by Chernova's printing house in Kazan²⁹. As to Gasprinsky's publications in Bakhchysaray, they have recently appeared in the Mariinsk Uyezd, with Shuldat Kasmya Osin, the former mullah in the settlement, being a supporter and an ardent defender of them. In conversations with his coreligionists, the above person expresses the idea that mullahs distort the Quran due to a lack of education, that the current education system is defective, that ways should be found to raise the mental outlook of the population in general, and in particular, mullahs as educators, and that Gasprinsky's teaching method and abandoning established prejudices could serve to this purpose.

Based on this position, the above-mentioned Osin began to introduce Gasprinsky's teaching, but the people met the innovation with hostility, and the community replaced Osin and elected another person as teacher. Besides the desire to introduce a new textbook, Osin has done nothing wrong, and currently he does not have any influence on others. People living in the Tomsk Guberniya receive the following newspapers published in the Turkic language: in Tomsk Abubakirov, a trusted person of Bereznitsky the merchant, receives the *Lewet* newspaper (ottoman illustration) published in Constantinople in the Turkish language, and one copy of *Tärceman* (Translator) newspaper published in Tatar in Bakhchysaray is received in the village of Shemonand of the Zmeinogorsk Uyezd as well as in the village of Yansul of the Mariinsk Uyezd. Such a small number of periodicals received by a relatively large Tatar population of the governorate clearly demonstrates the degree of its development and its pursuit of education. There are no persons who write innovative Tatar literary works. As to the new intellectual and social movement that has emerged in the environment of the Muslim population of the empire, there is no such movement in the Tomsk Guberniya, and people continue to remain faithful to the precepts of their ancestors. If new trends appeared among the Mohammedan governorate's population, it would be immediately identified as the population strongly opposes it and would seek support from the local administration.

Currently there are three schools in the governorate entrusted to me at which non-Russian Mohammedans study, namely: 1. Tomsk-Kazan Rural School of the Ministry of Internal Affairs opened in 1875; Nadezhda Saymon-Simovich, who bears the title of primary school teacher, is a teacher there. The Russian language is taught using the phonetic method; besides Russian language, they teach arithmetic and divine law—the Mohammedan faith. The administrative arm is under the control of the inspector of public schools for the 1st district of the Tomsk Guberniya.

²⁸ The number is illegible.

²⁹ Printing house of M. Chirkova's descendants, who fulfilled orders of Tatar publishers.

2. Teplorechensk Rural School of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Pochitansk volost of the Mariinsk Uyezd opened in 1878, with Litfulla Kurmashev, an imam of the 1st Teplorechensk cathedral mosque, being a guardian, teacher, and religious teacher there, who graduated from Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly.

3. Private Mohammedan School in Tomsk opened in 1897 is maintained at the expense of Tomsk Mohammedan Society and controlled by the educational department. Mitkevich, who temporarily has the title of a primary school teacher and is a student of Tomsk State University with knowledge of the Tatar language, is a teacher there.

The divine law of the Mohammedan faith is taught by mullahs and imams in Tatar and Arabic, while Russian language and arithmetic are taught in Russian.

Governor: signature

Adviser: signature

Clerk: signature

Source: State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 102, DP00, inv. 226 (1898), file 11, sheets 108–109. Original.

No. 33

Notice No. 159 of Ufa Governor dated 1 November 1901 to the Police Department on New-Method Islamic schools

Top Secret

To the Police Department

In response to Circular Order No. 13421 dated 31 December 1900, I have the honour to submit to the department the following information as a report to the Minister of Internal Affairs:

There are very few Muslim intellectuals in the Ufa Guberniya as there are few people with a higher or even secondary education among its population. I do not possess any information that would give me reason to establish a connection between this intelligentsia and such figures as Gasprinsky.

Gasprinsky's textbooks are not common in schools of the Ufa Guberniya. This has been observed by me personally as well as by the Directorate of Public Schools; the same has been repeatedly confirmed by Sultanov, the Orenburg mufti, in several casual conversations with me.

Many Mohammedans in the governorate subscribe to Gasprinsky's Tärce-man (Translator) newspaper as one of the few ethnic ones existing in Russia, but it is not completely understandable for the majority of the population as its Tatar language largely differs from the Bashkir dialect.

As for Islamic schools that exist in the governorate, these are all ordinary madrasahs and maktabas, and I believe that the fanaticism of old mullahs is even more dangerous for the majority of Ufa's Mohammedan population than new teaching ideas like that of Gasprinsky because they are still hard to understand for the majority of the population.

Given the insularity of the local Muslims, it is very difficult to provide a detailed report on the mood of individual elements of this environment; my previous conclusions are based on the following facts known to me:

1) The circumstances of the census rebellion of 1897 in the Menzelinsk and Belebey Uyezds, which demonstrated the utter ignorance of the Mohammedan masses and a complete absence of not only any new Tatar movements among them but also the ability to understand the true goals even of such measures as a national census.

2) The activities of representatives of the Mohammedan population from among peasants' and Zemstvo institutions, which almost entirely constitute the local Muslim intelligentsia. Such figures include: two Zemstvo leaders with a higher education and highly educated that can definitely be called trustworthy administrative figures of the governorate. Representatives of the Zemstvo from among Mohammedans mostly have a limited education and development, which can be proven by the texts of their statements in Zemstvo assemblies, indicating their narrow fanaticism, for example, the demand to exclude Christian girls³⁰ from the Russian-Tatar female school, rather than their fascination with any national liberal ideas.

³⁰ *Author of the note:* this requirement was imposed at the Belebey Uyezd Zemstvo assembly of 1900 by a Mohammedan councilor Syrtlanov.

3) The composition of the local Mohammedan clergy in the governorate, which entirely consists (except for mufti Sultanov, a person with a higher education³¹, a senior magistrate) of uneducated and even quite ignorant persons, with the oldest mullahs demonstrating persistent fanaticism. Moreover, most of them have their personal interests foremost in their minds. When a mullah teaching the Quran in a Russian-Tatar school in the Birk Uyezd started to receive a salary for his lessons like an Orthodox priest, local mullahs immediately expressed a desire to have Russian-Tatar schools.

All the foregoing leads me to the final conclusion that currently there is insufficient evidence that Gasprinsky's harmful ideas have spread among Mohammedans in the Ufa Guberniya. However, the manifested tendency of some Islamic clergy to resort to religious-fanatical agitation requires careful control, as it is even more dangerous in the dark and ignorant mass of the local Mohammedans, since such agitation can easily cause severe disorders for no good reason, as happened at the beginning of the national census of January 1897.

Governor: signature

Head of the Registry: signature

Source: The State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 102, DP00, inv. 226, (1898) file 11, part 3, pp. 133–134. Original.

Published: M. Farkhshatov. *Autocracy and Traditional Schools of Bashkirs and Tatars at the Beginning of the 20th Century (1900–1917)*. Ufa, 2000, pp. 145–147.

No. 34

Notice No. 369 of Simbirsk Governor dated 19 November 1901 to the Police Department on New-Method Islamic schools

Top Secret

To the Police Department

In response to Circular Order No. 13.416 dated 31 December of last year, I have the honour to notify the police department that the local Tatar population is engaged exclusively in agriculture, is at a very low level of mental development, and the majority of them are far from any progressive movement as well as from any issues of a political nature, jealously guarding centuries-old traditions against any innovation on the basis of their religious beliefs.

The teaching in Tatar schools in the governorate—'madrasahs' and 'maktabs'—is carried out using the old system, with few exceptions, which will be mentioned below, under the immediate control and management of mullahs, who strongly adhere to the old tradition.

As to the new method of teaching reading and writing in accordance with the textbooks of I. Gasprinsky and other related methods, it is unknown to the vast majority of local Tatars. Opinions of individuals who are familiar with these methods are as follows. Most of the mullahs and ordinary Tatar people under their influence treat these methods with hostility, seeing a departure from the true Islamic teaching in them. Moreover, the new alphabet books add nine new letters to the alphabet, which is a clear violation of Mohammedan tenets. According to a few other people from among the Tatars, although the new method based on Gasprinsky's textbooks is recognised as the most convenient from an educational point of view and makes it possible to quickly learn to read and write, applying it is met with some significant difficulties since the dialect of the Crimean Tatars, in which the textbooks are written, differs from the dialect of the Kazan Tatars. Furthermore, introducing the new method requires funds to equip schools and purchase books as well as makes it necessary to appoint special teachers because mullahs, who are constantly distracted from school classes due to the need to fulfill various spiritual obligations, are unable to teach systematically, which is the basis of the new method.

Citing these prevailing, so to say, views of the local Tatars on teaching with the new methods, I cannot but mention that these methods have started to penetrate into the local Tatar environment, although still to a small extent. In total there are six Tatar schools in the Simbirsk Guberniya where they teach using the new method (the list of them is attached). Of these two schools at cloth factories of Akchurin in the Karsun and Khusainov in the Simbirsk Uyezds are set up exclusively for children of the factory workers and are designed for a limited number of students. The other four, which are scattered in various areas of the governorate, have appeared relatively recently, in the period from

³¹ M. Sultanov had a secondary education.

1897 to 1901. The Tatars first met the opening of these schools with no enthusiasm, and only thanks to the persistent work of some people heading the schools, as well as success of the students, the number of students has gradually increased. But despite the apparent success, the sphere of influence of those schools is still limited to a small area consisting of one or two nearby villages. The rest of the Tatars, led by mullahs adhering to old traditions, remain resistant to all sorts of innovations, and judging by the prevailing hostility to the new method of teaching, it would take much time to introduce this method.

As to the way of thinking and direction of the persons heading the schools and promoting the new method of learning to read and write Tatar, it was found out by monitoring their activities and personal relations that these people, occupying the positions of mullahs, do not participate in any political movements and do not write any innovative works in the Tatar literature. Moreover, there is no reason to believe that they interact with the Young Turks or foreign Islamic centres. The main reason for the transition from the old method to the new one lies in the unquestionable superiority of the latter in terms of pedagogy, as the new method significantly facilitates teaching and makes it possible to extend the range of teaching. <...>

Simbirsk governor: signature

Senior assistant for the head of the chancellery: signature

Table 3

**List of Tatar schools in the Simbirsk Guberniya
where the new teaching method was introduced³²**

No.	Name of the village where the school is located	When the new method was introduced	Who is the teacher
	The Simbirsk Uyezd		
1	The village of Bolshiye Tarkhany	in 1897	Avuzdakh Khakimov, a local mullah, 27 years old, who graduated from Samara Islamic School
2	Cloth factory of Ahmet Galim Khusainov, a Kazan merchant, in the village of Yekaterinovka	in 1898	A peasant from the village of Teply Stan of the Stavropol Uyezd of the Samara Guberniya Mustafa Muhammad Khakimov, who graduated from Samara Islamic School
	The Buinsk Uyezd		
3	The village of Noviye Tenchali	in 1900	Ayzetdin Burganetdinov, a local mullah, who graduated from Kazan Akhuny Madrasah.
4	The village of Bikmuras	in 1901	Abdul Samatov Sharafetdinov, a local mullah, who graduated from Buinsk Tatar School
	The Karsun Uyezd		
5	Cloth factory of Timerbullat Akchurin in the settlement of Guryevka	in 1897	Salyakhetdin Yusupov Kadermetov, a local mullah, and Osman efendi, a Turkish citizen, who received his education in Constantinople
	The Kurmysh Uyezd		
6	The village of Sobachy Ostrov	in 1898	Mukhimnat Khabibullov, a local mullah, who graduated from Kazan Tatar Akhuny School

Governor: signature

For the head of the chancellery: signature
(senior assistant)

Source: State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 102, DP00, inv. 226 (1898) file 11, part 3, pp. 149–151 reverse. Original.

³² Attachment and notice of Simbirsk governor dated 19 November 1901, No. 369

No. 35

**Petition of the Widow of a State Councilor Khadicha Shagiakhmetova Akhmerova;
the Wife of a Lieutenant Colonel Khadicha Abdulova Abdrakhmanova,
the Wife of a Colonel Mansurova; and Home Tutors Akhmerova and Abdrakhmanova
to the Head of Kazan Educational District to Permit Opening a Primary School
to Teach Russian Language, Reading, and Writing to Tatar Girls dated 7 November 1900**

The Russian language is currently disseminated among the Tatar population of Kazan Educational District through primary schools for Tatar boys opened at the initiative of the government by town and rural boards, and meanwhile there is not a single school to teach Tatar girls in the entire educational district.

Recognising how beneficial it is for Muslim girls to know the Russian language, we have come to the conclusion that it would be highly desirable to open primary schools to teach the Russian language to Tatar girls as well as handicrafts, which are so important in everyday life, in Kazan, since it is the centre of Volga Islam.

Having no funds to maintain such a school and not expecting to collect tuition fees at first, we, the undersigned, appeal to Your Excellency asking if you could recognise the possibility to initiate the procedure of opening a Russian school for Tatar girls in Kazan at the expense of the Ministry of Public Education.

7 November 1900

Signatures: widow of a state councilor Khadicha Shagiahmetovna Akhmerova

Home tutor Magee-Parvaz Akhmerova

Wife of a lieutenant colonel of artillery Khadicha Abdullovna Abdrakhmanova

Home tutor Maryam Abdrakhmanova

Wife of a colonel Gayna Kamil Mansurova

Source: National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 92, inv. 2, file 443, sheets 10–10 reverse. Original.

No. 36**Progress among Vyatka Muslims**

An obvious desire for progress has been observed among Vyatka Muslims in recent years.

<...> Improved Islamic maktab and madrasahs, unprecedented spread of secular books designed for the general reader, the growing number of students in Russian-Tatar schools, where they exist, as well as a number of other facts of this kind—we believe that all this is an obvious indication that the traditional way of Muslim life is not satisfying all layers of the population. Moreover, it should be noted that recently it has been far from consisting of only shaved 'Abduls' and 'Bibiykas' wrapped in chapans, as it has been traditionally thought in Russian society. Not long ago rural Muslims considered a maktab to be an excessive burden for them. Muslims now recognise it is urgently needed, and some Muslim villages have even decided to have Zemstvo-established Russian-Tatar schools. The best evidence of this lies in the pleasant fact for Muslims that women's education is beginning to take a more favourable form. Five or six years ago in the Vyatka Guberniya there were no more or less decently equipped Islamic girls' schools that taught using the phonetic method general subjects as arithmetic, geography, and history besides the Mohammedan faith. Now there are such schools. For example, the girls' Izhbobinskoye maktab (the Sarapul Uyezd of the Vyatka Guberniya). Earlier they taught using the old 'alphabetic' method there, there were secular subjects, and the number of students never exceeded 20–25. Today, thanks to an educated teacher Ms Kamilya Nigmanizilina³³, the phonetic teaching method has been introduced there called 'usule-jadid.' Students now learn to read and write in a few months, which formerly took many years, when teaching was conducted according to the old alphabetic method. The main book for the students there is the recently-released Tatar language textbook called 'Mugallim Awwal' (first book for training) by Gady Maksyutov, and reading is taught in accordance with 'Kirayat-Turki' (Anthology) by Nigmanizilin. Besides the Mohammedan faith and Tatar reading and writing, there are brief courses on arithmetic, geography, ancient and modern history, and verses of Central Asian classics are learned

³³ This is probably a misprint, Kamilya Nigmatullina is meant.

by heart. Along with these they teach some works of Russian writers in translation, for example, fables by Krylov, 'Bakhchysaray Fountain' by Pushkin, and others.

The Izhbobinskoye reformed school has drawn particular attention of local Muslims in the current academic year and attracted up to 70 Muslim girls in the first week of studying (studies in Muslimmak-tabs usually start in September). In short the Izhbobinskoye girls' school succeeds, which is proved by a test introduced in January for interested Muslims. The exam has yielded excellent results. It is advisable for Ms Kamilya Nigmatullina to develop her work further and wider and not to stop to develop her well-launched business. Recognition of the fact that teaching will help at least ten or twenty Muslim girls to get on their feet, look around, and become decent, honest, and if not educated but at least competent and free people is the best reward for the good Muslim women for their sympathy in the difficult, critical time faced by Muslim women in their ignorant and slave period of life!

Isaac

Source: Annex to the Vyatskiye Gubernskiy Vedomosti. 1901. No. 43.

***Muslim students in state secular educational institutions of the Russian empire
in the latter half of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries in the light of the state statistics***

No. 37

Table 4

**Number of Muslim students in gymnasiums
and other secondary educational institutions by 1 January 1865**

Name of the educational institution	Total number	Religious Denomination of the Students					
		Orthodox	Roman Catholic	Protestant	Armenian Gregorian	Jews	Mohammedan
First gymnasium, Saint Petersburg	301	258	20	22	1	–	–
Second	458	372	24	60	–	2	–
Third	405	364	9	29	2	–	1
Larin	378	317	9	51	–	–	1
Fifth	418	342	33	40	–	3	–
Sixth	207	179	5	21	–	1	1
Seventh	298	245	8	43	–	2	–
Kronshtadt gymnasium	181	164	2	14	–	–	1
First Kazan	201	181	5	4	–	–	11
Astrakhan	164	142	4	5	10	–	3 ³⁴
Orenburg	203	193	3	2	–	–	5
Simferopol	317	317	24	18	14	59	2
Vilno progymnasium	202	14	171	2	–	14	1
Dinaburg	178	59	92	15	–	10	2
Kovno	264	62	120	22	–	58	2
Minsk	310	95	169	9	–	26	11
Sventsyan	145	13	120	1	–	9	2
Grodno	164	50	98	8	–	7	1
Slutsk	191	38	104	39	–	9	1
Irkutsk ³⁵	219	213	5	–	–	–	1 ³⁶
Total in Russia	26789	19123	4161	2430	37	990	48 ³⁷

Source: Review of the activities of the Ministry of Public Education and its subordinate institutions in 1862, 63, and 64. Saint-Petersburg, 1865. pp. 266–275. Annex No. 14.

³⁴ Author of the note: two of them are heathens.

³⁵ Author of the note: information on it dates back to September 1864.

³⁶ Author of the note: of Lamai faith.

³⁷ Author of the note: including 45 Mohammedans and 3 pagans.

No. 38

Table 5

Number of Muslim students in uyezd schools as of 1 January 1865

Uyezd schools	Total number	Number of students by religious denomination				
		Orthodox	Roman Catholic	Protestant	Jews	Mohammedan
In 43 uyezd schools of Saint Petersburg Educational District	2,400	2341	14	43	1	1
In 86 uyezd schools of Moscow District	5158	5150 ³⁸	7	1	—	—
Kazan Educational District						
The Saratov Guberniya						
Khvalynsk	45	44 ³⁹	—	—	—	1
The Samara Guberniya						
Bugulma	60	41	—	—	—	19 ⁴⁰
Buguruslan	71	70 ⁴¹	—	—	—	1
The Orenburg Guberniya						
Ufa	133	116	—	—	—	17 ⁴²
Chelyabinsk	54	28	—	—	—	26
Troitsk	52	52	—	—	—	—
Orenburg	114	92	—	—	—	22
Birsk	68	42	—	—	—	26 ⁴³
Menzelinsk	71	45	—	—	—	26 ⁴⁴
In 82 uyezd schools of Kazan Educational District	4783	4635 ⁴⁵	6	1	3	138 ⁴⁶
In 67 uyezd schools of Kharkov District	3378	3355 ⁴⁷	5	2	1	15 ⁴⁸
Odessa Educational District						
The Taurida Guberniya						
Simferopol	51	48	1	1	—	1
In 33 uyezd schools of Odessa District	1649	1539 ⁴⁹	37	4	69	1
Kiev Educational District						
The Kiev Guberniya						
Kiev	46	45	—	—	—	1
The Volyn Guberniya						
Teofilpol noblemen	103	30	59	—	12	2
In 42 schools of Kiev Educational District	2408	1931	366	9	99	3

³⁸ Author of the note: including 7 Old Believers and 11 dissidents.³⁹ Author of the note: including 4 dissidents.⁴⁰ Author of the note: including 10 pagans.⁴¹ Author of the note: including 1 dissident.⁴² Author of the note: including 2 idolaters.⁴³ Author of the note: including 8 pagans.⁴⁴ Author of the note: including 6 pagans.⁴⁵ Author of the note: including 1 Molokan, 11 dissidents, and 79 Armenian Gregorians.⁴⁶ Author of the note: including 26 pagans.⁴⁷ Author of the note: including 1 Armenian Gregorian.⁴⁸ Author of the note: idolaters.⁴⁹ Author of the note: including 50 Armenian Gregorians and 2 dissidents.

Vilna Educational District						
The Grodno Guberniya						
Slonim noblemen	89	11	68	1	1	8
The Belostok Guberniya						
Brest noblemen	53	29	19	1	3	1
In 20 schools of Vilna Educational District	1357	715	525	13	95	9
In 20 schools of Derpt Educational District	1449	105	29	1266	49	—
Western Siberia						
The Tobolsk Guberniya						
Yalutorovsk	38	37	—	—	—	1
Tyumen	72	71	—	—	—	1
In 13 schools of Western Siberia	635	628	1	—	4	2
Eastern Siberia						
Irkutsk	153	152	—	—	—	1 ⁵⁰
Porchinsk	58	54	1	—	—	4 ⁵¹
		52	1	—	—	7 ⁵²
In 10 schools of Eastern Siberia	735	720	1	—	2	12 ⁵³

Source: Review of the activities of the Ministry of Public Education and its subordinate institutions in 1862, 63, and 64. Saint Petersburg, 1865. pp. 284–319. Annex No. 15.

No. 39

Table 6

Number of Muslim students in boy's gymnasiums and progymnasiums at the beginning of the 20th century.

Educational districts and governorates general	Status of the educational institution	1902		1909		1912	
		Muslims	in %	Muslims	in %	Muslims	in %
Saint Petersburg	gymnasium	6	0.06	12	0.1	11	0.08
	progymnasium	—		—		—	
Moscow	gymnasium	6	0.04	7	0.04	7	0.04
	progymnasium	—		—		—	
Kharkov	gymnasium	—		2	0.01	19	0.15
	progymnasium	x*		—		x	
Odessa	gymnasium	27	0.31	23	0.2	91	0.7
	progymnasium	x		—		—	
Kiev	gymnasium	6	0.06	16	0.12	19	0.12
	progymnasium	x		—		—	
Vilna	gymnasium	38	0.7	39	0.58	43	503
	progymnasium	x		—		x	

⁵⁰ Author of the note: idolater.

⁵¹ Author of the note: of Lamai faith.

⁵² Author of the note: of Lamai faith.

⁵³ Author of the note: all of them are of Lamai faith.

Kazan	gymnasium	12	0.29	15	0.31	32	0.48
	progymnasium	x		1	0.3	x	
Orenburg	gymnasium	43	1.99	58	2.07	75	2.3
	progymnasium	x		6	2.02	6	0.99
Caucasus	gymnasium	314	3.97	587	6.04	609	5.24
	progymnasium	x		49	3.7	47	0.06
Riga	gymnasium	–		1	0.02	1	0.02
	progymnasium	x		–		–	
Warsaw	gymnasium	7	0.06	11	0.14	11	0.1
	progymnasium	x		–		–	
Western Siberian	gymnasium	16	1.16	19	1.24	19	0.97
Irkutsk Governorate General	gymnasium	x		1	0.06	7	0.33
Turkestan Governorate General	gymnasium	61	4.63	85	4.25	71	3.38
	progymnasium	x		x		3	1.8
Amur Governorate General	gymnasium	x		2	0.2	2	0.17
Total	gymnasium	536		878	0.83	1,000	0.78
	progymnasium	–		56	0.86	56	0.98
Total		536	0.58	934	0.08	1056	0.79
Warsaw	gymnasium	7	0.06	11	0.14	11	0.1
	progymnasium	x		–		–	
Western Siberian	gymnasium	16	1.16	19	1.24	19	0.97
Irkutsk Governorate General	gymnasium	x		1	0.06	7	0.33
Turkestan Governorate General	gymnasium	61	4.63	85	4.25	71	3.38
	progymnasium	x		x		3	1.8
Amur Governorate General	gymnasium	x		2	0.2	2	0.17
Total	gymnasium	536		878	0.83	1,000	0.78
	progymnasium	–		56	0.86	56	0.98
Total		536	0.58	934	0.08	1056	0.79

* x means the educational district or governorate general does not contain this type of educational institution.

Source: Most devoted report of the Minister of Public Education for 1902. Saint Petersburg, 1904. Annex. Register No. 8, pp. 14–17; Most devoted report of the Minister of Public Education for 1908. Saint Petersburg, 1910. Annex. Register No. 30, pp. 50–53; Most devoted report of the Minister of Public Education for 1911. Saint Petersburg, 1913. Annex. Register No. 30, pp. 50–53.

No. 40

Table 7

The number of Muslim students in non-classic secondary schools, trade secondary schools, schools for trade students, and lower trade secondary schools at the beginning of the 20th century

Educational districts and governorates general	Non-classic secondary schools			Trade secondary schools, schools for trade students		Secondary and lower technical schools	
	1902	1909	1912	1909	1912	1909	1912
Saint Petersburg	2	11	20	–	–	–	–
Moscow	10	11	12	–	–	7	20
Kharkov	–	1	5	–	–	1	–

Odessa	7	2	5	3	8	1	–
Kiev	1	5	4	–	–	1	1
Vilna	24	22	23	–	1	–	–
Kazan	18	25	29	3	13	–	3
Orenburg	10	47	88	39	48	10	⁷
Caucasus	404	785	957	104	132	16	29
Riga	–	1	2	–	–	–	–
Warsaw	–	–	–	1	1	–	–
Western Siberian		6	11	–	–	–	–
Irkutsk Governorate General		2	6	–	–	2	4
Turkestan Governorate General	13	4	6	–	–	–	–
Amur Governorate General		3	5	–	–	–	–
Total	489	925	1173	150	203	38	64
Total percentage of all	1.1	1.5	1.6	1.0	1.2	0.4	0.6

Source: Most devoted report of the Minister of Public Education for 1902. Saint Petersburg, 1904. Register No. 8, pp. 14–17; Most devoted report of the Minister of Public Education for 1908. Saint Petersburg, 1910. Annex. Register No. 21, pp. 35, 215–219; Most devoted report of the Minister of Public Education for 1911. Saint Petersburg, 1913. Annex. Register No. 21, pp. 215–219.

Materials prepared by Ildus Zagidullin, Khalida Bagautdinova, and Radik Iskhonov

§ 2. Christened Tatars

The period from the 19th to the early 20th century was a time of global change in the social and cultural development paradigm for christened Tatars, which was characterised by the transition from the traditional (ethnic) culture to 'high' culture. This process was accompanied by a gradual destruction of the foundations of their agricultural patriarchal society, the emergence of a distinctive educational system, a class of urban and rural intelligentsia, the birth of a literary tradition based on the Cyrillic alphabet, significant changes in their religious ideas. The most important factor influencing the cultural transformation of the christened Tatar society was in the formation of their primary and secondary confessional (Orthodox) educational system. Founded by missionaries as a primary channel for promoting the Orthodox ideology in the 19–20th centuries, the primary school became the basis of cultural mobilisation for christened Tatars. The schooling of christened Tatars was inseparably linked with the personality of the missionary and a scientist-orientalist N. Ilminsky. The idea of introducing missionary schools for christened Tatars and opening a special central educational institution to train teachers for them was first expressed by him in his report on visiting the Tatar villages (1856) and addressed to Gregory (Postnikov), the Archbishop of Kazan. The formation and implementation of the new missionary-educational system was subsequently based upon this idea. An important step in the development of Ilminsky's system consisted in the creation of Kazan Central Schools for Christened Tatars in 1863, on the basis of which the theoretical and practical basis of a new educational ideology was created by trial and error. Ilminsky himself widely covered the development history of this educational institution in a number of his articles published in local and national periodicals and published as a separate collection of articles dedicated to Kazan Central Schools for Christened Tatars in 1887. They covered in detail the major milestones in the history of Kazan Central Schools for Christened Tatars as well as the key ideas underlying Ilminsky's systems to help to understand and analyse the innovations introduced by this missionary and educator. These publications caused much debate in governmental agencies and society. Over the course of extensive discussion, Ilminsky's system was recognised by the imperial authorities and became the foundation of the school and the missionary policy among christened non-Russian peoples of eastern Russia. This was reflected in the 'Regulation on Measures Related to the Education of Foreigners Living in Russia,' approved by his majesty on 26 March 1870. Since then the network of primary confessional schools for christened Tatars was extended. The main sources on the history of their development are clerical

materials prepared for higher authorities by officials of the Ministry of Public Education, Ministry of Internal Affairs, missionaries, and priests in which the functioning of these institutions, their cultural and religious influence on the local population are demonstrated. N. Ilminsky's correspondence with his students is another important documentary complex. After they graduated from Kazan Central School for Christened Tatars or Kazan Teachers' Seminary, these students became teachers and priests in villages, where christened Tatars lived. These sources are unique because of their personalised character that helps to look at the history of christened Tatars' school education through the eyes of direct participants of these events and to evaluate complex peripeteias of cultural and religious processes that took place among the representatives of this ethnic and religious community in the 19–early 20th centuries.

Radik Iskhakov

No. 41

Extract from a Report of a Bachelor of Kazan Theological Academy N. Ilminsky on His Trip Across Tatar Villages (1856)

Orthodox schools for rural inhabitants should be the best and principal means to a Christian education of the people and to the unification of different-minded people into the like-mindedness of Orthodoxy. In Mamadysh there is a so-called central school; it gathers orphans speaking different languages and professing different religions from various districts of the Kazan Guberniya at the state's expense for up to 20 people. They are all placed in a common apartment, are dressed, and fed at the expense of the state. The educational period continues for six years. They study to read and write in Russian according to Russian grammar books, then they study 'The Basis of the Christian Doctrine,' and finally read the Bible. Moreover, they study arithmetic and writing. Even if a student was Muslim, they have to learn Christian prayers and catechism. They should without fail speak Russian. During the six years they are made entirely Russian, and there have been situations when Tatar and other non-christened boys wished to adopt Christianity at the end of their course. At the end of their course the boys are transferred at the disposal of the Kazan Chamber of the State Property and become clerks. This school is a clear proof of the decisive impact that can be had on foreigners by schools, where they are educated in accordance with certain concepts and rules from an early age. On my way I have met the following schools in the parishes, where many old-christened Tatars live: in Abdi⁵⁴, Yukachi⁵⁵, Uryas-Uchi⁵⁶, Yumya⁵⁷, Chura⁵⁸, and Karabayany⁵⁹ village in the Laishevo Uyezd, which I remember from my previous trips. In their number rural parochial schools can seem sufficient at the first glance, but they have the following inconveniences and deficiencies.

People have not become accustomed to a school education and do not yet understand its benefits. Not realising the benefits of education, most peasants reluctantly send their children to schools. Moreover, the residents of other villages have to lease a flat for their children in the village, where there is a school, and to pay a ruble per month, which is very burdensome for poor people. It should be added that during his studies a boy cannot help his father with household duties. The boys do not wish to study because of their inclination to laziness and games, which is natural for children. If one or two of the students from any village miss classes for several days, other boys abandon studies looking at them. Therefore students (at least many of them) attend their classes inconstantly: attend one week and miss another one. Threats or the strictness of teachers can only further alienate children from science. Therefore, teachers apply to village authorities to ask an elder or a clerk to induce the boys to attend the school, and parents, not to keep them at home or send their children again. Unfortunately, village leaders partially abuse this important business often using this fact to take bribes, [and] namely: they allow buying the boys off the studies for a small amount of money (in villages they treat smallpox vaccinators in the same way). And abundant correspondence between the teachers and the administrations often gives no results, so that the teachers finally cease to apply to village leaders with their problems. Consequently, this evil can be cured only by good intentions and vigilant solicitude of district leaders.

⁵⁴ Modern village of Abdi in the Tyulyachi District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

⁵⁵ Modern village of Yukachi in the Mamadysh District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

⁵⁶ Modern village of Uryas-Uchi in the Kukmor District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

⁵⁷ Modern village of Oshforma Umya in the Kukmor District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

⁵⁸ Modern village of Selo-Chura in the Kukmor District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

⁵⁹ Modern village of Karabayan in the Tyulyachi District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

By order of the Ministry of State Property, peasants should be voluntarily incited to send their children to study; they should not be oppressed or forced to do it. But it was demonstrated above how this humanity taken perhaps from German morals sticks to a Russian peasant. The same Ministry usually closes a school where few students study, and you can reopen it only with the help of a long correspondence and numerous applications. Thus, a school in the vilage of Abdyakh was closed, and a deacon now teaches children for free there. As I heard, a school in the village of Karabayanakh was closed, which happened due to the disagreement between the priest and the deacon as to who should teach—that is, who should receive the salary for teaching. This order of the Ministry of State Property seems to be unwise: it should support schools in every way possible. If a small number of students study reluctantly, then it should use compulsion or give them time for the peasants to get accustomed to schools; if students depend on another one or a cruel teacher, then it should replace the teachers for another one, a better one, and not deprive the region of any way to education.

Another inconvenience of schools consists of the teachers. I have noticed that mostly priests serve as teachers, and I must admit that not education but money leads the priest to these activities. However, taking into account the size of parishes and the number of parishioners, priests simply cannot spend much time with the class, and therefore the teaching process is slow. It would be better if priests were only observers and taught only the God's law, with other information taught by a different person. Since teachers come to schools, so to speak, not very often, all the teaching is limited to reading, writing, and arithmetic. It seems that other information of a moral and religious nature is not provided to the students at all. What is particularly strange is that they do not teach the boys to read and write in the language of the church. I believe that teaching to read religious books and sing religious songs, so that they could stand in a choir in the church, read, and sing, may be useful for peasants. Of course, they should gradually explain them a sense of religious Slavonic dogmas, especially those that are most frequently used in the church, for example, *ekteniyas*⁶⁰, and so on. It would familiarise them with the church and the Orthodoxy, induce to go to church, make the temple of God a direct school for the villagers, who lack other sources of education. I remember that in the mountains of Lebanon parishioners themselves fulfill the duties of junior deacons. At one location I admired as ten children came into the centre of the church, two in a row, and turn by turn, read all *kathismas*⁶¹ by heart. Meanwhile, our villagers demonstrate some reluctance to stand in a choir.

The printed circular books register maintained by each school demonstrates that the authorities try to provide rural schools with many books that only we can suggest to parishioners for reading, including a number of Slavic books: the Gospel, Psalms, the Book of Hours; a publication entitled 'Reading' is particularly useful since it includes passages from the Bible, the Old and New Testament arranged in a chronological historical order. If all these books were properly read by the students, village boys could get much information. But these books are currently read very rarely.

Finally, rural schools have another disadvantage consisting of the fact that they, having many observers—district authorities, deans, and other supervisors—have no permanent supervision, which would be directed only to them, and the condition of all schools is not reduced to one, and they could better understand the needs of these schools and find means to improve them. I think it would be useful to have a deliberate official, whose duty would be only to attend rural schools, to report detailed information about their condition to the diocesan authorities, and to fulfill orders of the diocesan authorities. Since education of the villagers should be predominantly religious, schools should be under direct supervision of the diocesan authorities.

Schools are located in decent houses arranged mostly by priests, who receive a small annual fee for this; they are equipped with decent desks. Boys study how to read and write very well: I saw some students who were reading quite fluently. Schools are attended by foreigners along with Russians: christened Tatars, Votyaks, etc., and they are talented if compared to Russians. As to the number of students, the greatest number of those studying in a school does not exceed 50; and the total number of students in all the aforementioned schools is not more than 150 people.

Thus, according to the number of students, the amount of information, and the time and persistence of studies, Russian rural schools are worse than Muslim schools; therefore, to equalise their influence if compared to the latter ones, rural schools should be given much more attention.

⁶⁰ In the Orthodox tradition *ekteniya* means the first of the main parts of a liturgy usually read by a deacon on an ambon in the church.

⁶¹ *Kathisma* means a part of the Psalter read during a liturgy.

I had an idea to take several older-christened boys, who proved to be talented and humble in rural schools, especially homeless orphans, and send them to a boarding school for a few years, educate, carefully train them, and subsequently use them as deacons or teachers to promote education among their fellow villagers. It would be like the former schools for newly-christened Tatars. But I do not know whether this idea is convenient for its implementation. Since in rural schools they teach only reading, they will probably forget this knowledge after graduation due to a lack of suitable books for them. Therefore, in order for the ability to read to serve as an educational tool, popular publications with a didactic content must be sold as cheaply as possible in villages.

Source: Manuscript Department of the Russian National Library, fund 573 (Saint Petersburg Theological Academy), inv. 1, case AI/232, sheets 9 reverse–12 reverse. Original.

Published: Christian Education and Religious Movements (re-Islamisation) of Christened Tatars in the 19–Early 20th Centuries. Collection of Materials and Documents / Compiler, author of the introductory article, notes, scientific references R. Iskhakov. Kazan, 2012, pp. 147–151.

No. 42

From an article by N. Ilminsky 'Primary School for Children of Christened Tatars in Kazan' (1867)

The germ of this school appeared in early September 1863, when Vasily Timofeev⁶² entered the Kazan Theological Academy as a trainee teacher of the Tatar language. At that time one older-christened Tatar man from the same village of Nikiforova, where Timofeev came from, brought his son to him to study. A month later this boy was followed from another one, then a third one, all of them being from the same village. They studied during the winter of 1863/4 in a leased flat in a basement behind the academy together with the teacher and his family. I cannot but mention I. Yastrebov⁶³, a student of the Academy's missionary branch. This energetic and handsome young man, with constant love and solicitude, supported Timofeev, who had just come to the academy from a humble village life, and the three of his students. Yastrebov tried to arrange better relationships between Timofeev and academy students, provided his emerging school with paper, cinder, various rags, bought geography by Corneille for Timofeev at his own expense, and was the first to interest him in this science. In general in his daily conversations with Timofeev he tried to convey various data. Once, when Timofeev's simple religious feelings were hurt by accidentally heard materialistic ideas, which were spread in our country at that time, Yastrebov used every effort to calm Timofeev and smooth the painful impression. Timofeev gratefully remembers Yastrebov's love, who now serves in Turkey with a Russian mission.

At the end of June 1864 Timofeev and his students went home. Their reading and singing Orthodox prayers in their native language were liked by all christened Tatars, and their example incited other Nikiforova boys, who became Timofeev's students. In addition, the later toured several villages of the Mamadysh Uyezd, inspiring christened Tatars with the idea in the need for educating their children. His suggestion was accepted by many people with confidence and sympathy. Having learned about this emerging sympathy to children's education among christened Tatars and bearing in mind the general ignorance of christened Tatars and a lack of knowledge about Christianity, in August 1864 I petitioned the authorities of the Kazan Educational District to permit me to open a private school for the initial training of christened Tatars' children in Kazan, with Timofeev being a teacher. The permission of the authorities is set out in order No. 1239 of 3 September 1864 sent to me by the Head of schools of the Kazan Guberniya, which contains the following provisions about the school: 'The boys should live in an equipped apartment, which will be leased at private expense for them, but clothing and food must be delivered by their parents, depending on their financial state. No tuition fee should be charged. The boys should be taught to read and write in Russian. The main subject is the law of God, prayers, the sacred history, and a brief catechism on the books written in the Tatar language but in Russian letters. Then, depending on the students' curiosity and performance, they must be taught the first arithmetic operations, drawing of geometric shapes, basics of geography, and similar basic information. Reading and teaching

⁶² Vasily Vasilyevich Timofeev (1836–1893), the founder of the Kazan Central School for Christened Tatars, is referred to here.

⁶³ Ivan Stepanovich Yastrebov (1839–1894) was a graduate of the Anti-Islamic Department of the Kazan Spiritual Academy, a famous Russian diplomat and publicist. From 1870 to 1886 he led the Russian General Consulate in Thessaloniki.

must be conducted primarily in Tatar, and then the students must gradually practice Russian. Timofeev should be the teacher at the proposed school at the request of the founders thereof, because christened Tatars, knowing him personally, have confidence in him and entrust their children to him. V. Timofeev and his family should live in the same apartment with his students to watch constantly their behaviour.' The school will be controlled by me and a bachelor of Theological Academy Mr Malov⁶⁴.

As christened Tatars live in uyezds and the christened Tatars of the Mamadysh Uyezd were the first to demonstrate an interest in the education of their children, to make it easier for them, we needed to give their children a fully equipped room, with the exception of clothes and food, which was, however, required in the form of raw products. We also presented the parents with the freedom to bring their children to school and to take them away from it when they wanted. On the issue of the students' entering the school, we acted without any interference of the authorities, bearing in mind the experience that any even the most delicate intervention of the authorities often awakens misunderstandings and fears in commoners. <...>

Source: Kazan Central School for Christened Tatars. Materials on the History of Christian Education of Christened Tatars. Kazan, 1887. pp. 182–184.

No. 43

Table 8

The dynamics of the number of students and trained teaching personnel at the Kazan Central School for Christened Tatars from 1863–1905.

Academic years	Male students	Female students	Earned the certificate of a male teacher upon graduation	Earned the certificate of a female teacher upon graduation
1863–64	3	—	—	—
1864–65	19	1	—	—
1865–66	40	2	—	—
1866–67	60	5	4	1
1867–68	70	8	6	—
1868–69	80	13	4	—
1869–70	86	15	20	1
1870–71	92	25	10	1
1871–72	120	40	16	3
1872–73	120	45	10	5
1873–74	115	40	19	3
1874–75	106	35	12	2
1875–76	78	35	8	1
1876–77	57	36	5	3
1877–78	40	33	6	2
1878–79	40	34	6	2
1879–80	50	22	8	1
1880–81	54	30	15	—
1881–82	65	30	6	2
1882–83	65	36	9	3
1883–84	74	30	9	—
1884–85	90	30	15	—
1885–86	104	38	19	4
1886–87	85	40	—	—

⁶⁴ Yefimiy Aleksandrovich Malov (1835–1918) is being referred to here. He was an Orthodox missionary, an expert in Islamic studies, and a professor of the Anti-Islamic Department at the Kazan Spiritual Academy.

1887–88	90	36	20	6
1888–89	96	40	24	12
1889–90	65	42	22	–
1890–91	92	45	13	9
1891–92	70	30	15	10
1892–93	91	45	16	12
1893–94	100	50	15	4
1894–95	104	47	16	14
1895–96	98	54	19	9
1896–97	75	42	15	9
1897–98	92	50	17	8
1898–99	115	52	22	–
1899–1900	117	48	14	15
1900–1901	116	49	17	–
1901–1902	118	44	22	24
1902–1903	118	60	14	–
1903–1904	118	59	17	19
1904–1905	110	56	22	–
Total	3394	1472	511	185

Source: N. Ilminsky. About the system of education of foreigners and Kazan Central School for Christened Tatars (dedicated to the 50th anniversary both of the system and school as well as necessary certificates to decree No. 8608 about education of foreigners). Kazan 1913. P. 93.

No. 44

Table 9

**The list of graduates of the Kazan Central School for Christened Tatars
for the 1902–1903 academic year with the indication of their place of service**

No.	Last name, first name, patronymic	What service they joined
1	Yegor Alekseev	Burdino 2–form school at the Ministry of National Education, the Ufa Guberniya, teacher's assistant
2	Vasily Alginov	Kurcheyevo zemskoye school of the Belebeyevsky Uyezd in the Ufa Guberniya, a teacher
3	Matvey Asanbayev	Novobalykino school at the Ministry of National Education of the Belebeyevsky Uyezd in the Ufa Guberniya, a teacher
4	Nikolay Asafov	Vladimir school of St. Gury Orthodox Brotherhood of the Mamadysh Uyezd, the Kazan Guberniya, a teacher.
5	Grigory Ilyin	due to the lack of open positions, was temporarily sent back to his parents
6	Pimen Kazakov	entered the Kazan Teachers' Seminary in order to continue his education
7	Alexander Komisarov	Bogryazhskaia missionary school of the Menzelinsk Uyezd, the Ufa Guberniya, a teacher
8	Yefrem Makarov	Tolkiyaz school of St. Gury Orthodox Brotherhood in the Laishevo Uyezd of the Kazan Guberniya, a teacher
9	Timofey Maksimov	due to the lack of open positions, was temporarily sent back to his parents
10	Vasily Nazarov	due to the lack of open positions, was temporarily sent back to his parents
11	Vasily Pavlov	was enrolled in the position of a teacher at the missionary school of the Vyatka Guberniya
12	Semen Pavlov	was enrolled in the position of a teacher at the missionary school of the Vyatka Guberniya
13	Ivan Pavlov	was enrolled in the position of a teacher at the missionary school of the Vyatka Guberniya

14	Ignaty Prokofyev	due to the lack of open positions, was temporarily sent back to his parents
15	Dmitry Ryabkov	due to the lack of open positions, was temporarily sent back to his parents
16	Vasily Semenov	due to the lack of open positions, was temporarily sent back to his parents
17	Ivan Sergeev	Biyersk school of St. Gury Orthodox Brotherhood in the Mamadysh Uyezd of the Kazan Guberniya, a teacher
18	Mikhail Sofin	Durgino school of St. Gury Orthodox Brotherhood of the Tsivilsk Uyezd of the Kazan Guberniya
19	Avraamy Tabakov	Khozesanovo school of St. Gury Brotherhood of the Tsivilsk Uyezd of the Kazan Guberniya, a teacher
20	Fedot Timofeev	missionary school of the Menzelinsk Uyezd of the Ufa Guberniya, a teacher
21	Konstantin Trofimov	missionary school of the Yelabuga Uyezd of the Vyatka Guberniya, a teacher
22	Maksim Usachev	Bolshe-Savrushevo school of St. Gury Orthodox Brotherhood in the Mamadysh Uyezd of the Kazan Guberniya, a teacher
23	Tikhon Yakovlev	Sumbashsk school of St. Gury Orthodox Brotherhood in the Mamadysh Uyezd of the Kazan Guberniya, a teacher
24	Aleksey Fedorov	Verkhne-Meretyakovo school of St. Gury Orthodox Brotherhood of the Laishevo Uyezd of the Kazan Guberniya, a teacher
25	Yemelyan Fedorov	Molkumerskaya school of St. Gury Brotherhood of the Laishevo Uyezd of the Kazan Guberniya, a teacher

Source: Russian State Historical Archive, fund 797, inv. 96, file 153, P. 5. Original.

No. 45

Extracts from the Regulations on measures at education of aliens inhabiting Russia, by Imperial consolidation of 26 March 1870

Relating to non-Russian Christians

1. The common factor for all non-Russian Christians in the system of their education should be the following: a) the basic tool of elementary education for every tribe should be their native dialects; b) teachers at non-Russian schools should be natives of these tribes but those who speak Russian well, or they may be Russians speaking the necessary dialects in an excellent way; and c) special attention must be paid to women's education, because the tribal dialect and tribal features are mostly preserved and maintained by mothers.

2. The peculiarities of the educational system for every group of non-Russians mainly lie in the significance which native dialect should be in the aliens' elementary school. In this respect, we should decree the following: a) for alien children who have barely absorbed the Russian environment and do not speak Russian new special schools must be established, at which the elementary education is conducted in their local language, and children's school books are written in the same dialect. School books include first readers, necessary prayers, short stories from the Sacred story of the Old and New Testament, and religious-moral books. In order to make the transition to the study of the Russian language easier, all these books should be printed in the local dialect with Russian letters along with the translation into Russian or without one, except for prayer books and liturgical books in general, which must contain a Russian translation. At the same time, children with the help of local dialects learn the Russian everyday speech via visual training and then, after they digest a significant vocabulary of Russian words and phrases, they start learning the Russian grammar (reading and writing at the same time), continuing to learn the Russian vernacular language. Besides, this visual training and learning of grammar should constantly supplement and help each other, thus contributing both to children's intellectual development through acquainting them with the surrounding world and a better adoption of the Russian language with the obligatory translation of Russian text into their alien dialects. As for calculation, initially children should learn it in their alien dialect and then in Russian. Upon the sufficient adoption of the Russian language by the children, they study the Law of God on a common basis; besides, the Sacred Story is repeated in Russian with necessary additions; the main prayers must be learned by heart in the Russian and the Church Slavic languages, the short catechesis is taught. The liturgical chant, as an important means of aliens' enlightenment, is introduced at all schools; moreover, the chant is sung both in the local alien dialect and the Church Slavic language. Then the organisation of the course's details and defining of its time frame as well as the following education of non-Russian children are at the dis-

cretion of the local school's administration. Moreover, at non-Russian schools with the aforementioned structure of education shifts for girls will be organised. B) In the localities inhabited by mixed native Russian and alien populations, general elementary schools for the two groups must be established. At these schools education must be carried out in the Russian language and the local alien dialect, which is, however, acceptable only for oral explanations. If it is not enough, in this case special departments established at the expense of the locality must be organised for non-Russian pupils, at which they must study until they completely absorb the Russian language to be able to study the same disciplines together with Russian children. Shifts for girls must also be established at such schools. C) Finally, for aliens who have integrated into the Russian environment elementary public schools are established on the common terms with Russian schools.

3. The nearest administration of schools of the two first categories is delegated to the priest—the school's catechist if he possesses knowledge of the local alien dialect and desires to take on the responsibility of administration; if the local priest does not speak the local dialect, then in this case the school administration is given to the teacher, while teaching of the Law of God may be confided to a lay person.

4. The supervision over alien schools is imposed upon inspectors of elementary public schools with the necessary additional instructions, which the administration generally has provided to all inspectors.

Source: The main set of regulations and instructions on elementary public schools and teachers' seminaries. Part 1. Regulations and instructions on elementary public schools in the governorates, where zemsky organisations have been introduced. Saint Petersburg, 1882. pp. 42–22.

No. 46

Table 10

The general record of missionary Christened Tatar schools of the Yelabuga Uyezd of the Vyatka Guberniya for 1884⁶⁵

The name of the school	Where and by whom the school was founded	Who works as a teacher, from when and where they received an education and whether they have the right for it and who the catechist is	Students' successes and what they studied in the first half of the academic year	Whether the school is educationally and materially satisfactory
1. Cherkasovo school	Opened on 8 November 1881 by the local priest, missionary Boris Gavrilov	Pavel Petrov a peasant from the village of Umyak. He was educated at the Kazan Christened-Tatar School and has the certificate of a village teacher. He has occupied this position since 8 November 1881. His salary is 100 rubles per annum, including residence allowance. The catechist is missionary Boris Gavrilov, gratis	Children are taught the Law of God, reading, writing, arithmetic, and chanting of more widely used prayers. Education is conducted in the Tatar and Russian languages. Moreover, there are evening classes for adults who study the same disciplines rather successfully. In 1884 three boys graduated from the school and received certificates. The chant is conducted under the direction of teacher P. Petrov	The school needs desks, tables, abaci, pictures, quills and ink tanks, school books, and all guides in general. For some reason the Yelabuga authority finally refused to provide the school with this equipment.

⁶⁵ The report is provided with abbreviations.

2. Bryushilino	In existence from 17 September 1873. It was opened by the local priest Konstantin Rodnikov	Since 2 September 1883 the position of a teacher has been occupied by Dmitry Petrov. He graduated from the Kazan Central Christened-Tatar School and comes from among the peasants of the village of Umyak. He has a certificate for teaching granted by the Laishevo Teachers Council. The catechist is Mikhail Leontyevich Kosmodamiansky, acting as the psalmist, gratis	Studies begin from 15 November; therefore, nothing exact can be said about students' achievements, because the school, at the order of the Vyatka committee of the Orthodox missionary community, was transferred to the village of Porym of the Grakhovo ward but subsequently was returned	The school is in need of all school guides and textbooks. Although the Yelabuga authority provides them with these items, but in an insignificant amount. Both books and desks were previously used by zemsky schools
3. Togayevsky	Opened by the Vyatka committee of the Orthodox missionary community on 1 October 1882	Mikhail Romanov Lobanov has been the teacher since 1 October 1883, a graduate of the Kazan Central Christened-Tatar School. He has certificate for teaching No. 134 from the Laishevo Teachers Council. His salary is 100 rubles with residence allowance.	The total number of students at the school is 9 people, but only 4 boys visit it continuously; therefore, no achievements have been seen.	The school needs all school guides and textbooks. Although the Yelabuga authority provides them with these items but in an insignificant amount. The textbooks are old and were out of use at zemsky schools
4. Setyakovsky	Transferred from the village of Munayka in 1879	A peasant from the village of Setyakova Vasily Terentyev, who studied at the Kazan Christened-Tatar School, has the certificate for teaching, occupies the position of a teacher since 1879, and since 1 October 1882 works at this school. His salary is 135 rubles, including residence allowance.	They read (reading) the Sacred Story of the Old and New Covenant with the emphasis on the Russian language with the translation into Tatar; arithmetics, four rules of calculation, calligraphy, they write to dictation; they know morning and evening prayers. They know how to sing several prayers	The school needs all school guides and textbooks. Although the Yelabuga authority provides them with these items but in an insignificant amount. The textbooks are old and were out of use at zemsky schools
5. Porymsky	In 1884, at the desire of local priest father Nikolay Yakimov, it was transferred from the village of Novo-Grishina	The teacher is one ⁶⁶ of the graduates of the Kazan Central Christian Tatar School, certificate No.105 of the Laishev Council, and receives 145 roubles, including residence allowance	7 boys out of 32 pupils study the Law of God, know all prayers, as well as four actions of arithmetic, while the rest study the abecedarium	The school is in need of all textbooks and guides. It was opened at the sole desire of priest Yakimov by the order of the society, which obliged to provide an apartment and heating. However, the society has granted neither an apartment nor heating, and the teacher should pay for them because priest Yakimov refused to pay for it

⁶⁶ Written unintelligibly.

6. Staro-Rish- kinsky school	Opened in 1871 by the missionary, ca- thedral protoiereus Stepan Kashmen- sky	Semen Dmitriev, teach- er from 11 October 1881. He graduated from the Kazan Central Christian Tatar School. He possesses the certificate for carrying out teaching activities No.156, dated 29 August 1880, from the Laishev Teachers' Council. His salary is 130 roubles per annum, including residence allowance	Pupils regularly attend the school. Senior ones read in Russian, Slavic, and Tatar, clearly and sensibly. They write to dictation, know all prayers in Russian and Tatar from the programme for elementary schools, and tell the 10 lessons from the Sacred Story of the Old and New Testaments. As well as all four acts of arithmetic and calculations. The middle section knows all the prayers according to the programme in Tatar and some in Russian and write in Tatar to dictation. They also solve small problems. Some junior students have studied the abecedarium; they write numbers to one hundred and cal- ligraphic letters, while those enrolled later have not yet studied the abecedarium	In the material sense, the school is in need of two desks and books in the Russian language, especially elementary ones—the New Testament and other books
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Missionary, priest Boris Gavrilov.

Source: State Archive of Kirov Oblast, 811, inv. 1, file 213, pp. 1–3. Original.

No.47

The report by missionary, priest of the village of Shirinskoe Fillip Gavrilov⁶⁷ on the religious-moral condition of the christened Tatars of the Vyatka Eparchy for 1889.

<...> During the present trip, we visited 18 non-Russian schools and always attempted to adjust the time so that to be at the school during students' morning prayers, which are held before classes, which we managed to do at many schools. Children read the Slavic text of morning prayers in such a good way! And some prayers were read in their local language, from the adapted prayer book. They sang so clearly and touching, accompanying the reading of prayers with chant and also repeating it in their local language, that it deeply touched me. After the prayer, students took their seats and I, remaining at the school, listened to the teacher's classes and at the conclusion examined the students' knowledge of the Law of God. Asking question about different sites consecrated with events described in the New Testament, for example, Nazareth, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Nain, Bithynia, about the Jordan River, the Sea of

⁶⁷ Filipp Gavrilov (?–1896) was a famous spiritual figure and missionary from among the christened Tatars. After graduating from the Kazan Central School for Christened Tatars, he was directed to Yelyshevo village as a teacher of a 'Brotherhood' missionary school. Consequently, on N. Ilminsky's insistence, he was conferred orders and directed to the Vyatka eparchy for missionary work. He was the founder and teacher of law in a range of christened-Tatar and Udmurt elementary schools in the Vyatka Region. From 1891 until his death, he was an eparchial non-Russian missionary of the Vyatka eparchy and a prior at the Cathedral in the city of Malmzyzh.

Galilee and the Lake of Gennesaret and about the mounts of Tabor and Olivet, etc., I was given answers convincing me that students at missionary schools know the life of Jesus Christ thoroughly and accurately. Students at these schools generally study Russian grammar. Their main disciplines are the Law of God, prayers, the Sacred Story and Short Catechism by the books translated into their native language, but in Russian letters, then, with the development of their curiosity and successes, they are taught first actions of arithmetic, technical drawing, geometric figures, basic notions of geography, and similar basic information. Initially, reading and teaching are conducted in the native language, and then pupils gradually train in Russian. Some school children made significant achievements in the Russian language and started reading the New Testament in it and can almost completely understand it. In one school, I asked a pupil to read a parable about a saint in the Russian translation of the New Testament, and in another school the parable of the wheat and chaff. After reading, I asked them what they had read and whether they could render the content in their language. And they retold it to me in Tatar in the right order and so accurately that they did not miss any feature of the Testament parable. In all the schools that I visited, I advised students to adhere to an independent manner of acquiring knowledge through reading books. Teachers themselves told that, as chance offers, they tried to acquaint students with different disciplines via oral stories and that their conversations mostly touched upon the Sacred history and church matters.

It is a great pity that at missionary schools, there are no books for teachers themselves to read; neither are there books for students. There are also no study guides. At those few schools where there are paintings, boys are told sacred events with their help. Being present at such conversations, I admired a live stream of the Tatars' and Cheremis' native speech, which God prepared and consecrated for a vessel honoured for reading the holy Testament truths.

Students are taught writing along with reading; they write calligraphy from a copy-book in a satisfactory manner. Moreover, they write to dictation after the teacher in the Russian language and rewrite fairy tales. In order that the hearts of non-Russian students better absorbed the truths of the Christian learning, I advised teachers to make senior students rewrite into separate notebooks the Slavic texts of Sunday and Holiday heirmoi, church canticles and hymns to the Mother of God, lending them for a while from their priest. Such an exercise for students of the Tatar and Cheremis origin in rewriting of church chants with their elevated thoughts and high studiousness about the householdry of our salvation will contribute not only to our students' development of hands via writing but also to learning the Church-Slavic language. But what is mostly important is that it will contribute to the spiritual and enlightening development of their intellect.

I observe poor furnishings at many missionary schools. Their small libraries are similarly miserable. And I unwillingly reflect upon these schools: whether they bring the anticipated benefit and whether they can provide means to bring benefits at least with the help of school books? They seem to have been opened in warm blood. Their founders only took into consideration an utter necessity to open schools for christened Tatars and even because of their detachment from the Orthodoxy. <...> And thus, in an attempt to rebut the influence of Mohammedanism upon the baptised Tatars, our missionary schools were opened thinking that, once we make a call, Tatar children from all sides would rush to our schools. In the meantime, it costs the teachers a great deal, and today there should be 10–15–20 christened Tatar students. While not a single baptised Tatar student is studying yet at zemsky schools which function at christened Tatar parishes of local settlements. If recently the number of students from baptised Tatar families has significantly increased and christened Tatar girls started entering these schools fairly often, we should assume that the christened Tatars gradually began to trust them. Again, when opening these anti-Mohammedan schools, not a single rouble seems to have been spent apart from those given to teachers as salaries. But as soon as the schools had been founded in villages and started functioning, we felt the need for school guides and other equipment necessary for a small household. Luckily, some zemsky authorities (Yelabuga, for instance) of the uyezd provided them with some shabby items which had been used at zemsky schools and returned back due to their decay and impropriety for further use at zemsky schools. 'Rodnoye Slovo' [The Native Word] by author Ushimsky is among these items; old desks were also lent from zemsky schools. By their own efforts, teachers have constructed a blackboard and bought some books from deliverers, as well as beads and some writing implements, and thus ran their schools step by step, overcoming different difficulties on their way, including abuse from those who are scandalised by the education of the christened Tatars and christened non-Russians in general. But these schools, to their honour, deserved trust not only from the baptised Tatars, but also gained sympathy and confidence from the side of the Orthodox community. Some of the most dignified representatives of the Russian Orthodox society encourage aliens in their enlightenment and have even arranged great facilities for two missionary schools in the villages

of Ilneti⁶⁸ and Sardabash⁶⁹; others, taking the responsibility of an administrator, provide some material help to some schools, at least providing teachers with paper, quills, ink and pencils, free of charge. The citizens of the city of Yelabuga Ushkov and Dmitrievsky donated desks and several exemplars of the New Testament in the Russian translation for two schools: the former, for the Setyakovskaya school; and the latter, for the Cherkosovskaya school. At last, the Mamlyzh zemstvo, prompted by the spirit of Christian love and awareness of the undoubted benefit of schools for aliens, decreed at their recent meeting to grant 100 roubles each to the five christian Tatar schools in the villages of Sardabash, Sabash, Bekteshev, Durge, and Nosle.

Missionary schools, whenever possible, aim at achieving that high and truly God pleasing goal in order to confirm christened aliens in Orthodoxy, especially the christened Tatars, who, due to their non-acquaintance with the gist and sense of the genuine faith, hesitate before Christianity. Therefore, those whose hearts are indifferent towards the future of Orthodoxy among the Tatars may satisfy their pious zeal contributing to the consolidation and development of missionary schools. And my cordial thought is as follows: simply-furnished houses at the church should be built in at least two–three villages of baptised Tatars. They should be cozy and have enough space for 20–30 boys including the teacher's family. At the church, the liturgy may at times be carried out by the parish priest during the chant of school students. Through it, the treasure of deep sincere praying locked in the Orthodox liturgy and this marvelous penitential and admirable feeling which can touch and delight a human heart will be revealed to them. They will see the poverty and nothingness of Mohammedan namazes, which seem best of all to them due to their religious ignorance.

Herewith I have the honour to submit for Your Majesty's discretion a special detailed record about 18 non–Russian schools I have visited.

I give my signature, missionary priest Filipp Gavrilov, to this report.
23rd day of December 1889, No.99.

Source: State Archive of Kirov Oblast, 811, inv. 1, file 271, s. 2–5. Original.

No.48

The letter from zemsky teacher at the non–Russian school in the village of Yukachi, Mamadysh uyezd, Kazan guberniya, Ignaty Semenov to N. Ilminsky about the religious-moral influence of the school upon local christened Tatars dated 10 February 1891.

To His Eminence, headmaster of the Kazan Teachers' Seminary Nikolay Ivanovich Ilminsky.

I consider it to be my duty to notify you, Your Excellency, about my life during my seven-year service in the position of teacher. I was appointed as a teacher to the Kulushchino zemsky non–Russian school, where I faced great obstacles in school affairs from the side of inhabitants of this village; but I, being well aware of teaching responsibilities, led a hard-working life, which soon brought me the general love of the citizens. Upon fixing school affairs, I paid attention to the fact that inhabitants of one village were only called Christians by name, not for their essence. And my opinion was in time justified: although this village has almost 20 Russian yards, they are situated far from the church and, looking at these Russians, the christened Tatars were confused—no one among them thought of visiting the church on Sunday or any other holiday. In order to attract them to church, I started reading the horologium with my students in evenings and sing various chants with them in the Tatar language. Upon finishing the prayer, I would always discuss Saints' lives with children, while they retold their parents what they had listened to. These conversations seem to have influenced them a lot, so that some of them started visiting school for a prayer together with their children. But look what happened after! Villagers, suffering from their ignorance, started listening to my adult visitors discussing our priest and whether it is appropriate for a teacher to gather people [for] a prayer, and with this they almost ruined the matter I had started. But thank God, not all adult visitors paid attention to such reviews about me and continued to attend the school. After some time, the number of visitors increased so much that sometimes even only the elderly people were about 100. From this village, I was transferred for the good of the cause to the Churino zemsky non–Russian school, where I corrected school

⁶⁸ Present-day village of Ilnet in the Mendelevsk District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

⁶⁹ Present-day village of Sardabash in the Arsk District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

affairs with an even greater ardour. But my efforts were not spent in vain: 1) I was granted 25 roubles as a present for my school activities from the zemstvo; and 2) my name was printed in the zemstvo's report as 'The most famous person on the pages of school history'. At present, I serve at the Yukachino zemsky non-Russian school. My service at this school may be precisely described by priest father Vasily Timofeevich Timofeev who, upon making a revision in the finished year, expressed gratitude saying: 'It is only the second time I have seen a school in such a condition since its foundation.' Here I founded a great choir from children of the christened Tatars, for which I was granted 25 roubles from the zemstvo this year. On the 18th day of January, 1891, an inspector, member of the Mamadysh Uyezd Zemsky Authority, Pavel Matveevich Popov, visited the school entrusted to me. After listening to our choir, he was left gladdened and donated 1 rouble to the singers. I, with my hard-working life and excellent behaviour, deserved such love from the inhabitants, that they want me by decree to be the second priest in the village of Yukachi.

Notifying Your Excellency about my life and feeling weakness of my health at the position of a teacher because of hard labour, I most humbly dare to bother You, Your Excellency, can you not find the possibility to take me into consideration, because inside of myself I feel a spark in teaching in Tatar and consider myself to be a really useful person ready to lay down my soul for the christened Tatars.

Your disciple, teacher at the Yukachino zemsky non-Russian school Ignaty Semenov.

1891

the 10th day of February.

Source: National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 968, inv. 1, file 83, pp. 106–107. Original.

No.49

An extract from the report on the activity of St. Gury Orthodox Brotherhood for the 26th Brotherhood year from 4 October 1892 to 4 October 1893.

Being the product of a need for non-Russians' religious-moral life, the Brotherhood schools with their method of teaching in non-Russian dialects with their non-Russian teachers, school guides and religious-moral books written in the native language of aliens, with their headmasters who are either native aliens or in most cases well acquainted with this or that alien language depending on the local population, these schools are a powerful tool in the matter of development of the religious-moral education of aliens in the field of the Christian faith and liquidation of pagan and Mohammedan delusions. As for the christened Tatars, I can say without any exaggeration that the Brotherhood schools tore them out of the Mohammedan nets and continue to constantly improve them in the religious-moral sense. Reports of local parish priests unanimously testify to the salutary influence that the Brotherhood school has upon christened Tatars. Thus, priest father Arkhip Ilarionov of the village of Stary Tyaberdin of the Tsvilsk uyezd (who is now transferred to the village Ureevy Chelny of the Laishev uyezd) reported inter alia that before Lent he had received from the Kazan Central Christian Tatar School 10 exemplars of the book about the after-life and Lives of St. Pantaleon in the Tatar language; he gave them to students of the Staro-Tyabredino school. They read them to their relatives and passed to other students, who did the same. Former students of this school also started to ask father Ilarion to lend them these books, especially the one about the after-life. The rumour about a new book quickly spread among all baptised Tatars of this village, and everyone wanted to listen to its being read. Many old men and women started attending the school, visiting the assistant to the teacher Naum Petrov, who lived in the teachers' house, and asked him to read the book about the after-life. Petrov joyfully received them, read and explained this book. Therefore, almost every day, in the evening, the school was full of old-baptised Tatars and pagans; it was even attended by inhabitants of the neighbouring village of Angozino-Surinskaya⁷⁰. Petrov, with the priest's blessing, read them not only the book about the after-life, but also told them about lives of Saints, miracles and passions of Jesus Christ, about the Holy Mother of God and read to them the whole book Çin-den⁷¹. Soon after this, one pagan woman was christened on 8 April 1893. This Petrov, coming to the locality or the parish village, would always take the book about the after-life with him and,

⁷⁰ Present-day Yangozino (Surinskoe) village of the Kaibitsy District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

⁷¹ Çin-den in the Tatar language means 'the real, genuine faith.' Under this name, the Translation Committee of the Orthodox Missionary Society at St. Gury Orthodox Brotherhood issued the translation of the short Orthodox catechesis.

upon visiting different houses, he would always read it along with the Life of St. Pantaleon. The time of Lent has come and the church was full of fasting people in a number far exceeding the amount of fasting people in previous years. The priest of Serdy village⁷² of the Laishev uyezd, father Gleb Lyapidovsky, in his report to the Council of Gentility on the schools Kibecheskaya and Kolkomerskaya mentioned *inter alia* that, following the example of previous years, many people also fastened this year, especially in the Assumption fast and the fast of St. Peter and St. Paul. At the same time it was striking that all those who were fasting mostly came from the villages Kibechi⁷³ and Kolkomer⁷⁴, while only two people were from the village of Verkhnyaya Serda, even though it was previously christened and populous. At the same time, father Lyapidovsky added: 'I guess it will not be an exaggeration if I say that the phenomenon of this kind is explained by the presence of Brotherhood schools in Kibechi and Kolkomer.' The priest of the village of Utyashkino of the Chistopol uyezd, father Ioann Speransky, in his report about the Utyashkino and Nizhne-Nikitinskaya schools of the Brotherhood mentioned that children studied the Law of God with a special interest, which also has a positive feedback of their parents, who at home eagerly adopt many prayers and tales about sacred events and thus somehow develop within themselves a sense of religion. Although they cannot completely reject some pagan and Mohammedan superstitions, they are now vividly leaving them behind thanks to this school; they fulfill the duty of confession and Blessed Sacrament annually and certainly. Priest of Vladimirovo village⁷⁵ Semen Gavrilov tells about the baptised Tatars of his locality that before the school was opened, they used to be utterly non-religious and there was even a danger of their return into Mohammedanism, because some of them used to adhere to Mohammedan rituals and kept the Mohammedan fast. During the 24 years of its existence, the Brotherhood school made a salutary impact upon the citizens; they are now taught not only by school teachers, but students in their free time read edifying books to their family members in their native language. In former times, the Vladimir people had reluctantly visited the House of God, while at present up to a hundred praying people may be come across on Sunday during the liturgy. Member of the Brotherhood Council father Vasily Timofeev in his report about his trip around christened-Tatar settlements informs *inter alia* that priests of christened-Tatar parishes told him that in the just finished year, the baptised Tatars had fasted with a higher eagerness, confessed more sincerely and repented sins during Lent if we compare with previous years. Churchmen attribute this phenomenon to the strong impression made by the book 'About the After-Life According to the Orthodox Church' published for the first time in the Tatar language last winter. The priests and christened Tatars also told him many joyful facts about the Tatars' developing love towards religious reading. Thus, Ivan Ermolaeiev from the village of Verkhnie Mashlyaki⁷⁶ told with particular delight that his daughters ardently read books of creed and sing church prayers. On holidays, women and girls from many houses gather at his place to listen to his daughters singing and together with them sing other religious songs. The influence of the baptised Tatars educated at the Brotherhood schools is sometimes seen on the Mohammedans. 'Thus, I', father V. Timofeev writes, 'occasionally found out, going through one Mohammedan village, that there our former female student Fedora lives with her husband, a forester. I came to visit her. The spouses were glad to see me. Over a cup of tea, I asked Fedora whether she lived well here, among the Mohammedans, whether they laughed at her because she was a Christian believing in the Son of God and making the sign of the cross. "No", Fedora replied. "I have lived here for two years and got well acquainted with local women. They often visit me, listen to the reading of Christian books and they like them a lot; they are especially touched by Jesus's miracles and parables, and I even taught two Mohammedan fiancées to read our books, and they secretly read them. Tatar women praise our books a lot and say that Mohammedan books are hardly understandable to them, while ours are not only intelligible but also touching. But I", Fedora finished, "reading books with Mohammedan women and having conversations with them on the matters of the Christian faith, do not dispute their faith but just tell what I know myself; meanwhile, the Tatar girls listen peacefully and leave peacefully".' <...>

Apart from the teachers, the achievements of Brotherhood schools were positively influenced by many parish priests with their multiple-year and tireless work in the field of enlightenment of aliens. In

⁷² Present-day village of Kryash-Serda in the Pestrechinsk District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

⁷³ Present-day village of Kibechi in the Pestrechinsk District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

⁷⁴ Present-day village of Kolkomerka in the Pestrechinsk District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

⁷⁵ The village of Vladimirovo in Mamadysh uyezd of Kazan guberniya seems to be meant here, the modern day village of Vladimirovo in the Mamadysh District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

⁷⁶ Present-day village of Verkhny Mashlyak in the Rybnaya Sloboda District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

view of this, the Brotherhood Council ordered its members I. Iznoskov⁷⁷, M. Mashanov⁷⁸, and V. Timofeev to compile a list of priests who, since the first years of the Brotherhood's existence, had worked hard on the enlightenment of aliens. Upon its compilation, this list would be presented at the kind consideration of the eparchial administration.

The method the Brotherhood used in the matter of developing aliens' religious-moral [enlightenment] appeared to be so viable and fruitful that at the moment, the Brotherhood's activities in this field were recognised by all individuals familiar with non-Russian affairs and considered to be an example for other brotherhoods involved in the activities concerning aliens; many brotherhoods used the Charter of St. Gury Brotherhood as an example for themselves and many times addressed its Council with different bewildering questions on the matter of the religious-moral upbringing of various aliens inhabiting the Russian Empire. In the completed Brotherhood year, the Tomsk department of the Brotherhood of St. Dmitry of Rostov appealed to the Council of St. Gury Brotherhood asking, it to send them their Charter, because the former intended to change their own according to the Charter of St. Gury Brotherhood.

Acting mainly upon the young alien generation through schools and through children on their family members, the Brotherhood did not drop the idea of direct influence upon adults via interviews and translations of religious-moral books into non-Russian languages. The main partners in conversations with aliens about the truths of the Christian faith were the same teachers of Brotherhood schools. In the time free of studies, they read various religious and edifying books to aliens, had conversations at schools with them to which aliens willingly rushed in the evenings, especially on the eve of Sundays and holidays. Occurring at all Brotherhood schools, these conversations between teachers and non-Russians received widespread development in the localities where aliens were impacted by the Mohammedan propaganda or where they were deeply submerged into pagan superstitions. These interviews conducted by teachers served as a powerful force in the hands of the Brotherhood to make the Orthodox faith of hesitant baptised aliens firmer and in order to protect them from the harmful influence of Mohammedan propaganda. For this purpose and in order to constantly and uninterruptedly influence the adult alien population, some teachers from the Brotherhood schools remained at schools over the summertime holidays so that they had conversations with aliens. Thus, last summer, teacher Alexander Kirillov of the Yanylskaya school, was ordered to remain at school for which the Brotherhood Council paid him a certain salary. Village priests possessing a good knowledge of the language of their alien parishioners and priests from aliens also used interviews as a means of influence on their parishioners.

Source: The report on the activity of St. Gury Orthodox Brotherhood for the 26th Brotherhood year from 4 October 1892 to 4 October 1893. Kazan, 1893. pp. 38–41, 44–45.

No.50

Table 11

List of elementary schools for christened Tatars in the Kazan and Ufa guberniyas for the 1898–1899 academic year⁷⁹

Localities	Missionary ⁸⁰	Synodal		Zemsky	Ministry of National Education	Total
		grammar schools	parochial schools			
Kazan guberniya						
Mamadysh uyezd						

⁷⁷ Iliador Aleksandrovich Iznoskov (1835–1917) was a famous scientist-educator, ethnographer, and a consistent supporter of N. Ilminsky's ideas.

⁷⁸ Mikhail Aleksandrovich Mashanov (1852–1924) was a professor at the Missionary Anti-Islamic Department of the Kazan Spiritual Academy; from 1891, he was the head of the Translator Committee of the Orthodox Missionary Community at St. Gury Orthodox Brotherhood.

⁷⁹ Schools with mixed nationalities are taken into consideration in this table.

⁸⁰ Schools of committees of the Orthodox Missionary Community and the Kazan Brotherhood of St. Gury are being referred to here.

village Pochinok Yanasal ⁸¹	1					1
Kulushchi village				1		1
village of Uryas-Uchi				1		1
village of Uryas-Bash	1					1
Verkhnie Biletli village			1			1
Vasilievo village				1		1
village of Oshtormo-Yumya				1		1
Zhivut sebe usadom village	1					1
village of Bersut				1		1
village of Chura				1		1
Malaya Chura village	1					1
Porshur village			1			1
Yanyli village	1					1
village of Kushketbash	1					1
Verkhnie Otary village	1					1
Pochinok Ponik village	1					1
Biyer village	1					1
village of Yelyshevo	1					1
Bolshie Savrushy village	1					1
Satlygan-Klyuch village	1					1
Otar-Yelga village			1			1
village of Arnyashi	2					2
Bolshoy Artash village	1					1
Tyoploe Boloto village	1					1
Verkhniye Arnyashi village	1					1
village of Yukachi				1		1
Komarovka village			1			1
Zyuri village	1					1
Liya Shiya village	1					1
village of Novoe Mochalkinskoe ozero	1					1
village of Staroye Mochalkinskoe ozero	1					1
Dyusmetevo village			1			1
Kreshcheno-Yeryksy village	1					1
village of Staraya Ishkurma	1					1
Tri Sosny (Oç narat) village	1					1
village of Vladimirovo	1					1
village of Nikiforovo (Çiya baş)	1					1
Laishev uyezd						

⁸¹ The name of villages is provided according to data from pre–Revolutionary sources.

Verkhnie Kozyli village				1		1
Albedino village	1					1
Kibechi village	1					1
Verkhnyaya Serda village				1		1
Kolkumery village	1					1
Kovali village	1					1
village of Karabayan				1		1
Taveli village		1				1
village of Starye Karabayany				1		1
Verkhnie Meretyaki village	1					1
Tyamti village	1					1
Bolshie Meretyaki village				1		1
Tashkirmen village					1	1
Yanasal village	1					1
village of Yantsevary	2					2
Tolkiyaz village	1					1
village of Shemorbash					1	1
Verkhnee Mishlyak village	1					1
Tomasov-Pochinok village	1					1
Alanki village			1			1
Subashi village	1					1
village of Ureevo-Chelny				1		1
Kozyakov-Chelny village	1					1
Ivanaevo village	1					1
Chistopol uyezd						
village of Belaya Gora	1			1		2
Sosnovy Vrag village	1					1
Stepnaya Kondrata village	1					1
Taveli village	1					1
Nizhnee Nikitino village	1					1
Alekseevka village	1					1
village of Cherebatyrev	2					2
village of Utyashkino	1			1		2
Kazan uyezd						
village of Apazovo	1				1	2
Shumbash village	1					1
Spassk uyezd						
Kreshcheny Baran village	1					1
Tsivilsk uyezd						
Bolshie Teberdino village			1			1
village of Starye Teberdino			1			1

Surinskaya village	1					1
village of Molkeevo					1	1
Khozestanovo village	1					1
Tetyushi uyezd						
Baymurzino village	1					1
Total throughout the Governorate	56	1	8	15	4	84
Ufa guberniya						
Menzelinsk uyezd						
Kodryakovo village			1			1
Ileti village	1					1
village of Buty					1	1
village of Savaleevo	1					1
village of Batkak	1					1
Koleykino village	1					1
Fedorovka village	1					1
village of Svetloe Ozero	1					1
Sarapan village	1					1
village of Malekes					1	1
Mazin village					1	1
Yerykly village	1					1
village of Sobolekovo			1			1
village of Aty	1					1
Malye Aty village	1					1
village of Alekseevka (Fedotovo)			1			1
Kadyrovo village			1			1
Tonguzino village	1					1
village of Bagryash			1			1
Sarsy village			1			1
village of Lyaki					1	1
village of Kaban-Bastryk	1					1
Bishevo village	1					1
Zachibash village	1					1
village of Burdy					1	1
Yevleevo village					1	1
Akhmetovo village		1				1
village of Melkeni	1					1
Kreshchenye Ashpaly village	2					2
Belebey uyezd						
Batrak village	1					1
Novoye-Ilyekovo village	1					1
Maty village					2	2

Novye Maty village					1	1
Bakaly village		1				1
Tokberdino village	1					1
Umirovo village	1					1
Total throughout the Governorate	21	2	6		9	38
Total	77	3	14	15	13	122

Sources: National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan f. 160, inv. 1, file 578, file 620, 863, f. 1286, inv. 1, file 1; N. Bobrovnikov. Alien Population of Kazan guberniya. Ed. 1. The Tatars, Votyaks, Mordvins. Kazan, 1899; I. Zlatoverkhovnikov. Ufa Eparchy. A Geographical, Ethnographic, Administrative-Historical and Statistical Essay. Ufa, 1899.

No.51

An extract from the note by the district head of the Kiev educational district Ya. Koblov 'Some thoughts on the establishment of education among the Eastern aliens inhabiting Russia' (1916)

At the time when N. Ilminsky stepped into the missionary-enlightenment field of work, there was almost no schools for aliens. But a great need for them was felt. Christened, but not sufficiently enlightened, non-Russians hesitated between Christianity and Islam, and many of them already turned their back on Orthodoxy. The Islamic propaganda strengthened and largely spread; there was a threat that nothing would be left from the acquisitions missionaries-illuminators had made throughout previous centuries. N. Ilminsky saw it clearly, as no one else could. And thus he expressed the most intense and energetic activity at founding churches and schools in settlements. At N. Ilminsky's initiative, a school for christened Tatars was founded in Kazan and then consequently a teachers' seminary. The St. Gury Orthodox Brotherhood, which set a goal to spread and support churches and schools in non-Russian areas, was also created.

After a short while and along with the vigorous activities of the Brotherhood, alien localities were covered by a net of small schools at which non-Russian children in their native language were taught grammar, the Law of God, and singing. These schools covered a significant amount of territory; they were spread throughout Kazan, Simbirsk, Samara, Vyatka, and other governorates; at present, there are around 120 of them, and that is only in the Kazan guberniya.

The main distinctive feature of St. Gury Orthodox Brotherhood was that all education was carried out in the native languages spoken by non-Russians. The native language⁸² of aliens was made the key pillar, the main tool of enlightenment. The school's basic task was Christianisation of aliens; therefore, such disciplines as the Law of God, study of prayers, and liturgical chanting were paid the most attention to and were the main focus of teachers and students. A sufficient amount of time was designated for learning the Russian language—up to 10 lessons a week—but still it occupied a secondary, unessential place. There was a moment when aliens had to be urgently educated and enlightened in order to prevent their sweeping return to Islam. And it could be done effectively only in their own native language rather than through the foreign Russian language. Ilminsky set a definite task: the Christianisation of baptised aliens. It is unclear whether the goal of Russification was also set forth by Ilminsky. We can assume what Ilminsky thought about this: first of all, we should enlighten alien tribes with the Christian faith; it is one of the most essential and closest stages of their rapprochement with the Russian nationality. The unification the Orthodox faith with the Russian nation means that aliens would never abandon it and would always feel attached to it. As for their adoption of the Russian language and final Russification, sooner or later it will come to them, once they feel the need of greater development. Regardless, they cannot manage without the Russian language and culture. They will seek it without violence and external incentives, being close to Russians in their spirit. And this idea was justified in the future. Now, christened aliens of the Volga Region often say that the Russian language is as necessary for them 'as bread and water.'

⁸² All emphases are made in the text of the document.

Using the educational structure we have described earlier, the Brotherhood entered into a large field of enlightenment activities. Judging by their exteriors, Brotherhood schools were always poor. A Brotherhood school was usually a simple village hut with a teacher: commoner, but honest man, whose salary was 60–100 roubles a year. Even at present, Brotherhood teachers receive salaries in the amount of 150 roubles if they were not included in the school net of M. P. as it was supposed to have been done in recent time. And despite this environment and utter poverty, the Brotherhood schools made a great contribution to the state, uniting a significant part of the Eastern aliens with the native Russian population. N. Ilminsky knew how to ignite people's hearts. And his students and sometimes ordinary peasants educated by him took up the teachers' craft with a special enthusiasm and inspiration, selflessly devoting themselves to teaching. This enthusiasm and inspiration were preserved in the teachers' environment even after Ilminsky's death. I, for example, during visits to the Brotherhood schools in a comparatively recent time, have often met such teachers, boundlessly dedicated to education, who come from peasants-commoners, who devoted themselves to their profession with a special zeal and ardour. Consequently, many ministry and zemsky schools were opened, which by their exterior and teachers' literacy were superior than Brotherhood schools, which sometimes gave rise to hold forth, especially at zemsky gatherings, on the superiority of the former over the latter. But I should note that I have not seen this internal inspiration at schools of other institutions and types as I saw in Brotherhood schools.

Source: Russian State Historical Archive, f. 733, inv. 182, file 168, pp. 218–219 reverse. Original.

Published: Christian Enlightenment and Religious Movements (re-Islamisation) of christened Tatars in the 19–beginning of the 20th century. Collection of materials and documents / Compiler, author of prolusion, notes and scientific-explanatory notes R. Iskhakov. Kazan, 2012. pp. 387–388.

No.52

Table 12

List of school guides and Orthodox translations issued by the Translation committee of the Orthodox Missionary Community at St. Gury Orthodox Brotherhood for Christened Tatars from 1877 to 1905.

Title	Year of publication	Total print, No. of copies
'Abecedarium for baptised Tatars'	1878, 1882, 1884, 1887, 1898, 1904	25,000
'Sunday Service of the Sixth Echos'	1877, 1883, 1885, 1889, 1896	15,600
'Service Book'	1878	2,400
'The Life of Saint Abraham of Bulgaria'	1878	600
'I Shall Come Tomorrow.' From the work of St. Tikhon, Bishop of Zadonsk	1878, 1885	15,000
'Primary Lessons of the Russian Language for Tatars'	1879, 1885	9,850
'A Reading Book for Aliens'	1879, 1884	10,000
'Akıl biryā torgan knigyā' (Extracts from the Book of the All-Virtuous Wisdom of Joshua ben Sira')	1879, 1885, 1900	13,000
'Iman knigyäse' ('Prayer Book')	1879, 1881, 1887, 1891, 1894, 1897, 1898, 1900, 1904	50,000
'Easter Service'	1879, 1885, 1889, 1896	18,000
'Verses in the Christened-Tatar Language'	1879, 1888	1,800
'The Consice Tatar-Russian Dictionary'	1880, 1882, 1886, 1888, 1891	16,400
'The Book of Devotions'	1881	2,400
'Ulgyän keşelyär öçen telyäü ryäte' ('Service for the Repose of the Departed')	1881, 1887	8,000
'Olo byayramnär' (The Main Church Holidays')	1881, 1887	11,000
'The Sacred History of the Old and New Testament'	1881, 1886, 1895, 1904	18,000

'Mohammyät dine Karaganda Xristos dine artık' (<i>'The Superiority of the Christian faith over the Mohammedan'</i>)	1883, 1904	5,000
'Çin din knyägese' (<i>'The Teaching of the Orthodox Faith'</i>)	1884, 1887, 1893, 1897	19,600
'The Ritual of Confession and How to Give Communion to a Sufferer'	1882, 1904	3,000
'Telyäkläär' (<i>'Horologion'</i>)	1885, 1900	6,200
'Uget.' (<i>'The Christian Edification of St. Tikhon'</i>)	1886, 1893	10,000
'Sticherons, Troparions, Contakions, Glorifications and Prokeimenons for the Great Feasts of the Orthodox Church'	1888	1,200
'Saint Blessed Prince Vladimir and the Christening of Rus'	1888	3,000
'Choral Hymns'	1889, 1898	3,000
'The Lives of Christ's Holy Hierarchs Gury, Varsonofy, and German'	1890, 1893	4,000
'The Sacred History for Children'	1889, 1900	15,000
'The Acathistus to St. Gury of Kazan and Miracle Worker of Sviyazhsk'	1890	2,400
'The School of Piety'	1890, 1893, 1895	11,000
'The Edification of Christened Tatars'	1891	2,400
'Psalter'	1891, 1903	3,600
'About the After-Life'	1892	3,000
'St. Matthew's Gospel'	1892	1,300
'The Life of Martyr St. Pantaleon'	1892	3,000
'Edification on the Use of Reading of the Holy Writ'	1892	3,000
'God Helps Those Who Help Themselves: Edifications on How to Be Protected From Cholera'	1892	3,000
'The Tatar-Russian Dictionary of N. Ostroumov'	1892	1,200
'Stories from the Lives of Saints in the Tatar Language'	1893, 1894, 1898	2,400
'The Primary Schoolbook of the Russian Language for the Tatars'	1893, 1894, 1898, 1904	19,000
'Oyretu turında Nikolay Ivanovich' (<i>'About Nikolay Ivanovich Ilminsky'</i>)	1893	1,600
'Psalter in the Tatar and Russian Languages'	1893, 1894	10,200
'The Holy Gospel of Our Lord Jesus Christ'	1894, 1898	8,500
'The Acathistus to Our Sweetest Lord Jesus Christ'	1894	3,000
'The Teaching of the Orthodox Church'	1894	3,000
'The Story of the Sickness and Death of Emperor Alexander III and the Accession to the Throne of Tsar Nicholas II'	1894	1,200
'Troparions, Kontakions, Sticherons, and Glorifications for the Great Feasts and Days of the Great Saints'	1894, 1898	10,000
'Stephen of Perm'	1896	2,400
'The Great Canon of St. Andrew of Crete'	1896	1,500
'The Merciful Healer'	1896	2,400
'About Variola'	1897	3,200
'About the Plague' (in Cyrillic and Arabic type)	1897	5,600
'The Tale of the Smolensk Icon of the Holy Mother of God'	1898	2,500
'Russian Protomartyrs'	1898	2,400
'The Conversation about the Prayer to the Heavenly King'	1898	2,400
'The Life of Saint Nicholas the Wonderworker'	1898	1,200
'The Heavenly Voivode of the Russian Land'	1898	2,400
'About Trachoma'	1898	3,000
'What Drunkenness May Lead To'	1898	2,400
'Heavenly Helpers to a Marital Union'	1898	2,400
'God Loves the Righteous'	1898	2,400
'Russian Prepositions, the Guide for Teachers on Conducting Oral Lessons of the Russian Language'	1899	2,400

'The Equal to the Apostles Myrrh Bearer'	1899	2,400
'The Mortal Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ'	1900	1,200
'The Life of Saint Vasily the Great'	1903	1,200
'The Life of St. Gregory the Theologian'	1903	1,200
'The Life of Saint Seraphim'	1904	3,000
'The Word for Consecration of the Cathedral in the Village of Bolshie Savrushy of Mamadysh Uyezd'	1904	1,200
'Sheet music'	1904	1,500
'The Consecration of the Cathedral in the Village of Bolshie Savrushy of Mamadysh Uyezd'	1904	1,800
'About Cholera'	1905	2,400
'Martyr Saints Abraham of Bulgaria, Ioann, Stephan, and Peter of Kazan'	1905	1,200
'Saints Cyril and Methodius, illuminators of the Slavs'	1905	1,200
'The Life of St. Abericus, Bishop of Hieropolis'	1905	1,200
'The Life of Saint Peter the Tax Collector'	1905	1,200
'Saint Apostle Andrew the First-Called'	1892	5,000
'Sufferings of Martyr St. Phocas'	1905	1,200
'The Sufferings of Martyr St. Mammes'	1905	1,200
'The Life of Saint Chariton'	1905	1,200
'The Life of Saint David'	1905	1,200
'The Life of Martyr Saint Nikodim'	1905	1,200
'The Life of Martyr Saint Roman'	1905	1,200
'The Life of Martyr Saint Ilya Ardunis'	1905	1,200
'The Life of Our Reverend Father Ilya Ardunis'	1905	1,200
'The Life of Our Reverend Father Vissarion'	1905	1,200
'The Life of Our Reverend Father Serapion'	1905	1,200
'The Life of Reverend Martyr Damaskin'	1905	1,200
'The Life of Reverend Isidora, Fool for Christ's Sake'	1905	1,200
'The Life of Reverend Simon, Fool for Christ's Sake'	1905	1,200
'Cholera and Ways to Battle It'	1905	2,400
'Kholera turinda'	1905	3,000
Total	559,050	

Source: The Chronological Catalogue of Publications of the Orthodox Missionary Society in the Russian Language and Languages of the Aliens in the Volga region, Siberia, and Caucasus. From 1862 to May 1910. Kazan, 1911. pp. 17–25.

Materials have been prepared by Radik Iskhakov

III. Orenburg Muftis and Their Activities in 'Asar' by Rizaeddin Fahreddin

The biographical and bibliographical code 'Asar' by R. Fahreddin consisting of four volumes contains 733 essays about the personalities inhabiting the territory of the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals in the 10–20th centuries who made significant contributions to the development of the spiritual culture of the Turkic Tatars. The code was created over a long period of time, and its first part was published in 1900, while the fourth and last volume was finished after 1911. In 1929, R. Fahreddin started to rewrite and supplement already published parts of the code, but this work remains unfinished. As all manuscript books intended for publication, the code 'Asar' was censored, as a result of which the text of the introduction to the first part was abridged. Deleted were those author's words which, in the opinion of censor V. Smirnov, could spur on inter-ethnic hostility or awaken the national awareness of the native Turko-Tatar population of the Volga-Ural Region. Therefore, everything which contradicted the state policy-making towards non-Russian peoples was expunged from the book; one of the introduction's sections was almost completely deleted, which treated about the absence of sources on the history of the Turko-Tatars and the necessity to revive the national history.

From 1900–1908, 15 parts of the code were published in Kazan and Orenburg, which constituted the first two volumes; the 3rd and 4th were not published during the author's lifetime.

According to R. Fahreddin, he decided to compile this code so that his people knew their famous brethren, who brought much benefit to the nation. Most of them were representatives of the Islamic clergy (muftis, qadis, khazrats, imams, and ishans) and intelligentsia (mudarrises, mugallims, writers, poets, and scientists), as well as entrepreneurs. Apart from biographical information, the code 'Asar' contains many other data. From biographical essays, we can trace what and whose books were the most popular among people, which of them were used as school guides. Besides this, poetic works are also found in biographical essays which R. Fahreddin uses to better reveal the personalities. Private letters included into biographies also gain an important value. According to the author, they have a great public significance for future generations because they, as a mirror, reflect the social and moral condition of society; they provide material about customs and morals.

The code 'Asar' was created in the genre of biographical essays—popular both among Muslims and Turkic peoples—which the author probably chose to attract more readers because this type of literature allows to lift the veil of a famous person's private life. R. Fahreddin developed this genre to the level of bio-bibliography, unveiling in his essays, as long as the sources allowed it, the private and creative life of one person or another. However, the author preserved only the chronological principle of biography composition, traditional in the medieval Arabic-Islamic biographical genre: according to the date of death, considering that thus continuity of knowledge between the generations is observed in the best way. Moreover, the traditional composition of the biography itself was preserved where the following facts were expounded: the dates of death and birth, parents, education (where, in what madrasah), activities, children, the list of rewritten or written works, memories of contemporaries. The sequence of these events was almost unchanged, but some points could be absent due to a lack of information.

Developing this genre and improving it to the level of a historical narrative, the author attempted at covering the lives of certain people in his essays, thinking that every single biography was a page of history. Choosing objectiveness as his basic principle, R. Fakhreddin did not seek to hide negative facts and phenomena of the life of the personality being described because he saw a moral aspect in them. In his opinion, hiding mistakes of the past and negative features of a man will bring more harm than their revelation. The author used a wide range of documentary and narrative sources to fully cover life activities of the personalities being described. He collected sources to write biographies throughout the whole process of creating this collection. Originally, the basis for creation of the essays became documents of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, which preserved various materials concerning Muslims of the Volga-Ural Region. In the future, being the editor of the newspaper 'Wakıt' and magazine 'Şura' in Orenburg, he published appeals to readers on their pages asking to send him information about famous people. Thus, the circle of sources of the code 'Asar' was supplemented by memories, manuscripts, letters, which the author used to different extents. R. Fakhreddin also used historical works (by Sh. Marjani) and Tatar printed media, where the necrologies of famous people were published. Thus, from the documentary sources in the collection, only officially produced documentation was used (journals of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, reports, and petitions), fiscal and administrative account materials (census records, metrics, official lists), specific sources such as epitaphs and colophons as well

as photographs may also be included here because the data they contain bear a documentary character. The range of narrative sources include epistolary sources (letters-memories, personal correspondence), shajara, historical narratives. The basic source of writing the bio-bibliography constituted narrative sources; however, they being the most subjective, the author carefully analysed them by comparing them with documentary sources. Documentary sources were examined as well. When the author did not have the possibility to verify data, he quoted the source of information, and it was usually related to memories which were not recorded. Among personalities to whom R. Fakhreddin paid special attention in 'Asar' were the Orenburg muftis. During his period as an assessor at the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, apart from his main work, he was actively involved in the compilation of inventories of office documents in the archive of the religious administration. He purposefully searched for and detected the materials about his chiefs and introduced new historical sources into the scientific circulation about muftis Mukhamedzhan Khusainov, Gadessalyam Gabdrakhimov, Gabdulvakhit Suleymanov and Salimgarey Tevkelev. Only the life of 'current' Orenburg mufti Mukhamedyar Sultanov was barely covered by the author.

He wrote about the important role the heads of the Islamic clergy and Orenburg muftis played in the development of Islamic religious institutions among the Tatars, Bashkirs, and Kazakhs while the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly started to execute the function of a consolidating centre for the Islamic nations in the European part of Russia and Siberia. Chiefs of the Spiritual assembly occupied high public positions among co-religionists. They had a high status also in the Russian hierarchal system, cooperated with senior officials, and some of them were even introduced to the Russian Emperor. Muftis maintained relations with outstanding representatives of the clergy and entrepreneurs. Being tsarist officials and at the same time official leaders of Muslims, the Orenburg muftis contributed to the best of their abilities to the development of the Islamic religion and culture of Islamic peoples. In this respect, the correspondence between the muftis and officials as well as co-religionists characterises the heads of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly as individuals, covers state-Islamic relations in the Empire, as well as peculiarities of application of the Sharia rules between the clergy, imams, and parishioners in the new light. Sources of the personal origin treated about the needs of the local population and even allow to feel the atmosphere of the historical epoch.

Liliya Baibulatova

Mukhammedzhan bine al-Khusain bine Gabdrakhman.

The first mufti of the Muslim Spiritual Board of Russia, died in Ufa on 17 June 1824 (2 Zulhijja 1239 according to Hijrah), aged 68 and according to his will was buried 60 km east of Ufa, in the cemetery of Adzitarovo village¹.

He received his elementary education in the Seitova Sloboda and Orenburg, was also taught by Muhammed bine Gali ad-Dagestani. Later, he undertook a trip to Bukhara and Kabul, where he gained additional knowledge. According to witnesses, over there he met Gataulla bine Khadi, qadi Tursunbaki bine Gabderrakhim, and others, talked to sheikh Faekzhan bine Khozyrkhan in Kabul. Over the course of this trip, he learned a little bit of the Persian language.

Honourable Marjani said the following about him: 'Upon his return to the Motherland, he by all means tried to provide education to adults and children of the Russian State, showed the path to pacification for the Kazakhs, Bashkirs, and other peoples who did not want to be subjugated to Russia. After the formation of the Spiritual Board, he was appointed as its head and Muslims' mufti. He disposed of a significant trust in such a degree that his words were taken into account when opening a mosque or appointing some person to a certain position. This trust came at a steep price: he used qadis as personal servants, demanded every single order to be fulfilled, appointed the necessary people as qadis. Towards the end of his life, he lost his influence among qadis; because of the opposition and disputes between them, decisions of the Spiritual Board started being directed to the public prosecutor for review. Through the selling of positions to mullahs, he collected a great fortune. My father, Bagautdin, and Fatkhulla Akhund, Baymurad bine al-Mulkari, and others confirm his knowledges; however, what he wrote was poor and contained multiple mistakes. Moreover, his use of Persian expressions confirms the insignificance and helplessness of his knowledge. His education was way poorer than Fatkhulla Akhund's level and possibly did not even reach the level of mufti Gabdessalyam.'

¹ Adzitarovo—present-day village in the Karmaskalinsky District of the Republic of Bashkortostan. The village of Adzitarovo was founded by the Teptyars in 1735.

Judging by the official lists of 1815, at that time he was 57, which means the date of his birth falls on the end of the 1785 (1171 AH). His son Mirzaakhmed was then 19 years-old, and he was in the service in St. Petersburg, working at an institution for alien confessional affairs. Mirzashakhbik was 10 and Mirzadjan was 6.

Other official documents note that Mufti Mukhammedzhan came from the merchant class; materials of the 5th revision show that he was listed as working in the village of Kharamabad (Sultanay²) near Ufa. At first, he was listed at the foreign collegiate, and then he served as an officer in Orenburg. On 9 July 1785, the Borderline committee chose him as the Akhund for the Kirghiz population; later, on 22 September 1789, he was appointed as the head of the Spiritual Board and the Mufti of Muslims. Before this appointment, he conducted a great work at subduing the Kirghiz to the Russian State, released Russian captives in the Caucasus, and achieved the Kabardin people's promise to join the Russian Empire. He managed to elevate Russia's authority among the Astrakhan Turkmen. He was granted presents from the Russian State for his actions. Empress Catherine and Emperor Pavel Petrovich awarded him a diamond-encrusted medal, while a house and clothes, as well as monetary awards, were granted to him from the Orenburg Treasury.

Unfortunately, we are not familiar with the mufti's earlier biography. At that time, when those returning from Bukhara and Kabul became mudarrises and sheikhs, the mufti, upon his arrival from there, became an officer. One of scientists studying the history of philosophy, said that Mukhammedzhan Khusainov was not involved in the improvement of his religious knowledges in Bukhara and Kabul but was directed there by the Russian State for solving political problems. Allah alone knows the truth. Upon becoming mufti, he variegated his everyday life: clothes, horses, fur coats—everything was expensive and luxurious. He rode along the streets in a four-horsed cart with dignity. However, despite the fact that he was in the heyday of his fame, toward the end of his life, the mufti's reputation among people deeply fell. They say that the mufti died because his influence decreased, wealth ceased to gladden him, and he had less happiness. After his death, his heirs received much gold, countless livestock, houses near Ufa bought from Bashkirs for a mere song. Only Adzitarovo village contained 2,284 desyatinas of land, which he had bought for a trifling sum from the Bashkirs of Miras village.

One of the mufti's wives, Gaysha, predeceased him. According to legend, she was a Turkish woman captured during the Russo-Turkish war. At first, she was the wife of Ismagil Apanaev from Kazan, gave birth to two of his children, Iskhak and Khabibjamal. After Apanaev's death, she became the mufti's wife and died aged 79 in Kazan, where she was buried in the cemetery between two slobodas.

The Motherland of his other wife, Karima, was the city of Anapa, located on the coast of the Black Sea. After the mufti's death she was sent off to her daughter Fatima, and until her death lived in the care of Dzhikhangir Khan.

The third wife, Sufiya, was a Circassian. She was born in 1759 (1172 AH). The mufti's sons were born by her. After the mufti's death, she lived at his estate in Adzitarovo village in full health until the age of 110. She died on 2 March 1866 and was buried in a heath, one km north of the Islamic cemetery where the mufti's grave is located.

The son Mirzaakhmed spent his life without burdening himself with work and wasting his fortune. He lived with a Russian girl known as Anfiska. They say he lived in the house he had inherited from the mufti and sometimes went to Ufa on business trips. He had four daughters and different stories were told in Ufa about the children of one of them. The mufti's inheritance which passed to Mirzaakhmed was consequently inherited by his four daughters, who did not become Muslims. Moreover, Mirzaakhmed's mother Sufiya before her death officially willed to his daughters 500 desyatinas of land.

However, as a result of multiple litigations with the population, the lands of the Kudey Bashkirs³ passed not to the mufti's heirs but were returned to the Bashkirs. However, since all businesses of the

² Today it is a village in the Askinsky District of the Republic of Bashkortostan.

³ Kudei (Kezei)—a tribe of the Old Turkic origin, a part of the Aile group of Bashkirs.

According to legends, the Kudeis take root in the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Western Bashkiria. In the Sayano-Altaysky Region, a part of the Kudeis detached from the Old Kudei community and passed from the Altai to the Northern Caucasus. They moved in the general stream of the Badj-Gardo-Burjan tribes from the southern steppes into the Volga-Kama Region. In the Cis-Ural Region, they settled on the Ik and Menzelya Rivers and mixed with Usergan, Tangaur, and Burzyan tribes. In the 13th century, the Kudeis moved to the left bank of the Belaya River where they were strongly influenced by the Kipchaks. At the end of the 14th century, the Kudeis inhabited both banks along the midstream of the Belaya River. With the start of the Nogai expansion at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, a part of the Kudei people settled in forest areas of the lower stream of the Ufa River where they mixed with the Mintsy people; another part headed up the Sim River, and later, to the Yuryuzan and the Lemeza

Bashkirs in this world lay in the sale of land, it is most likely that mufti Mukhammedzhan's lands returned to them will be sold to Germans or Latvians, if they have not done it yet, at the cost of matches of radish.

Mirzaakhmed's grave is located close to his mother's grave, and there is neither a stone nor a fence over their burials. They say that due to the constant struggle with ordinary people, the local population of Adzitarovo village refused to bury them in their cemetery; therefore, the graves of Mirzaakhmed and his mother Sufiya are situated on the margins.

The son Amirdzhan was an officer serving in Orenburg. He died approximately in the 1850s–1860s. After his death, he left a wife and son Khusni. His widow was remarried to Gaysa mirza from the Bikmeevs clan. It is possible that a part of mufti Mukhammedzhan's books passed to Gaysa mirza through this woman.

The mufti's daughter, Fatima, was the wife of Dzhikhangir Khan, the ruler of the Bukey Horde. She gave birth to his sons Ibragim, Ahmed, Gubaydulla and daughters Zuleykha and Khadicha.

Fatima was namely the reason behind the nice attitude and kind memory of the mufti. She was different from her relatives because of her special piousness, wit, and decency, as well as clear-sightedness in matters which was why the Khan sympathized with her and loved her. Thanks to her efforts, the culture was spread throughout the whole Bukey Horde. She managed to instill good rituals and traditions in Kazakh families and rejected those which did not comply with Islam; she paid a special attention to cleanliness.

After Fatima became the Khan's wife, friendly good-neighbourly relations were established between the Bukey Horde on the one hand and the Ufa Region on the other. Wealthy Kazakhs at their own expense sent their sons and children from poor needy families to study at the madrasahs of Sterlitamak and Sterlibash. At present, all authoritative scientists and famous mudarrises of the Bukey Horde are graduates of these two madrasahs. The construction of mosques, appointment of imams, and their provision with official documents, education of mahallah children, naming of children with ancient names—all these matters which made Dzhikhangir Khan popular became possible only thanks to the well-considered activity of his wife.

Did the mufti die because of torture under arrest? Did he engage in self-education in his spare time? We do not know.

When I wrote the clean copy of these lines, I specially visited the village of Adzitarovo. I went there with the intention to see the mufti's library, see books and manuscripts he had brought from Bukhara and Kabul, read the letters sent to him by scientists and prominent people and thus collect various data. However, when I arrived, I did not see anything but a dilapidated crypt. At the headstone, a beautiful inscription was incised. The first line is a sacred Ayah, after which the 9 lines follow:

- 1: He is the Eternal Creator
- 2: the Forgiven Deceased
- 3: the sheikh of Islam and the mufti of Muslims
- 4: Mukhamedzhan
- 5: bint Khusain
- 6: al-Bulgari passed away in
- 7: 1239
- 8: mizan To his Soul
- 9: Fatiha

In my opinion, the month of mizan in the 8th line is mistakenly written here, because the mufti died not in the month of mizan (September), but in July, and it is recorded in official documents. This mistake probably occurred because this very inscription was made on the stone in the month of mizan.

The mufti's crypt is constructed out of brick and has not been renewed for a long time, and soon may completely collapse.

Upon studying the mufti's life, it is clear that his intellect and acumen outran his knowledges and education. His courage and eloquence eclipsed his lack of knowledge to the extent that the Bashkirs recognised him as the greatest scientist. One day one of his relatives wanted to declare his relationship with him in front of a crowd, but the mufti replied, 'You are lying, can a mufti have relatives?' With these words, the mufti wanted to show that he can have neither friends nor relatives in the field concerning

Rivers. These Kudeis appeared to be included into the Aile group of Bashkirs. Contacts between the Western and Eastern Kudeis gradually weakened [see: Kuzeev, 1974].

his immediate activities. We must say that he had a reason to say so. However, the fact that he placed himself above others means he was doomed to unhappiness...

They say that the mufti had a great inclination to the Russian language, but no evidence of that has been preserved.

The house in Ufa, on the corner of Telegrafnaya and Pushkin streets where he lived, was in his property. This house was wooden, which was burned in the course of fire, and a stone building was constructed on its site. It is possible that the Spiritual Board was located in one of his houses.

It was uneasy to find judgments the he gave. Here, eight letters are provided which were written by his hand, preserved with all of the original mistakes....⁴

The seventh letter:

'To Rafik Valid, head of Buinsk district...

In June, I met Gabdelmadzhid, son of Safar, from your volost. The imams of this volost, by the order of Chief of police of Buinsk uyezd, examined the case whether the nikah [Sharia marriage] conducted by the aforementioned mullah Valid, son of Bikkul, between above-mentioned Gabdelmadzhid, son of Safar, and Bibikhabiba, daughter of Sagid, was legitimate. The Chief of police recognised Bibikhabiba as the legal wife of Gabdelmadzhid in the presence of aforementioned imams and head. Because everything was carried out in accordance with the Sharia, I gave a fatwa, No.84, in which Bibikhabiba is recognized as the legal wife of Gabdelmadzhid. According to this fatwa, the head and imam Valid, son of Bikkul, are to interrogate mullah Nigmattula, son of Bashir, to find out according to which Sharia laws he carried out the nikah between Bibikhabiba, who is already the wife of another man, and Saifetdin, son of Bikbov. Upon reception of the answers, you have to send me a report.

Secondly, if there is no consent to marry Khabiba to Gabdelmadzhid, then, upon reporting it to the Chief of Police, with the help of Chief of police, she must be returned to her husband. If he refuses to the Chief of police, the latter will have to report it to Simbirsk governor Andrey Fedorovich Umansov, who, prohibiting everything illegal, will return the wife to Gabdelmadzhid, son of Safar, which you will have to tell me in a report. The Chief, upon asking to obtain court judgments from the former Chief Ibragim and two mullahs and showing to Mister Head of police the fatwa I gave, should make a decision. Mufti. 1820, 7 July. No.87.'

Another seven letters of the mufti were included in 'Mustafadel-akhbar' (part 2, pp. 83–84, 290–295). Since all these letters are same-type, having the same style and even mistakes, I believe they have been rewritten from the same draft.

Conclusion:

Why, although he spoke his native Turkic language, did the mufti write these orders and fatwas in the Persian language? There seems to be some secret which we do not know yet. There is nothing bad in using Persian or Arabic to write scientific works and fiction intended for the whole nation. However, the mufti's works are neither all-Islamic nor scientific works. In this case, the preference for the Persian language over the only heritage of our fathers, grandfathers and mothers—our native language—is an unforgivable sin.

In the time when the Iraqi regions were conquered, the Islamic state officially used the Persian language so that the local population did not forget it. For the same reason, the Coptic language was used in Egypt and Greek in Syria. After some time, this tradition faded, and the Arabic language started being used.

I wonder, whether the Tibetan Lama writes orders for his co-religionists in the Arabic or Latin language? In my opinion, he would write them in a language understandable to the people in question. So why did the mufti write important instructions intended for the Bashkirs of Timerbay and Savaley in the Persian language? If he was worried about the destiny of these people, they should have been written in their language, but if he was anxious about his position, then he must have used Russian, which is accepted to be the state language.

The tribesmen who consider our language to be poor, that there are not enough words for a conversation hide their laziness in order not to write anything and not to read that which is written. They might be right, but there are people who enrich the language—they speak and write in it. I have never heard that a language could develop remaining in one and the same condition, as rusty iron....

For the sake of Allah, may the sunlight and mothers' heritage—the native language—never be needless to any nation.

⁴The original contained eight letters, six of which are written in Persian and one in a mixture of the Tatar, Arab and Persian languages. One of the letters, written in Tatar, is presented here.

Letters addressed to the mufti.*The first letter.*

By the order of Great Emperor Alexander Pavlovich, the Spiritual Board in June 1810 sent me, Rakhmankul's son, as an imam to the Makaryev Fair to read namaz for Islamic merchants and conduct other spiritual rites. At the time when I was fulfilling the obligations imposed upon me, the appointed imam of Ura village, the Tsarevokokshaysk uyezd of Kazan guberniya⁵ Khabibulla, son of Khusain, put obstacles in my path. To justify his actions, he provided a decree issued by the Kazan civil governor. Secondly, my activities are also limited by the mullah of the third mosque of the Staraya [Old] Sloboda of Kazan city, Sagid Akhund, despite the fact that he had not been given any order. He took his muezzin Khalid with himself, without providing an opportunity to me to place my own muezzin. Imam Murtaza also arrived here from the wooden mosque of Staraya Sloboda. Apart from these people, no one else bothered me. Moreover, all the money raised from shops at the mosque were kept by the merchant Bashir, son of Gaid, from the Staraya Sloboda. No money were provided to us. Since the mosque was located far, we ourselves built a mosque from planks, did a namaz, read a prayer for the Emperor's good health. Abushakhma, Rakhmankula's son, the imam, mudarris, and muhtasib of Kulay village, the Malobakhtinskaya volost of the Chistopol uyezd. 18 September 1810....

The third letter.

In response to your letter No.9: Khabibulla, son of mullah Khusain from Ura village, is worthy of performing spiritual rites among Muslims because on 4 September 1802 the Emperor gave this man a decree to perform religious rites for Muslims.

Secondly, in June 1810, Islamic merchants, filing a petition, asked for my permission to appoint Khusain, the mullah's son, as an imam. Therefore, I wrote an order to the governor of Nizhny Novgorod about appointing Khusain's son as an imam for Muslims who arrived at the Makaryev Fair, which I inform you about. No.1765. 1811, 29 March. The signature is unclear. No other notes are noticed.

The third letter⁶.

On 24 May 1811, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Justice reviewed your petition regarding Khabibulla, son of Khusain, from Ura village of Tsarevokokshaysk uyezd. On 30 January 1803, the Spiritual Board released him from his position because he had undertaken a trip to Petersburg without the permission of the relevant authorities. As it is seen from the judicial case, Khabibulla, son of Khusain, adheres to a bad madhhab; he declared himself a sheikh, who proclaimed himself a saint and miracle worker in Saratov guberniya; having opened his own secretariat, he set there an expensive chair and collects money. However, the investigation carried out by the zemsky court did not confirm anything. Therefore, the case of Khusain's son was passed on to the Criminal Chamber of Saratov. The Saratov civil governor said the following about this case: Shagban, son of Mussa, invited his teacher Khabibulla, son of Khusain, on a visit. In February 1802, Khusain's son stayed in the house of Shagban, son of Mussa, in Truir village and did not leave this village. Some inhabitants from neighbouring localities by their own wish met Khusain's son and completed namaz together. Each of them voluntarily gave a Sadaqah to Khusain's son—as much as one could—but there was neither property collection nor an expensive chair; neither did he proclaim himself a saint or a miracle worker. In the opinion of Muslims, mullah Khabibulla is an educated, responsible, and careful person. The Kazan civil governor also adds the following: 'Most Muslims trust Khabibulla, the son of Khusain, consider him to be honest and note that he has the temper of a saint.' You suggest that Khabibulla, son of Khusain, is spoiled but do not provide evidence. You attached a book to the petition sent to the Minister of Justice. You say that on pages 58–59, where the genealogy of the Prophet is given, Khabibulla suggests that he and a Dzhaqfar are caliphs. Upon translating these pages, we have not noticed what you declared. The Minister of Justice responded with the following words: 'It ill beseems you to write such frivolous things.' Therefore, in order to maintain respect to Your position, you should not offer us cases which are not true. Prince Alexander Golitsyn. Saint Petersburg. No.127. 16 March 1812.

The fourth letter.

We have nothing against the fact that Khabibulla, son of Khusain, expresses obedience to the Spiritual board since he is an Islamic scientist. This desire of your will not be disregarded. According to your petition, the Emperor in 1804 issued a decree about his exile from Petersburg. However, according to the information received from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Justice, the aforementioned son

⁵ Present-day village in the Baltasinsky District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

⁶ The document's text is as such.

of Khusain has been declared not guilty. The Kazan governor, for his part, also justifies him. Based on this, I cannot give an order to release him from office. Prince Golitsyn. Saint Petersburg. No.516. 5 September 1812.

The fifth letter.

Regarding your letter dated 12 October 1812 about Khusain's son, I appealed to the Kazan governor. The Kazan governor, after an accurate review, recognises this person to be honest and of good temper. The paper's copy is attached to this letter. Therefore, in my opinion, You should stop the struggle against this person. Prince Alexander Golitsyn. St. Petersburg. No. 381. 21 August 1813.

The conclusion.

Apart from the first letter, the other letters reproduced only the content. Letters written by the mufti himself are too long and, according to the tradition of the last century, are hieroglyphical and, that is why we decided not to translate them. It is already clear from what is written here that the mufti did not respect Khabibulla ishan. It seems to us that the mufti did not like the latter due to the possibility of his appointment as a mufti. He wrote about it to Prince Golitsyn, who at that time occupied the position of the Procurator of the Synod.

During the mufti's time in Ufa, there were no places for the burial of Muslims and a mosque to complete namaz. Thanks to his efforts, some works were published in Kazan and just because of this we must remember him with gratitude. In one of the works by Muhammad bine Barkili (Muhammad efendi Barkavi), 171 pages in volume, published through the mediation of Gabdelgaziz, Tuktamyshev's son, in 1802, the following is printed: 'Courtesy of mufti Mukhammedzhan.' It cost much effort to develop the Spiritual Board and make it recognised as an official institution. It is generally known that such matters demand unprecedented efforts. May Allah forgive him!

Source: R. Fäxretidin. Asar. Dürtençe cöze. Orenburg, 1903. B. 181–200.

Gabdessalyam bine Gabderrakhim bine Gabderrakhman bine Muhammad.

The second mufti of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly in Russia died on 30 January 1840 (7 Zulhijja 1255 AH) and was buried on 2 February (10 Zulhijja). At that time, according to Christian chronology, he was aged 67, and according to the Hijrah, he was 70 years old.

Similar to the large bazaars in Ufa, a great number of people gathered on the day of his funeral. The service was carried out by famous mudarris and akhund of Balyklykulevo village Khusnetdin bine Shamsetdin bine Dzhagfar al-Izhdani. However, the time of the mufti's death was recorded neither in parish registers of the Islamic mahallah of Orenburg nor in parish registers of Balyklykuevo village. The fact that Khusnetdin bine Shamsetdin conducted the funeral service was related to the absence of Ufa's official imam, or it was connected to the will of mufti himself. It could have been the will of top-rated murzas of Ufa city.

In the collection published in 1891, on the occasion of the centennial of the Spiritual Board, on page 42, the year of the mufti's death is mistakenly marked as 1839. The data at our disposal proves the words written on sidelines of some old books. Apart from this, the fact that this date is incorrect is also proved by journals of the Spiritual Board. Thus, for example, in the journal, dated 10 January 1840 (on Wednesday), mufti Gabdessalyam bine Gabderrakhim, members imam Tadzheiddin bine Maksud, Gabdeldzhabbar bine Rakhmankul, Mukhammedsadyk bine Galiakbar put their signatures. For 11 January, Thursday, only signatures of members were found in the journal; there was added at the bottom: 'Due to illness, the Orenburg mufti was not present.' The entries 15–17, 22–25, 29 mention the mufti's illness; for the date of 30 January (Tuesday) the following is written at the bottom, in the 13th entry: 'Today, unable to recover from illness, the mufti passed away, which will be announced to the Orenburg Governorate Administration and the Minister of Internal Affairs.'

Grave.

The mufti's grave is located at the very edge of the cemetery, on the side where the night sun declines. The remnants of the stone fence have been preserved. The gravestone made of an easily crumbling stone was soon destroyed. At present, the mufti's grave is inside of the stone fence with a wooden grating painted green. His spouse Marfuga, daughter of Gabderrakhman, rests next to him. Both of them had a stone at the head of the grave, but because of low quality the stones quickly cracked and fell into disrepair. It looks as if there has never been an inscription on them. When I went to the cemetery in summer, I would always visit this grave and read a prayer. Unfortunately, up to the present day, there is no stone with the name and date of death on the grave, but no one seems to look worried about it. Therefore, in several years, the mufti's grave may be lost forever....

Legacy.

By the time of the mufti's death, his property was estimated at 4,849 thousand roubles and 34 kopecks. His age heirs confirmed it, together with the debt of 1,100 roubles. According to the decree of the Orenburg Governorate Administration, the partition of his property was laid upon the member of the Spiritual Board Gabdeldzhabbar, son of Rakhmankul, and Akhund Gabdelgalim, son of Tagir, from the village of Kirghiz Miyaki of Belebeevsk uyezd⁷. The son of mufti Akhmadi was in Bukhara at that time; therefore, instead of him, translator Salikh mirza bine Khasan mirza Mamliiev was appointed as the deputy. However, the book of property recordings did not show the general number and names of the mufti's books and who exactly inherited which book.

Origin and date of birth.

The mufti was born in 1774 (1188 AH) in the Motherland of his father and grandfather—Abdrakhmanovo village of Bugulma uyezd⁸. This village is located on the left bank of the Zay River, on the postal track between the stations of Almetyevsk and Karabash⁹. The mufti comes from the Teptyars, while the name of the village comes from his grandfather's name.

Period of maturity.

Having studied at some places in Bugulma uyezd, he left to go in Kazan to study under Ibragim efendi Khudzhash. Ibragim efendi was born in the village of Sharlama¹⁰, not far from the village of Abdrakhmanovo; therefore, it is possible that relative or friendly relations could have been between them. Having lived in Kazan for some time, he for some reason departed to the Seitov Sloboda (Kargala) and was taught there by Gabderrakhman bine Mukhammedsharif al-Kirmanii.

Due to the fact that ambassadors of Bukhara, Khiva, Tashkent, as well as the First Cathedral Mosque built in Orenburg by the Russian state for Asian Muslims, needed an imam, this person [Dabdessalyam] was appointed as the imam-khatib and, consequently, the akhund. They said that Muslims of Orenburg, having gone to Seitov Sloboda, appealed to Gabderrakhman bin Mukhammedsharif al-Kirmanii asking to give them one of the Shakirds for a temporary performance of Islamic rites, reading the tarawih prayer during Ramadan, and teaching children. Gabderrakhman khazrat pointed at him [Dabdessalyam]. Upon the arrival in Orenburg, he carefully performed his responsibilities, moreover, expressed skills of public speaking and was benevolent, which helped him win love of Muslims, especially wealthy people. Later, Orenburg Muslims elected him as the imam in the Cathedral mosque.

Official biography.

According to the service book, in 1826 mufti Dabdessalyam bine Gabderrakhim was 53 years old. His sons Gabderrauf, 20 y.o., Akhmadi, 11 y.o., and Giniyatulla, 1 y.o., lived with him.

On 17 October 1799, he was appointed as the imam of the stone mosque, and on 14 August 1805 as an akhund and mudarris. On 16 August 1806, he was granted an annual salary in the amount of 150 roubles for his service to the Russian state. In 1814 he was awarded with a gold medal; moreover, 80 roubles were added to the previous sum, and the amount of his annual salary climbed to 230 roubles. In 1817 he was released from all capitation taxes, and in September, 70 more roubles were added to the former sum, which then constituted 300 roubles per annum. At the petition of Orenburg general-governor Essen¹¹, in 1820 he was awarded a sum of 100 roubles. As a member of the society for examination of the activity of the Kirghiz Horde, he visited on 14 October 1823 Shirgazi Khan bine Aichuvak bine Nurgali Khan bine Abulkhaer Khan. For the faithful performance of his duties under the Khan, on 28 April 1824, the Russian state awarded him with a gold watch worth 500 roubles.

On 30 September 1825, by the decree of Emperor Alexander I, he was appointed mufti of the Spiritual Board. On 7 May 1826, he was granted 4 thousand roubles from the treasury as a gift for building a house.

⁷ The village of Kirghiz-Miyaki was the centre of the cognominal rural locality from 1866 and the centre of the present day Miyakino District of the Republic of Bashkortostan.

⁸ Present-day village in the Almetyevsk District of the Republic of Tatarstan on the Stepnoi Zai River, 18 km southeast of Almetyevsk city.

⁹ Now the city of regional subordination in Chelyabinsk Region is located in Southern Ural, 90 km from Chelyabinsk.

¹⁰ Present-day village in the Almetyevsk District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

¹¹ Peter Kirillovich Essen (1772–1844, St. Petersburg), count (1833), a state and military person, the General of the Infantry (1819). He was Orenburg's military governor between 1817 and the 1830s.

After this, there were other medals; monetary rewards and events followed, but we have not seen it until the most recent service book.

Wives.

The first wife, Marfuga, was the daughter of a famous scientist Gabderrakhman bine Tuymukhammed from the village of Taysugan¹², located on the bank of the Zay River two kilometres from the village of Abdrakhmanovo. This wife died in Ufa before the mufti. After the mufti's death, his second wife Farkhibany, Rakhmatulla's daughter, was still alive.

Children.

After his death, the mufti left the following children: Gabderrauf, Akhmadi, Giniyatulla, Bibibad-ersafa, Bibimakhidzhikhan, Bibisarvidzhikhan, Bibifakhriddzhikhan. There is also daughter An-varkhan, married to caravan-bashi [head of a merchant caravan] from Bukhara, Hajji Nazarbay bine Ishmukhammed, who had possibly predeceased the mufti.

Bibisarvidzhikhan was married to the Bashkir canton Shaykh ul-Islām bine Muhammedrakhim Sul-tanov from the village of Masteevo, Menzelinsk uyezd¹³. She bore the children Nafisa, Shaykhezzaman, Amirtimur, and Mariam. Nafisa was married to a translator at the Spiritual Board in Ufa named Ra-khmatulla, the son of Mirzasalikh Mamliev, and died aged 34 on 4 March 1866 (Shawwal 1281 AH). Her grave is approximately 25 arshins north of mufti Gabdessalyam's grave. The date of death, age, and names of children are written on the stone, but it is broken; therefore, soon this grave will be lost. Except for Nasifa, all the other children are alive.

Bibifakhriddzhikhan married the famous Kazan merchant Iskhak bine Mustafa bine Murtaza bine David bine Yusuf bine Muhammad bine Apak. Their children are Shaykhegattar, Bakhtegarey, Makhid-zhikhan, and Khusnidzhikhan. Bakhtegarey died in Kazan in 1880 (1297 AH).

Gabderrauf, the imam of the First stone mosque of Orenburg, known as 'Efendi khazrat,' was later given the title of an akhund. He taught religion to Shakird Muslims of the Cadet corps with the salary of 500 roubles per annum. By the decision of the Council of Ministers dated 17 June 1830 and the Emperor's decree, he, together with his brother Giniyatulla, was granted a tarkhanshiP. After he was released from the position of imam and akhund in 1843, thanks to the protection of senior officials, he was granted a permanent position as a mugallim; later, after giving up teaching at his own request, he retired and went on a pension. He died on 15 February 1881 (15 Rabi' al-awwal 1259 AH) aged 76. He was buried in Orenburg cemetery. No data about his teaching and upbringing methods that he used to educate shakirds has been preserved. Without visiting Bukhara and Kabul, he learned the Persian language himself and freely spoke it. His wife came from Astrakhan, was the daughter of Dzhabir Akhund, qadi of Dzhihangir Khan. They had one son, Khabibulla. He was imam at the same mosque, where he served for several years before his death. They said he had 'good knowledge, and thanks to him, the name of the mufti would be mentioned in prayers, but his life turned out to be short'. There are the following lines written by his hand in the examination book of the Spiritual Board: 'On 11 November 1861 I, living in Orenburg, tarkhan Mirkhabibulla, the son of the senior akhund Gabderrauf Gabdessa-lyamov, arrived in Ufa to the mufti khazrat, the highest official, to occupy the position of the imam of this city's cathedral mosque. Over 200 people inhabit our city. I have no wife. The lessons I learned are 'Mukhtasar', 'Sharkhe vikaya', 'Faraiz'. My mentor is damella Gabdulla al-Machkaravi.'

In December 1834, the Orenburg Governorate Administration appointed Akhmadi as imam and senior akhund of the First stone mosque of Ufa. As a result of lengthy and various events, in July 1843, when mufti Gabdelvakhid Suleymanov was in office, the Spiritual Board released him from his position. May Allah forgive him—they say his behaviour was unapologetic. He was taught in Kazan by Gabden-nasir akhund ibne Rakhmankuly and Iskhak bine Sagit, in Machkara¹⁴, at the madrasah of Gabdulla bin Yakhya al-Chirtushi, after which he was appointed as imam at this mosque. After that, he went off to Bukhara, to the madrasah of Kugeltash¹⁵. He returned in the year of the mufti's death and assumed office. He had a son Makhdi from his marriage with Bibigabida, Sharafetdin al-Esterli's daughter. He divorced her on 21 March 1843. Makhdi, upon marrying Zukhra, the widowed daughter of Astrakhan Akhund Dzhabbar, and lived in Sterlitamak until his death in 1878 (1295 AH).

¹² Now it is a village in the Almetyevsk District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

¹³ Now it is a village in the Aktanysh District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

¹⁴ Present-day village of Maskara in the Kukmor District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

¹⁵ Kugeltash, Kukeltash (Kukeldash) is one of the biggest madrasahs in Bukhara which possessed substantial waqf properties. It was built in the 16th century by Kulbobo Kukeldash, one of the influential dignitaries of Abdulla Khan (1557–1598).

They say that apart from Makhdi, Akhmadi had another son, Khaydar. After Akhmadi was released from office, he left Ufa and departed to his uncle, to the village of Masteevo, where he died.

Marfuga, Gabderrakhman's daughter, was the mother of Gabderrauf, Akhmadi, Sarvidzhikhan, and Fakhriddzhikhan. There is no data about other children.

Relatives.

Gabdelmuemin, Makhbubdzhamal, Makhbubdzhikhan. Gabdelmuemin permanently lived in Sterlibashevo village. One of the sons, Gabderrakib, was the imam of Barudy's parish in Kazan; another son, Gabdelkhakim, was the imam in the village of Abdrakhmanovo. Each of them had many children and descendants.

Makhbubdzhamal married the famous canton chief of the Orenburg uyezd, Gabdulla bine Davletshah bin Gadelshah. Descendants remained.

Makhbubdzhikhan was married to someone named Khamza in Orenburg. People say they have children and grandchildren.

Other data.

Thanks to the efforts and obstinateness of mufti Gabdessalyam, the Kazan merchant Muemin bine Tagir bine Nazir bine Tukamysh bine Khodzhasaid built the First stone mosque in Ufa. Before it was constructed, there had been no data about the presence of a mosque in the city. At the entrance to it, the following words are written on the stone over the second door: 'This mosque was constructed by mirza Muemin bay bine Tagir al-Kazani thanks to efforts of mufti Gabdessalyam.... The mosque was opened on 7 March 1830 (12 Ramadan 1246).'

After becoming mufti, he went to attend a wedding as a matchmaker in Ursai village of Bugulma uyezd¹⁶ on the bank of the Ik River. According to legend, the Shakirds were sent to meet the mufti when he entered the village and, standing behind the mufti's sledge, they read verses of praise. Later, the mufti was visited by scientists and famous people, who arrived from across the whole district.

Upon entering the house, the mufti fulfilled the request of the both sides—reading the khutbah of nikah. For some reason, he read this khutbah not by heart but looking in a notebook. Then he wrote the following in the metric notebook: 'The daughter of Bashkir head of the 12th canton, Ursay village of Bugulma uyezd, Shakhingarey, son of Kurmakey Nugaybekov, maiden Gaziza Maftukha, became the wife of a Major, prince Asfandiyar, son of Mustafa Maksudov. 1835, 11 February (on this spot, they put their signatures in Turkic, and 2–3 murzas also signed it as witnesses). The makhar amounting to 11 thousand roubles was paid in full at the wedding; Shakhingarey, son of Kurmakey, accepted it by his own hands to pass it to the daughter. Keeping in mind the Emperor's decree, according to which intending Islamic spouses were to give away 30 kopecks for constructing a mosque, Shakhingarey Nugaybekov, as it befits his status, paid 30 roubles with a banknote. I, mufti Gabdessalyam, son of Gabderrakhim, having held the nikah at the request of the both sides, wrote a note about it into the notebook and sealed it.' The seal was official, fixed with wax.

Nugaybekov and Maksudov mentioned here were famous families in their time. Asfandiyar mirza was the brother of Zuleykhavika, the mother of Salimgarey mirza bine Shakhingarey Taftilev. He lived in the village of Kilem in Belebeevsk uyezd¹⁷. After mirza Asfandiyar died, his wife Maftukha, Shakhingarey's daughter, was a widow for 30 years, after which she married canton head Gardi Syrtlanov, after whose death she again was left a widow and died in 1893 (1310 AH). She is buried in the village of Kilem. People were asking me to write her name and years of life in order to cut them on the headstone. As I believe, she did not leave offspring after herself. Our famous murzas, possessing a great fortune, which is almost equal to the one of Rothschild, could not even write and publish a booklet about their ancestors.

And so from that time, there was no official imam in Ufa, the mufti himself performed Friday and holiday prayers, as well as other parish rites; sometimes he imposed this work upon members of the Assembly.

Visiting Ufa for the first time on 17 February 1891, I met Valiulla, the son of Gadelshah Teregulov, who was personally acquainted with mufti Gabdessalyam. To answer my question 'Could you tell me anything from the life of mufti Gabdessalyam?' he told me the following: 'His Friday gospel is still in front of my eyes. He was of large stature, with a large open face and a solid beard. His voice was beautiful and impressive, people listened to it with pleasure. Sometimes, when he preached, tears flowed

¹⁶ Present-day village of Ursaevo in the Aznakaev District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

¹⁷ Present-day village in the Buzdyaksky District of the Republic of Bashkortostan.

down his long white beard. Parishioners neither could help crying.' This Valiulla is buried in the cemetery of Ufa....

The Honourable Marjani said the following about this person: 'After the death of mufti Mukhammedzhan, at the request of people, the Kazan governor considered Akhund Gabdessattar bine Sagit worthy of this position and offered his candidacy for the government's review. However, Gabdes-salyam Khazrat, being more educated and supporting their [the governmental] side, was appointed as mufti, also by the request of the Orenburg governor. Ibragim bin Khudzhash from Kazan, who wanted to revenge on Sagit bine Akhmed, also supported Gabdes-salyam. Mufti Gabdes-salyam was a ceremonious, but open person.'

Home.

The mufti's house was located east of the First stone mosque, between Voskresenskaya and Belskaya streets. After him, it was sold to Taftilev and divided into two sections. In the quibla-oriented section, Salimgarey (mufti) built a house for himself. The house's northern part and old constructions were granted to an orphanage. Old houses on the corners of this orphanage had been built by mufti Gabdes-salyam. He himself used to live in the house near the mosque, and another house was lent to the Spiritual Board. The land located west of the Mosque was given to one of his workers named Maryam. At present, there is a beautiful garden over there. Maryam used to be a famous woman in Ufa: canton officials and public officers visiting Ufa, shakirds arriving to pass exams, akhunds and khazrats appointed to the service at the Spiritual Board, Bashkirs selling land—they all stopped at her house. She died long ago.

Letters. This section contains the mufti's letters that were preserved in his library. These letters represent nothing important but may contribute to revelation of morality and traditions of scientists and the nation during that time, the determination of the level of their knowledge and enlightenment, skills, and thinking. A portion of the letters has been rewritten verbatim, while some of them are rewritten with changes. Those who would like to know the level of the mufti's education will be interested in the letter rewritten completely. They are divided into two sections: the first one provides official and semi-official letters, and the second includes private correspondence.

The first section¹⁸.

The second letter. Co-religionists and blood brothers! We, the lowermost slave of God, at Allah's will and the Emperor's decree from 30 September 1825, were appointed to the position of mufti. Living and working in the city of Ufa, we lack the opportunity to perform the compulsory five-time-a-day namaz together with all people. The absence of the mosque in the city where the mufti of all scientists and educated people resides calls forth surprise and humiliation. We see the necessity for the constant arrival to our city of scientists, permanent living of merchants and burghers, murzas and military men here. We want to leave a good memory after ourselves by constructing a stone cathedral mosque in this city and by our efforts, and houses near it necessary for the imam, muezzins who come to pass exams, as well as scientists. Each of you, being sincere to Allah, in conformity with your opportunities and consciousness, can make a donation to build the mosque and other buildings, which will be recorded by your own hand in the handbook attached to this [appeal]. Thanks to it, they will receive a holy blessing, and the gates of paradise will be opened to them. 1827, 24 September.

The fourth letter. In the name of Allah, merciful and generous. Admonition. Brothers in religion and Muslims! Know and understand. I, mufti Gabdes-salyam, son of deceased mullah Gabderrakhim, rewriting different rivayats and phrases from respected books, send the fatwa together with it, order all akhunds, muhtasibs, and scientists: they, each in their mahallah, on Friday and holidays have to deliver sermons to every member of the parish about not taking actions that contradict Sharia, that they are subject to Allah, and that they do not contradict the will of Allah, do not commit sin, and do not say evil words, and stay away from deceit and slander. Generous and great Allah says in the holy book: 'I brought people into this world only so they worship me.' As we see from these words, it is necessary to follow Allah's orders and constantly worship Him, beware of sinful deeds and going against his will. In one of ayahs it was written: 'Children of Adam! Do you think you were born to lead a useless life? No, you were born for worship and obedience.' How can you, leaving worship and obedience, commit sins? Do you think you will not be able to rise under our patronage? You will definitely rise. Based upon your deeds, on Judgment Day, each of your desires will be subjected to a penalty; however, today your activities will not be judged. It means that if you did a good deed, your punishment will be easy and you will be rewarded and enter the gates of paradise, where you will taste enjoyment. If your activities are sinful,

¹⁸ This section included 11 mufti's letters written between 1826 and 1837 in the Tatar, Arab, Persian and Turkish languages. Translations of letters written in Tatar will be given here.

the punishment for you will be hellish sufferings. If you follow the traditions of our Prophet and adhere to Sharia, you will be close to Him on Judgment Day. Thus, Mohammad said: 'Those become my confidants who follow my traditions and act according to the Sharia.' You know that Mohammad did make efforts to develop worship and obedience, and you can also do it: eat and drink what is prescribed by Sharia and considered permissible, reject what is prohibited, not to hold godless and impious carousals, not to slander, not to fornicate; in general, reject everything sinful and contradicting Sharia. By repenting already committed sins, calling upon each other to adhere to holiness and not allowing yourselves to act in contradiction to Sharia, as well as listening to scientists' instructions, fence yourselves off from hellish sufferings! In doing holy deeds, you will be equal to saints and sweetened by Allah's mercy on Judgment Day. As it is written in the Sacred book, paradise will be opened to those who committed worthy deeds, were obedient to Allah, rejected harmful and sinful matters, while the non-pious will be exposed to hellfire because of their deeds. Performing the five-time namaz together with people, on holidays and Fridays, read prayers for good health of our Emperor, his family, and heirs and make every effort to carry out his decrees, pay taxes and tributes, and you will be rewarded in the afterlife.

Mufti Gabdessalyam, son of damella Gabderrakhim. Written in Ufa city on the 10th day of Muharram 1833.

The fifth letter. Brothers in religion! Following Allah's will, you have to avoid disobedience and sinful acts. Moreover, you must obey the will and orders of generous Emperor Nicholas Pavlovich, listen to him, and express docility; to maintain your living, your bodies and souls must work hard.

According to the decree issued by the Spiritual Board, akhunds and imams must spread and explain this admonition among parishioners of their mahallahs and prevent them from committing wrongful deeds. Only being obedient to Allah and expressing patience, may you be rewarded. Those who cause injury to themselves hiding from military service, deserve the punishment of God. Self-mutilation is a great sin. The sixth part of the book 'Khamidi' is where the gravest sins are described in detail; it is said that the most serious sins include suicide and self-mutilation. There is a sacred Hadith delivering a warning to people who disagree with Allah's punishments, express dissatisfaction at benefits given by us, and do not want to stand hardships. The 34th part of 'Khadimi' says: 'The first which Allah wrote on the board of destinies: "Indeed, I am Allah, and there is no other God but me. If someone does not agree with my orders, is dissatisfied with benefits, is impatient to burdens, so he denies Allah".'

Therefore, those who believe in the pure essence of the faith need to express caution. It is necessary to obey decrees of the padishah and khakims and not to show resistance to the orders of the firmans. The Quran says, 'Those who adopted the faith, obey Allah and His Prophet.' Prophet Mohammad said, 'The obligatory rule for men is obedience to orders and docility, despite grief or joy.'

(Checked by the assessor Gabelnnasir mullah, the son of Almkhammed).

The sixth letter. At the highest mercy of the great Emperor, in order to make sure Muslims are attended to by their co-religionist doctors, it has been decided to send representatives of the Islamic community to study at Kazan university so that they receive a medical education. Upon graduating, they have to apply their knowledge in the Islamic environment and constantly take care of the health of their society. Following this desire expressed by the Emperor, military governor Count Sukhtelen¹⁹ appealed in 1831 to the mufti with the following suggestion: 'The great Emperor announced his generous wish to Muslims. Could you please also order it with the legal fatwa according to Sharia?' After the mufti's fatwa, after the announcement of this monarchic mercy throughout the territory of the Orenburg guberniya, youngsters of some governorate's uyezds, with the permission of their parents, decided to obtain education at Kazan Imperial University. However, ordinary people and scientists of the Upper Urals, Troitsk, and Chelyabinsk, being afraid of forced Christianisation, rejected this offer, about which they reported to akhunds of their districts. In their turn, akhunds directed them to the Spiritual Board, together with their own reports. Chelyabinsk scientists, who are notable for their special recalcitrance, have sent their petition to the Emperor. Will it be appropriate if some scientists disobeying the Emperor's desire and the mufti's fatwa will be issued with a warning, some instigators will be imposed a penalty, and some will be released from office? In any case, medicine is a sacred science allowed by Sharia. In some books it is considered to be allowed; other books call it necessary. The answer is the following: it will be appropriate to warn some scientists, impose penalties on others, and release some from their positions.

Orenburg mufti, mullah Gabdessalyam, the son of mullah Gabderrakhim.

¹⁹ Pavel Petrovich Sukhtelen (23 August 1788–20 March 1833)—the Russian general and Orenburg governor. Baron (since 1812), count (since 1822), adjunct-general (since 1828), lieutenant general (since 1826)..

The seventh letter. Notifying akhunds of the following, I order: on 30 April of last year, Orenburg civil governor Zhukovsky in his concern No.1292 decreed the following: 'I have issued an order prescribing every zemsky police chief to maintain awareness of the condition the people entrusted to him find themselves in, protect them from plight; thus, various seeds for sowing must be prepared. The Chief of police must control people so that they did not fall into idleness, that is, sowing on time and were involved in other matters. Mister Chief of police of Belebeevsk has also reported to me: "In order to fulfill your decree, we have notified the whole population. In some villages, mullahs of Islamic parishes, rejecting them, said [to the population]: "If you have food for today, do not worry about tomorrow." That is why they do not sow on time and spend their days in idleness and sloth. Because of this sloth, hardships fall on them; they are poorer than the Chuvash, Mari, and Cheremis inhabiting the district." The words of these mullahs influenced me greatly; therefore, I decided to appeal to you, dear sir. Could you please explain these mullahs that crafts and trade are the matters which do not contradict Allah, while passivity, on the contrary, does. Mullahs have to incite ordinary people to work so that they cease to be poor. Evil thoughts must be disrooted from their heads, including the one that one does not have to worry about tomorrow if there is food for today. Could you please also send me a copy of your admonition about it if you write one.'

Basing ourselves on the attitude expressed by Sir civil governor and considering this case necessary for myself, I order all akhunds, muhtasibs and imams not to disturb the consciousness of ordinary people with the aforementioned words and appeal to them so that they strive to crafts and other activities. After performing each of the five namazes, you have to do an appropriate work for yourselves, because the provision of your lives with labour is an obligatory religious order.

Moreover, every ulama is obliged to explain to people the harm of idleness and the necessity to do something after performing namaz, so that they constantly sowed and harvested, are beware of evil intentions and actions, so that they fulfill all necessary work for a certain day and did not leave it for tomorrow. Those who delay matters for tomorrow will be in trouble.

Orenburg mufti, the son of Gabderrakhim. Ufa. May 1834.

The ninth letter. The answer to the petition of Bashkir kantone yesaul Bikmatov. Due to the fact that at present most people spend their time at sinful Majlises, drink alcoholic beverages from which appears the danger of disobedience and unlawful activities, those who would like to get married should for a while delay this matter. If during the time of the Prophet, women were allowed to attend mosque to perform namaz, Gumer has prohibited it. This is recorded in books.

The tenth letter. The following mullahs shall be sent to every prison in uyezd cities of Orenburg guberniya where Muslims are kept for the edification and exhortation of prisoners :

1) imam, senior muhtasib and mudarris of the mosque 'Shakhane,' mullah Gabderrauf, the son of mufti Gabdessalyam—to Orenburg;

2) to Ufa—akhund Gabdelgallyam, the son of Yusuf from the village of Urazbakty;

3) to Belebey city—imam and mudarris Gabdelkhalik, the son of Kitap from the village of Tukay;

4) to Bugulma city—imam and muhtasib Gabderrakib, the son of Gabdelmuemin from the village of Abdrakhmanovo;

5) to Buguruslan—imam Kutlugakhmed, the son of Murad from the village of Gali;

6) to Buzuluk—imam Imankul, the son of Khudayvirde from the village of Dzhaek;

7) to Menzelinsk—akhund Mukhammedlatif, the son of Yakhudi from the village of Buech;

8) to Birska—akhund Akhmedshakh, the son of Atyitar from the village of Adzhak;

9) to Chelyabinsk—akhund Mukhammedvali, the son of Yarmukhammed from the village of Urkey;

10) to Troitsk—imam, muhtasib Mukhammedzarif, the son of Abduldzhilil;

11) to Verkhneuralsk—imam Gabdelgaffar, the son of Saedkul from the village of Kuzgun Akhmer²⁰;

12) to Sterlitamak—akhund Sharafetdin, the son of Zainetdin;

13) to Uralsk—assistant of akhund Gabdelkhalik, the son of Khalil.

The second section.

In the pack of personal letters of mufti Gabdessalyam, I have 146 letters he wrote to muhtasib Ibragim efendi, son of Khudhash, son of Nurmukhammed. Being reluctant to increase the volume of the book, we held back from republishing all of the letters. Moreover, readers who are used to writing letters in the form of a telegram or a newspaper article will not be pleased to read the long sentences and

²⁰ Kuzgun Akhmerovo—a village in the Tamian-Katansky canton, present day Beloretsk District of the Republic of Bashkortostan.

greetings of the Kazan beys. We have chosen the most useful information from every letter and present it here, in brief, indicating the date of writing.

1) I received the letter you sent and was very happy to learn that within two days after your return you will be able to obtain the decision on my case. 15 April 1826.

2) The Orenburg military governor, in consequence of appealing to the emperor through the spiritual minister, awarded us with the sum of four thousand rubles to buy a house. The Treasury Chamber received the decree issued by the finance minister. The spiritual minister informed the military governor about it who brought it to the attention of the Treasury Chamber, the Governorate Administration and me. We were glad to learn from your letter, dated 22 April, that this decree had been received, which was also transmitted to the public offices and scientists. The Governorate Administration informed the board about it. 29 April 1826.

3) In the last mail, we received a letter from the Spiritual Minister Shishkov in which he writes: 'From my report, the emperor learned that you compiled a work on a public prayer in his honour, which gladdened him a lot, as a consequence of which he presents you with a mink coat. This coat was sent to the Orenburg military governor to be passed to you'. 14 April 1827.

4) Upon arriving in Orenburg at the order of the military governor, I was happy to receive my clothes. By the will of Allah, I hope to wear them in good health; may prosperity and the joys of this life and the after-life be sent down to all of us. A caravan of 300 camels arrived from Urgench, on 13 June it entered Menovny; the goods were unloaded in the caravanserai. The Kazakhs started arriving in good amounts. The messengers sent to Bukhara started returning. They informed us that a caravan is getting ready to depart from Bukhara. After the death of Bukhara's Khan Amir Khaidar, his son Amir Khusain became the khan, who died after ruling for 80 days. After him, his brother Amir Gumer became the khan. At that time, his brother Bakhadir Khan, after gathering an army, conquered Samarkand and other cities; having approached Bukhara, he besieged the city for 50 days and Khan Gumer had to leave the city. At dawn, on the 27th day of Ramadan, Bakhadir Khan entered the city, killing Gumer Khan's counselors; he gave honours to other scientists and noble people. 15 June 1827. Orenburg.

5) Gabdelsattar-akhund, you were also sent the decree and notebooks with seals from the Board. All donations directed to building the stone cathedral mosque in Ufa must be written down in this notebook. We hope for your zeal in this matter. First of all, you have to donate one thousand or five hundred rubles yourself, about which you should make a true recording. After seeing it, others will also strive to do the same. We also ask you to inform us in what way public prayers for finishing the construction of the mosque and in the name of our emperor have been carried out. When you meet the Ural muhtasib, Saifetdin muezzin, please retell him our wishes. 4 August 1827.

6) We are upset about the fact that there are no donations for the mosque. It is surprising that among such a great number of people there are no sympathetic people—as it is said, a lake is made up of drops. If one person donated at least 10 or 5 rubles, a significant sum would be collected. The fact that we have sent a notebook to the Makaryev Fair was known by noblemen, therefore we were confused when they asked us about it. However, after our return to Kazan, you wrote about the good news of Yusuf from Koval; moreover, after talking to Gubaidulla-bey, you promised to provide help. I met Gubaidulla-bey and Ahmed Zamanov at the Makaryev Fair, our brother-in-law has written that they agreed to provide us with help. Therefore at the moment we are in expectation. We hope for their help if Allah allows it. If Allah helps, one person will be able to deal with this matter. The instruction may be written in a notebook, but it is not obligatory. If there is a necessity of instruction, rewrite it into the notebook and put your signatures. Qadi Gabdeldzhabbat was directed to the gunpowder factory. 6 October 1827.

7) You wrote about the appointment of <...>²¹ to the position with a salary of 300 rubles. May Allah bless him. He left saying that he would never do illegal actions and we would never hear about him drinking alcohol. Keeping it in mind, occupying such a position, he must deploy all his efforts to maintain his good name. He does not have to give his wife much freedom, but keep her in an iron fist, otherwise he will be disgraced. Gaet was read on Thursday. 5 April 1828.

8) Muemin-bey promised to build a mosque in Ufa. This was told to us by Astrakhan akhund Gaed Mukhammed, son of Ishmukhammed. 2 December 1828.

9) As Muemin-bey promised, we received 2 thousand rubles to prepare the necessary materials. His matchmaker, Ahmed Zamanov from Kazan, considering this plan successful, offered to build the mosque according to this sketch. I have seen a copy of the plan here, Zuleikha-bike has it. 24 January 1829.

²¹ The document's text is as such.

10) At present we are purchasing bricks, we have agreed to bring in sand at the price of 4 paper rubles for a sazhen. Last summer we bought it for 8 paper rubles and in winter it became cheaper. Sir Pushkin wrote that after his return from Saint Petersburg he read in Russian with my son. Please inform me when he will return, I will write a letter of gratitude to him. 31 January 1829.

11) I was given permission from the military governor. If I am in good health, I will depart in 2–3 days. I hope for a successful outcome of the trip. On the request of Muemin-bey, we have approved the plan of the mosque. The vice-governor put his signature on it, we hope for confirmation from the military governor. According to this plan, we have to finish masonry by the beginning of October and spend no more than 2,250 rubles. 16 May 1829.

12) We departed on Friday, 24 May, visited Kargal and other places, and on 28 May, after the evening namaz, we arrived in Orenburg. The Bukhara people, Khivin, Tashkent people and Muslims inhabiting Orenburg went to meet us and greeted us with dignity. We were happy to see our close people, friends, and acquaintances. I would like to visit the military governor. If Allah wishes, the expected plans and desires will come true. 29 May 1829.

13) At the desire of Gubaidulla-bey, the muezzin from the mahalla, Sabit, the son of Khalid, was appointed as the muezzin to the Makaryev mosque and according to written petitions of many people, Gabdessattar akhund and Orsk's Mukhammedgalim, the son of Khabibulla-ishan, were appointed as imams. The governor of Nizhny Novgorod will be informed about the way you perform your muhtasib duties. 18 June 1829.

14) On 5 August, a boy was born; he was named Mirgataula. Sir Pushkin arrived in Ufa to visit us. He has advised us several times to teach the boy the Russian language. I responded that we will agree only if it does not create obstacles for his other lessons. He is a really pleasant man. Please send him regards from us upon his return and say that we were left content after his visit. 29 August 1829.

15) Rice grains sent from Bugulma by Zuleikha-bike's man were handed to the father-in-law and he sent it to us. Masonry at the mosque is long finished. Now, the roof is covered with wood and a wooden minaret is being set. Recently, the military governor visited the construction site. 3 October 1829.

16) The election of the Board members will be held on 13 January. Then we shall write about you. Akhmadidzhan asked the book 'Namuzadzh'. If you see it, buy it. Could it be that a copy of the book exists among the belongings of the deceased khazrat? It would be great if you could look. We have the book 'Ifitakh', if you need it, we will send it to you. Please inform us when you will start to rewrite 'Sharkhe mullah'; there are also 'Gyisam', 'Gabelgafur', 'Abul-bakae'. 'Sharkhe mullah' and 'Gabelgafur' are compiled in a good way, I rewrote them myself when I visited efendi khazrat²². 28 November 1829.

17) On the 8th, the ballot vote was carried out in which the virtuous and educated man Fakhretdin from Bakhtiyar village was elected. The other candidates were Sabit and Saidash from Shali village²³. Only Saidash passed the exam for muezzin of Bolshaya Yelga²⁴ village. If it is this Saidash, how have you elected him for the position of the qadi? May it be another Saidash from Saidash village? Please, write us about it in more details. 12 January 1830.

18) Having departed from Ufa on 27 February, we arrived in Orenburg on Saturday. We visited our closest relatives. However, hadji Mukhammednasir-bey left to Saint Petersburg on the emperor's orders, for an unknown reason. He was glad that we arrived. He will leave on Thursday or Friday. After we say goodbye to him, we have to depart to Kargala. I have written to the governor that another person should be chosen instead of Saidash, please inform me on the further decision. If he orders to hold new elections, choose an elderly and virtuous scholar! 5 March 1830. Orenburg.

19) On the second day from this date, qadi Sabit took his office. May Allah send justice to his work. We have done much that is merciful, but the one who disagrees with this currently fulfills the duties of the imam at the gunpowder factory. Locals will not accept him, will not be able to perform the five-time namaz, will not gather the people for namaz and people will not be able to understand what he will read. It will be difficult for him to take his sparkling boots off and he will mostly perform namaz with his shoes on. Do not put in a good word for him in front of the general! 1 May 1830.

21) From the letter sent by Ahmed-makhdom, I was informed about the death of his father. Mukhamedvafa wrote a letter asking to appoint him as the imam at the Makaryev Fair. It is indecent to send a new person there. At first, he should serve for a couple of years at his parish and deserve the

²² *Author's notes:* Staying at Ibrahim efendi's madrasah is meant here.

²³ Present-day village in the Pestrechinsky District of the Republic of Tatarstan..

²⁴ The Rybnaya Sloboda District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

people's trust. For this year I am planning to appoint Fatkhulla-akhund there, he asked for it in previous years. I have information that Bashir-bey from Chekany wants to see Chistopol's damella Iskhak at his mahalla, is it true? Do you have good relations with Fatkhulla-akhund? 18 June 1831....

23) The Orenburg military governor, the honourable count Sukhtelen, is reporting to interim minister Sir Bludov²⁵ about my instructions to co-religionists about the necessity of providing access to doctors during outbreaks of cholera, about actions taken in favour of the emperor. Based on his report, the emperor awarded me with a golden medal with a diamond on the blue St. Andrew's ribbon about which Sir Bludov has informed me in his letter. The news about such a high award gladdened all my family members and friends and we all expressed our gratitude. Thank Allah! May Allah prolong the days of your life, increase your fortune and establish your name and status! I was glad to know that Akhmadi-bey Zamanov, Gubaidulla-bey Yunusov, Yusuf-bey and Kurbangali-bey had been awarded medals. 18 October 1831.

24) I have written a letter of gratitude to Sir Bludov on the matter of my receiving a gold medal adorned with a diamond, which contained the following words: 'If you asked for the emperor's permission, I would immediately, upon my arrival to the highest person and bending my knee, thank him for such a present'. In response to this, Mister Bludov wrote that he had made known my desire and received the following from the emperor: 'Our sovereign Emperor, honouring your loyalist expression of gratitude with his merciful attention, highly ordered me to inform you that you will be invited to Saint Petersburg at the first opportunity', which made me happy. I dare to hope that I will be able to see our emperor which would gladden my confidants. We needed a sleigh and harness for three horses, it would be good if you found out the price for them. Qadi Sabit departed to Troitsk and Chelyabinsk to observe the local mullahs and akhunds. He sent one letter in which he writes that their positions are not assigned to them. I have not received other letters. I hope he will come back in good health. 24 December 1831.

25) Because of a large amount of work, I did not get a chance to attend the wedding in Orenburg. Moreover, Uraza is approaching, and we thought that if we were to go then we would not be let go soon. With this mail, we received the letter from damella Iskhak and his son. The son is departing from Chistopol on the 4th and the damella on the 7th. 14 January 1832.

26) I received a letter from Orenburg. They are writing that our brother-in-law Mukhammedrakhim is very offended, which has made us upset. We agreed to pay 1,000 rubles of Makhar during the nikah between the daughter of Bibisarvidzhan and Mister Shaikhulislam, the son of Mukhammedrakhim Sultanov. We are planning to hold the nikah at the beginning of March. I translated the instruction issued by the governorate committee about pox in the Tatar language in 1830, which I am now sending to you. The Russian copy is held in the committee. 28 January 1832....

28) An honourable affiancer writes to us: 'We have to return from the wedding on 15 March, because the responsibility of preparing a military regiment has been imposed upon us. The reception will be held on 15 March'. Therefore, the nikah will be celebrated the next Friday. Depart immediately after the receipt of this letter. 3 March 1832....

31) They say the emperor is coming to Kazan. If it is true, they must be currently preparing for it. Please provide me with more details. Mirginayatulla is waiting for 'Khaftiyak', he has already started understanding the lessons. 19 May 1833.

32) Mullah Gabdelvakhid²⁶ writes from Saint Petersburg that recommendations for medals have been directed to the governor. You should show your certificates of merit and take the certificate of working at the gunpowder factory from the general. The ruler should see and look through them in front of the governor. Mullah Sagretdin passed the exam and I will send 'Shakhre mullah', 'Gasametdin', and 'Abul'bakae' to my son together with it. Dear son, correct the mistakes in interpretation written in the margins of the books, try to answer set questions and understand the texts you are reading. If you find other copies of 'Shakhre mullah' and 'Gasametdin', rewrite the interpretations we do not have. At the moment you lack nothing, while we were half-educated in our time. Thank Allah, we have reached such a high position. 4 June 1832....

²⁵ Dmitry Nikolaevich Bludov (5/16.04.1785–19.02/2.03. 1864) a litterateur, diplomat, state person. After the events of 14 December 1825, he was appointed as a document controller at the Investigation Committee for Decembrists. Since November 1826 he was Assistant to the Minister of Public Enlightenment. Since 1832–Minister of Internal Affairs. In 1842 he was elevated to countship. Since 1855 he was the president of the Academy of Sciences, since 1862–the head of the National Committee and Cabinet of Ministers.

²⁶ Author's notes: Future mufti.

34) It is most likely that the first two parts of the book on medicine are merged into one volume, therefore the part we have begins with page 278 and it is written in it that it is the ending of the second book. It would be good to find [the other two parts]. There is one healer in the sloboda and mullah Yusuf wanted to ask him [about these books]. The order to occupy the position of the mullah in Makaryev will be given to Chistopol's mullah Gabdelgafur and Mukhammedvafa-makhdom from the sloboda. You said that you possess some kind of published book on history. Could you please send it to me for reading? The honourable count has sent us one on history in the Turkic language published in Kazan. It is the work of Abul-Gazi Mukhammed Bakhadirkhan, the son of Garab Mukhammedkhan—'Shadzhara Turk'²⁷. 14 July 1832.

35) Our brother-in-law Muhammad Nazir-bey visited us. We have received a letter from damella Gabdelgafur, which he wrote on 15 August. He wrote he was in good health, however, Mukhammedvafa is somewhat offended. The muezzin has not arrived yet, what could have happened to him? (Is it the muezzin of the mufti himself, whose name is Gabdennasir, son of Gabdeldzhali?) Tell our brother-in-law Mukhammedrakhimdzhani to visit us upon his arrival. 25 August 1832.

36) Despite difficulties with Astrakhan's Allavirde, we, taking your request into consideration, have patched things up. After examinations, Sabur has been appointed as the imam-mudarris and senior muhtasib. The population of the mahalla, standing against him, filed a petition to the public prosecutor, while we have written to the guberniya administration that he will be given an office if most parishioners and the mosque's builder will vote for him. Someone in Kazan has the book on medicine 'Manafiy an-nas,' which I want to give to Nurmukhammed-makhdom. 8 September 1832.

37) Please, constantly watch my son and deliver him sermons. He should not leave the madrasah without your permission, he will lack no literature, he has to read more and I hope he will not grow into an ignorant person as the son of the deceased mufti. We rely on you. 6 October 1832....

39) We have received a paper from the minister of spiritual affairs which contains the names of people awarded medals by our generous emperor based on our recommendations: 1) in Kazan, senior muhtasib Nurmukhammed Khudzhashev, the son of Ibragim, with a golden medal with the inscription 'For bringing use'; 2) akhunds Gabdelgani Amirkhanov and Ishmukhamed Zaidov, with silver medals 'For diligence'. These medals were sent to the military governors of Kazan and Orenburg. I am happy for them more than for myself. Until present, none of our predecessors have been involved in it. Thank Allah, the minister and emperor treated our idea with respect. May Allah send respect to what we do. May the generosity of our emperor descend on you. In order to thank the emperor for such benefactions, apply all efforts to accomplish your work. This work is very prestigious both for you and us. Thank Allah. You wrote that you passed the elections of qadis. I have received a letter from qadi Gabdennasir. We are surprised that he is leaving an honourable post with a high salary to arrive here. He became a tarkhan in a short time and he needs to continue his work in this position. We do not know what to do with our son Akhmadidzhan. Should we maybe send him to Machkara²⁸ to the madrasah of damella Gabdulla? Damella Gabdulla came here to pass an exam. He told he would serve eagerly—with his soul and body—giving all his efforts for his education so that he would not have time for idleness. What do you think about this? If you consider it appropriate, and his ustaz [teacher] will not object, we would send him to Machkara. 19 January 1833.

40) I thought you were going to come, that would have been really good. The honourable count, having sent us the medals, ordered to award akhunds with them. Therefore we called upon them, they will come after the sacred gaet. We are also waiting for you to come. 9 February 1833.

41) If anyone is selling 'Wānqūlī'²⁹ for 20 rubles, buy it. We have one 'Wānqūlī' in two volumes taken in debt. The first volume contains 666 pages and the second one 706 pages. It was published in 1141 in Rajab / February 1729. Purchase the ending for any price. Maybe someone is selling a book on foreign

²⁷ Abu al-Ghazi Bahadur Khan (1604–1664)—a direct descendant of Chinggis Khan, he owned Khiva and Urgench and at the same time was an influential poet, litterateur and historian of that epoch. His work 'Shajare-i Türk' ('Genealogy of the Turks') is a result of the examination of multiple Eastern sources (part of them did not reach our time). It was created with the aim of describing the Turks' common history since the time of their legendary ancestors until the period of the author's rule (mid–17th century). In 1726 its French translation was published in Leiden and in 1780 'Shajare-i Türk' appeared in the German translation; then, the French translation served as the original for the Russian translation completed by V. Trediakovsky and published in 1770, as well as for the English translation printed in 1780.

²⁸ 'Van Kuli'—an Arabic-Turkish dictionary, published in two volumes in Istanbul.

²⁹ 'Van Kuli'—an Arabic-Turkish dictionary, published in two volumes in Istanbul.

history, 'Tafsir kabir', 'Tafsir Abbilais', 'Kamus', or 'Sikah', ask around and message me. How much does a closed sleigh on springs with glass doors cost, which may be ridden in winter? We need one which would hold four people, two opposite the other two, and so that it could be pulled by two or four horses. If it costs around 300 rubles then it would be great if you brought it. I want it to be sound and beautiful, today the wives of wealthy and famous people only ride in them. The new akhund Khalid, a mullah from Chelny, used to say that the book 'Fetavi khandiya' left after Salikh-khazrat is currently held by the patron. It would be good if it was entrusted to you and you brought it. 23 February 1833.

42) You must have heard that on 21 March, the honourable count Sukhtelen passed away. On the 20th he was putting signatures on cases, in the evening, at nearly 9 o'clock, he was listening to the reports of the commandant and city-provost and soon after their departure he died. He was a just person, but he was given short time. Our brother-in-law Mukhammednazir returned in good health. He asked to write to you that he desired to maintain good relations with Gubaidulla-bey, Yakub-bey and others. Will qadi Gabdennasir come? If he does, you have to try and send a decent and good scholar. You know very well the condition of the newly arrived. Send the letter addressed to my son to Machkara. 30 March 1833.

43) We have received a letter from our son Akhmadidzhan. He speaks highly of the diligence of the damella and the scientific discussions between the shakirds. 13 April 1833.

44) Shafi and Dzhalyaletdin appealed with a petition to the public prosecutor about their appointment as senior muhtasibs, because they both gained the biggest amount of bowls [votes]. In his turn, the prosecutor sent an inquiry to Kazan to find out who exactly received the biggest amount of bowls. As a response, the governorate administration wrote that Gabdennasir came the first, then Dzhalyaletdin and then Shafi. The prosecutor, examining the decree of the governorate authority, confirmed Gabdennasir as the senior muhtasib. We have made a note about it in the journal in which everyone, including the prosecutor, put their signatures. Therefore, filing a petition in such a situation is unworthy. Moreover, Shafi has been noticed in dirty affairs. 29 June 1833.

45) We were happy to receive the message of mullah Ilyas. I heard that there are commentaries written with sufi Allayar's hand in the margins of the book 'Ikhyat', left after the deceased hadji Bibkau Khalfin. Is this book for sale? Please inform us about its price. May the Quran and Tafsir and other books in good condition be found? I would buy works I do not have. 9 November 1833.

46) I ask you to buy a cart for me to which three horses could be yoked, and send it together with those which will arrive in Ufa to the fair. With this mail, I have sent the decision to the minister about which of the two mullahs should be appointed to Tiflis. Both are worthy of praise. One of them served as an assessor at the Board for three years, at present, he is an assessor at the gunpowder factory in Kazan; the second studied in Dagestan and, upon passing exams at the Board, took office. Please inform me about the return of the pilgrims and ambassadors sent to Saint Petersburg. 4 January 1834.

47) I have received the letter sent through mullah Nugman. I was upset about the death of damella hadji Gabid³⁰ and mullah Mukhamedzhan. The minister reported that the construction of the stone mosque in Troitsk is delegated to mirza Muemin-bey, the son of Tagir. 7 February 1834.

48) It is the second time they are reporting about... the qadi. Those who elect such people for the position of the qadi must be cursed. 22 February 1834.

49) We are sorry about your grief, but we have to be patient. If it is destined, everything will be found. You must know what zakat³¹ is, such property will neither be stolen nor will it drown. Mullah Tadzhettin was confirmed in Tiflis. He may reach great influence if he works well. We shall greet him on our side. Local murzas and Your acquaintances do not agree with the fact that you are leaving [your post]. They think you would achieve greater influence if you served for two more years after which, upon retiring from the tsar's affairs, you could be granted the tarkhanshiP. Expressing your offence, you want to raise your value, however, later you will write petitions so that you are provided with a wagon train to inspect uyezds. How can an ill man appear in uyezds? Uyezd mullahs complain that you illegally offend them. Wealthy people also report that you must not show your superiority so vividly. All these words reach us, You should beware. 17 May 1834.

50) It is known for certain that the emperor is going to arrive in Kazan. Whether or not we want to meet him, there is no such opportunity at the present. We did not manage to arrange it with the Orenburg military governor beforehand. At first, he was not at home, then the news came that he arrived in Ufa where I thought I would see him. He, without visiting Ufa, departed to Kazan on 8 September. Upon the

³⁰ Author's notes: Gabid, son of Gabelgaziz al-Kenari.

³¹ Zakat—an income tax in the amount of 1/40 of the whole income.

emperor's arrival in Kazan, I order you and all imams to perform the Friday liturgy at mosques. Making a copy of the sheet attached to the letter, give it to the imams. After the liturgy, send a report to the military governor that it was carried out at the order of the Orenburg mufti. I also wrote to the military governor, general-lieutenant Perovsky³², that according to my order, senior muhtasib Nurmukhammed Khudzhashev must carry out liturgies at all the mosques of Kazan. If you find time, tell this in a personal meeting [with the military governor]. 13 September 1834.

51) It became known that the emperor returned to Saint Petersburg without visiting Kazan. I hope that Allah will send us a meeting with him. I was happy to know that the military governor passed copies of the letter sent by mullah Khasan-bey Apanayev to the spiritual minister. Thank Allah, our letters were not lost in vain. The deceased mullah Khalid of the Tetyushi uyezd said that he had a good book 'Bezaziya', please try to find out who will inherit it after the partition of property; it would be great if you bought it and sent it to us. 11 October 1834.

52) I was glad to learn that you bought us the book of Gubaidulla bey 'Ikhyā' for 200 rubles. It would be good if he wrote the following in it: 'As a gift to the great mufti of Islamic people Gabdessalyam, the son of Gabderrakhim'. You said that the aide-de-camp sent by the emperor was watching us praying. We should have prayed for our emperor that time. Upon the tsar's arrival, it will be necessary to say that reading of such a public prayer was ordered by the great mufti. Mullah Kamaletdin writes: my grandfather has the book 'Sahih al-Bukhari'. If you accept him, you will not have to pay. 25 October 1834.

53) I recently started to write the fifth notebook of 'Mokhit Borkhani' and am busy with it in every free minute. If I manage to finish it, hopefully, it will be useful to me, my children, and Allah. I wrote to Akhmedshah-bey that it would be great to find an educated man who would write down the sixth part. Upon arrival in Kazan, please ask him whether he has received my letter. In order to bind them together, they have to be of the same size. Therefore, I also sent the size of the publication together with this letter. It is necessary to write on the Holland paper of a large size. Thank Allah, everything is calm at our place. This year, the Itil overran its banks. There has not been such a flood since the time we had arrived in Ufa. Miryakub wrote to me asking to appoint muezzin Sabit to Makaryev. In order to honour his request, we will do it. 8 May 1835.

55) ³³We were happy to learn that the emperor granted you the tarkhanship. 12 June 1835.

56) If you made a copy of the tarkhan certificate, we would be able to read it and be happy for you. This year, imam-muhtasib, mullah Gabdegallyam from Agryz village and Shamsetdin Khafiz from Slo-boda were appointed as imams in Makaryev. We have heard that damella Gabdulla from Machkara gave the sixth part of 'Mokhit Borkhani' to some imam from Saba village so that he would rewrite it. We will pay when the work is finished. 3 July 1835.

57) One elderly mullah used to say that Ibragim-bey possessed the book 'Tatarkhania'³⁴, written by some Dagestan [scholar], corresponding to the size of one and a half of 'Dzhamig ar-rumuz'. It would be good if you sent us this book. We would really like to see it because we have come across the words: 'It is in Tatarkhania' in some works. If there are good books, we would purchase them. Senior muhtasib and mudarris, damella Yusuf efendi from Isak village³⁵ wrote to us that he had two volumes of the book 'Maktubat' written by imam Rabbani for which he was offered 40 rubles, the first volume of 'Tafsir Kashshaf' and the last volume 'Tafir Madarek'. I ask you to negotiate and acquire these books and, paying for them, send them to me with a reliable traveler. We have agreed about the daughter of the akhund, damella Sharafetdin-ishan, for our son Akhmadidzhan. I hope they will live in peace and accord. 10 July 1835.

59)... We have written to the Governorate Administration about the vote for the new qadis. We would like to see [among them] decent and religious scholars. It would be good if they included Gubaidulla-bey, head of Akhsan-bey, and Yusuf-bey from Koval. 9 October 1835.

60)... He was sent by mullah Dzhalyaletdin, he should be asked. We are planning to read the sacred gaet at dawn on Thursday. Mirginayatulla reads it well, he joined his ustaz [alderman, teacher] everyday to read Tarawih. We hope for Allah's help, may he not leave us in poverty. 8 January 1836.

61) Mullah Fatkhulla, son of Safar, from Urazla village of the Tsarevokokshaishk uyezd, based on the judgment issued by the mullahs of the Kazan and Tsarevokokshaysk uyezds, has been examined to be

³² Vasily Alekseevich Perovsky (1795–1857)—Orenburg's military governor between 1833–1842, the general-governor of Orenburg and Samara between 1851 and 1857.

³³ The original does not contain the 54th letter, it might be a mistake.

³⁴ The collection of fatwas 'Al-Fatawa at-Tarhaniah' by Hanafi imam Alim ibn Al Hanafi (died in 800)..

³⁵ The village of Isakovo in the Buinsk District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

appointed to the position of mullah. However, the imams of the Tetyushi uyezd filed a judgment so that he was appointed the senior akhund of the Kazan guberniya. But we have recorded in the journal that he was appointed as the uyezd akhund of the Kazan uyezd living in Urazla village. Today he said goodbye to us before departing; because he has not achieved what he desired, he was somewhat upset. Since we do not have a letter from the Kazan beys, we decided not to appoint him in the city. 22 January 1836.

62) We were upset to be informed that damella Iskhak had died. You wrote about the illness of hadjji hafiz Rabbani. If he is still alive, please send him our prayers, death will touch each of us.

They say that the newspapers are writing about the preparation of new personnel for our and the Crimean Spiritual Boards. The mufti will be left with the same salary, qadis will receive 750 rubles; the allowance of the secretary, translator, and other officers will be increased. 4 March 1836....

64) I have been waiting for a message from you about the arrival of the great emperor, however, I have not received any so far. Fatkhulla-akhund, the son of Khusain, has written to us about his meeting with the military governor and the arrival of the great emperor in August. Inform us about how much the books 'Maktubat', 'Gali al-Kari' and 'Okyanus' cost which are left after Bikbau-hadjji. 10 June 1836....

66) The visit of the great emperor is going to be short. I am planning to arrive in Kazan in order to meet him. I hope to see him in a good hour and count for his kind attention. Has the imam of the mosque been designated? I have thought of the chief mudarris and the senior muhtasib of Astrakhan, mullah Gubaidulla, son of Sabkul. His knowledge is perfect, he is of a good temper, he has a decent look and beautiful handwriting. He studied in Bukhara for several years. The Astrakhan Nogays, because of their ignorance, and especially the support of Nogai qadi Gabdulla, cannot fully appreciate him [Gubaidulla, the son of Sabkul]. Asking for my advice, he writes in one letter: 'May I only remain in the position of the muhtasib and mudarris this winter? It is better to release me from the position of the imam and thus protect me from the ignorant Nogays and grant relief from keeping the mahalla'. I have not responded to him yet. It seems to me, if the Kazan beys see benefits, this person will be interested himself. Anyways, everything is in their own hands. I will send the letter from mullah Gubaidulla together with this letter. 1 July 1836.

68) For the sake of Gubaidulla-bey, Sabit muezzin was appointed to the Makaryev mosque as the imam; for the sake of Khasan-bey, at secret namazes, Shamsetdin-khafiz was appointed to the position of the imam. The decrees for them were mailed to you. If there are any news about the arrival of the great emperor, please inform me. Have you said a good word to the beys about the chief mudarris and senior muhtasib of Astrakhan, Gubaidulla, the son of Sabkul?...

69)... Having received your letter, we found out that our brother-in-law Mukhammednazir-bey hajji departed to Moscow, we wish him good luck and to return with honours. Please inform whether you have sent to publish the prayer with blessings on the arrival of the great emperor in Kazan. 23 September 1836.

70) If what I have sent has not been printed yet, it would be good to correct several words. The first thing: instead of 'You will never see wickedness and infringement from me' there should be 'You will never see wickedness and compulsion from me', and the second: instead of 'Everyone can worship and pray in their religion' there should be written 'Everyone can joyfully and calmly worship and pray in their religion'. It will be better. One bey named Miklu intends to give some money to build a mosque in the village of our grandfather Gabderrakhman. It would be good if he gave at least one thousand rubles; as you know, the mosque should be constructed according to the existing plan, please, inform him about it if you can. 1 October 1836....

72) On 23 November I received a letter from the Minister of Internal and Spiritual Affairs, honourable Sir Bludov, in which he writes the following: 'By the merit of the great Emperor and by his generosity, 1,000 paper rubles as a table provision and 250 rubles for life maintenance have been added to your salary'. For these great benefactions of the tsar, we gave thanks to Allah and performed a prayer for the good health of our great emperor and minister and all their relatives. May their lives be long; we also hope that we and our children will live long, in happiness and health. I have sent a copy of this letter to you, upon the receipt of which you should read a prayer together with your friends and acquaintances. Let dear Gubaidulla bey, Yusuf bey, Kurbangali bey, Murtaza bey, Khasan bey, dear chief Iskhak bey, dear Shakhimirza, Arslangali mirza, damella Sagit efendi, mullah Shakhi efendi, mullah Ahmed efendi, Mukhammedvafa makhdum and all imams perform a prayer after the Friday namaz to prolong the life of the great emperor and our lives. 25 November 1836.

73) In the previous mail, we received a paper from the district general informing about the withdrawal of the order given to Fatkhulla, son of Abuzyar, due to our investigation according to the law and the Sharia. The above-mentioned son of Abuzyar filed the following petition: 'I was given an order from the

public office to bury warrant officer Gusman, who died on the 9th. On the basis of the paper from the office dated the 11th, I buried him on the third day. However, when we were awaiting the arrival of the great emperor in the chambers of Musa bey in the presence of Fatkhulla akhund and others, Sir Arslan-gali, mirza Muratov said that officer Gusman had passed away the previous night. On Friday, during the Friday namaz, they came to the mosque in order to perform a funeral prayer, however, I prohibited them from reading it. Qadi Amin and our confidant told me not to go and read the funeral prayer. Moreover, he said that I had not paid attention to the question of why we hastened the funeral service. I started contemplating whether mullah Abuzyar had changed something in the paper. Therefore, you need to ask the widow on what day and at what time her husband died, moreover, to find out in the Kazan public prikaz [office] about the date of death and the date at which they stopped paying him a salary. You have to fulfill it as soon as possible. 1 December 1836'.

74) Many years have passed since I received the judicial decision along with your letter. The above-mentioned akhund has already passed away. Taking into account that he wrote a letter to the great emperor, we cannot set this decision in motion and put our signatures on it without a proper investigation. From this point of view, Fatkhulla akhund lies beyond similar cases. This person is capable of making judgement after the investigation, drawing limits based on petitions which he had written himself. Inshallah, with his death, we will be able to bring back the decision written by Khamza akhund. You write that Gubaidulla-bey does not provide the book 'Rawzat aş-şafā' so that we could rewrite it. I remember that the work of our university acquaintance Iskander mirza 'At-tuhfat al-hakirat fi gilmi al-adab giynd al-garb' includes the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and the 6th volumes of this book. Inshallah, he will give us the 2nd and 6th volumes to be rewritten. If they need the 4th volume, we will rewrite it and send them a copy. We ask you to notify us upon receiving this letter. I invited the chief mudarris and senior muhtasib of Astrakhan, mullah Gubaidulla, to visit me, inshallah, he will arrive at the end of January. It is possible that he will soon be in Kazan, talk to him. 1838, 17 February....

76) I have received a letter written by my dearest son Akhmadidzhan akhund upon his arrival in Bukhara. He accommodated himself in madrasah Kugeltash and is writing that he is given lessons by qadi Kelyan at the madrasah of Mukhammed Sharif; his other tutors are Nigmatulla ishan and Sharafetdin ishan. We are very content, thank Allah. We are happy that when you met the general of the gunpowder factory, you passed him regards from me. We have given the instruction to the Board to appoint our relative there. With this mail, I was also sent a paper in which officials of the gunpowder factory asked the general to appoint his son Sagdetdin instead of Shamsetdin Bashirov. However, as we know, Sagdetdin is a young man, we are acquainted neither with his temper nor with his deeds, we do not have confidence that he will carefully fulfill the functions at this government position. If his father, an elderly man, will do something against the law, it will not be possible to appoint this young man in his stead. Please send him regards from me at the meeting with the general and say that I have ordered to appoint Shamsetdin Bashirov, my close relative, to this position, who will soon arrive to the gunpowder factory. 12 June 1838.

77) I received a letter from my dear son Akhmadidzhan. Our brother-in-law, Gabdelkader, arrived in Orenburg with his younger brother and son. They said that an ambassador with a large caravan and an elephant is arriving. The carpet coving the elephant was bought for 80 gold coins. They say that there is a throne set over it, adorned with turquoise, rubies, pomegranates, emeralds and other gems and gold. I was written that the ambassador is arriving from Khiva. We hope that each house is in good health and calmness. Baymurad mullah is complaining that you are disgracing him in front of dignified people. It is desirable for scholars to be in peace with one another. June 1838....

The letters written to the mufti.

The first letter. The late Mufti, in the course of his trip towards Astrakhan, passed by the Kuznetsk uyezd and visited the late rich landowner Gabderrashid in the Kanay village³⁶. At his request but against the will of the imams, he appointed his son-in-law from Bolshoy Truyov to the position of Akhund³⁷. However, because of his lack of learning and piety, he could not give fatwas. Many times on Fridays, when engaging in debates with imams from his and neighbouring villages on the questions of Sharia, he gave wrong fatwas to the common people, being tied to the chariot of his ignorance. To the people who came to say goodbye to the deceased in the house of a man named Bikkul, he gave a fatwa that the son of the Prophet Muhammad was a prophet as well. The mullahs present

³⁶ Present-day village of Tatarsky Kanai in the Penza Oblast.

³⁷ Today it is a village in the Kuznetsky District of the Penza Oblast.

read the Ayah which says that the Quran was revealed to him [Muhammad], but he did not accept it and did not repent. Also in his village, in the house of the foreman Ayub, he gave a fatwa that alcohol is permitted (halal). After the mullahs told him not to talk about such things, he called them all the names under the sun, especially mullah Abu Talib from Bolshie Chirekli village³⁸. At the same time, he does not have any one book of fatwas, he makes decisions without basing them on the book. You can hear about this if you ask those who come to you from our region. Divorcing lawful wives from their husbands, he married them to others, without complying with customs. And he has done many such things. If your khazrats decide to investigate, we will tell everything, insha Allah. In the past year of 1815, we wrote to the late Mufti of these unworthy cases, but there is still no answer for some reason. As you are mentioned in the notebooks of our master, you were given the responsibility for the events that took place in Paldanga³⁹ village in 1826; therefore, having shown courage, he did not report the real number to the mullahs. However, after that, those cases that were given to your khazrats were not his business, this Akhund cannot even read the writing on the paper. Our request is as follows: after reading our petition, in order to protect him and others from trouble, we ask you to interview the imams from Muslim villages in the course of the investigation with the head of our Zemsky court and the respected titular counselor serving in the Assembly, the acting noble assessor of Gabdessalyam Mirza Enikeev.

- 1) Imam of Bolshoy Truyov village mullah Shafi, son of Gaed.
- 2) Imam of Maliy Truyov village mullah Salikh, son of Gabbas.
- 3) Imam and mudarris of Bolshy Chirkli village Abu Talib, son of Gabderrashid.
- 4) Muezzin of Maly Truyov village Sabit, son of Kulsharif.

1827, April.

The second letter. The petition. By the will of Allah and the personal consent of the daughter of a Moscow subject Bukharan Davletbay, the widow of Bibisaliha, I concluded a [marriage] contract with her in the evening of the 28th day of the month of Ramadan in a society of Muslims and in accordance with the requirements of the sharia. The rite was performed by Mullah Mirgalyam Nakyshband. The reason for this [as follows]: I sent my stepson Gabdelyakhid to my wife Bibisalikha with news about the holding of the ceremony, to which the damella, the mullah from Tatarskoe, was invited. My wife said to her stepson: I have not told anyone from Tatarskoe; I do not do anything that my son may not like; it is shameful to not invite anybody but the damella. Damella Mirgalyam Nakyshband is a pious man; let him perform the nikah; give [money] to the imam for nikah. Having heard such an answer from her, damella Mirgalyam Nakyshband performed the nikah. The witnesses were the Bukharan Allakhnazir bay, the Karavanbashi Rakhim bay, the Hajji Gatiyatulla Kabli, Khakim bay, the Astrahanian Peremgali and him stepson Gabdelyakhid, and junior brother Tursun bay; from the members of the family, her mother, grandmother, and two sisters were aware of the nikah. After the nikah, the imam from Tatarskoe was invited; they told him about the nikah and paid 20 rubles for it. Five months after the nikah my wife said: 'I do not love you; give me back my word.' I did not agree. I felt that she would raise a scandal, saying that the nikah was not performed by an imam. Mufti khazrat is a legitimate holy judge, I handed him a petition; If according to our holy law the nikah is recognized as illegal and the decision on the Sharia is sent, having heard my request and showing clemency, could you send a decree to Moscow so that my wife, showing humility, would not resist the firman. You will have great mercy for this. Bukharan Mullah Niyaz Gavas, son of Mohammed. 1834, 20 June (Moscow).

The fourth letter. (Translation from Russian). From the canton yesaul Bikmatov, from Kurmanov village of Shadrinsk uyezd of the Perm guberniya⁴⁰, to Mufti Gabdessalyam, son of Gabderrakhim. 1837, 31 December, No.2815. Recently Muslims have introduced the custom during the nikah ceremony in order to not see each other. It leads them to deception and it spoils their everyday life. By my order, assistant akhund Muhammedshakh Baltagulov picked up 12 texts from books on Sharia, which show that such a Muslim tradition is contrary to the sunnahs of the prophet. These texts signed by Baltagulov were sent to you, khazrat, for consideration. We ask you to distribute them among the Muslims through the appropriate bodies so that they stop this harmful tradition and see each other at the time of nikah. Canton Bikmatov⁴¹.

³⁸ Present-day village of Bolshoy Chirkley in the Nikolaevsky District of the Ulyanovsk Oblast.

³⁹ Today it is a village in the Penza Oblast..

⁴⁰ Present-day village of Novoe Kurmanovo in the Kunashsky District of the Chelyabinsk Oblast.

⁴¹ Ten texts in the Arab language are presented further.

The library.

Despite the mufti Gabdessalyam's hobby of collecting books, only ten of his books survived in the Spiritual Assembly....

All the inscriptions made by the mufti on the books only apply to their purchase and bequest. Inside the books, none of the interpretations contain his notes; there are not even corrections of misspelled words. That is why I think of the following: 'As he was passionate about collecting the books, so he was not interested in their study'. By the tradition of the old madrasahs, he would have put marks in some of the places.

The mufti has fine handwriting; he writes correctly and only makes mistakes in Arabic words. I wrote a biography of the mufti to the extent in which I had information.

Source: R. Asar Fäxretidin. Cidenche cöze. Orenburg, 1904. B. 340–410.

Gabdelvakhid bine Suleyman Sagluk bine Gabdelkhalik.

The third mufti of the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly died on 4 August 1862 (1279, 19th safara in Hijrah) at the age of 76 years. He was buried at the Ufa cemetery. His grave is located on the right side of the entrance to the cemetery, near the tomb of the Kazan merchant Ibrahim bin Iskhak (the man died in 1880 at the age of 57). The grave is not fenced. At the head, a stone is put, on which is written: 'Orenburg mufti, tarkhan Gabdelvakhid Suleymanov at the age of 76 years moved to the eternal home....'. The date of death likely remains underground. Because of his illness, on 2 August 1862, he wrote a paper to the Assembly, which appointed the senior assessor Tadzhetdin bin Maksud to the position of mufti.

He was born in the family of the Akhund Suleyman, in Arbishcha village of Nizhny Novgorod guberniya⁴². We do not know where he was educated and who were his teachers. At a certain age, he went to St. Petersburg, where he was involved in trading. Through the efforts of the Nizhny Novgorod Mishar Tatars living in St. Petersburg, he was appointed as their imam. He had little knowledge of the Russian language and got acquainted with some well-known people. After the death of Mufti Gabdessalyam bin Gabderrakhim and his appointment as mufti of the Spiritual Assembly, he came to Ufa. At that time when he lived in St. Petersburg, he was in trouble after making a nikah in 1830 between a Moscow merchant's son, Ibrahim bin Makay, and the daughter of Iskander Mirza, the son of Yanpay, Tutiey, without the consent of her father, as a result, he was under investigation. He was released thanks to a letter written in his name by Mufti Mukhammedzhan about Nizhny Novgorod's son Tamimdar (this letter was included in the biography of the Mufti Mukhamedzhan, pp. 193–194).

It is said that after his arrival in Ufa, he often went to Ibrahim Yumran village⁴³, to the house of canton Ishmukhammed bin Umid bay. Together with the imam of the village Ishanazar, the son of Ishkeldi, and muezzin Gilman, the son of Tavis, they engaged in falconry.

The house located at the corner of Voskresenskaya and Spasskaya streets, opposite the stone mosque and the building of the Assembly, was in his possession. It was a high stone house. Currently, the house is divided into two parts; the western part is owned by the daughter-in-law of Mufti Makhfuzabike binte Asfandir, the eastern part belongs to the daughter-in-law of the present Mufti Maryambike binte Timurpulad Akchurina.

The official biography. 'Mufti Gabdelvakhid bine Suleyman came from Gabdessalyam village of Sterlitamak uyez⁴⁴ (probably, he was assigned here later); from 2 March 1822 he was the Civil Imam of Petersburg; on 10 November 1832, for his services in this capacity, together with his son Sharafutdin, under the decree of the emperor, he received Tarkhan status. On 26 January 1835, he was appointed the mugallim for Muslim students in a military school. By the decree of the emperor dated 19 June 1840, he was appointed the mufti of the Orenburg Spiritual Directorate. On 26 September 1849, the government rewarded him with a sum of money amounting to 1,500 rubles. In 1856, he was appointed as a director of a prison; on 4 August 1862, he died.'

The honourable Marjani spoke of him as follows: 'In spite of a lack of knowledge, he was fond of reading books; he read Russian and Turkish newspapers, engaged in rewriting of Turkic writings into his native language; reading books on medicine, he learned a lot about treatment using medicinal

⁴² The general name of the villages Bolshoe Rybushkino and Maloe Rybushkino in the Krasnooktyabrsk District of the Nizhny Novgorod Oblast..

⁴³ Present-day village of Ibragimovo in the Karmaskalinsky District of the Republic of Bashkortostan.

⁴⁴ Present-day village of Absalyamovo in the Duvansky District of the Republic of Bashkortostan.

plants; he knew their Arabic, Persian, Russian, and Turkish names. After his appointment as mufti, he was accepted into the highest circles of Russia, he had a great desire to fulfill his religious duties, but the weakness of his advisers and other reasons did not provide this opportunity. He was a very simple man, who even went hunting with the lowest ranked penman of the Assembly. In his time, many began to publish the Quran with their own amendments, which led to the presence of numerous errors and the lowering of the Quran's authority. As a result of this and according to the evidence and advice of the sheikhs of Sterlitamak, the mufti addressed the internal affairs minister⁴⁵. Also in his time, Gabdulla bine Yakhyia al-Chirtushi and Fatkhulla bine Safargali al-Kazaklari were dismissed from their positions. He did not perform Hajj, in spite of his desire'.

His letters.

2) A report to the distinguished mufti of the religious Mohammedan administration from khatib damella Gabdelvakhid, son of Suleyman Akhund, imam by decree in the city of St. Petersburg. On 26 January, Petersburg residents Colonel Sakhibabike and the mother of General Maksuda Gulsheker, daughter of Hassan, died. Having completed preparations for their burial, murzas, merchants, and foreigners living here began to gather for the funeral. Then a military mullah named Badamshakh declared that he should perform the rites as requested by Gulsheker's late husband, although he possessed neither a copy of the will nor any other evidence proving he was asked to do so. His companion, mullah Dzhamilkhan, assured him that it is he who should read the funeral prayer as imam. As a result, Badamshakh, son of Kharamshakh, was appointed imam at the funeral. But he performed the funeral prayer not according to tradition, but as a gaet prayer. That is, when he said the takbir⁴⁶, he raised his hands as one usually does during the gaet. It was said that the aforementioned Badamshakh passed the test in the presence of the Crimean mufti and was subsequently appointed imam to perform the five-time namaz, but he had committed acts contrary to sharia. Colonel Sakhib told us about one of them. His companion, knowing about these things, did not initiate anything. We ask you to investigate these cases under sharia law. Damella Gabdelvakhid, son of Suleyman Akhund. 30 January 1829. Petersburg.

3) In answer to High Minister Count Stroganov's questions of 29 November 1836, number 2744, and of 7 September 1839, number 2022, concerning the qadi's responsibilities, his relationship to the Spiritual Directorate and his whereabouts, I have the honour to inform him that the answer to these questions is taken from the book of fatwa, which is under the highest consideration for translation into the Russian. However, the position of the supreme qadi belongs only to the mufti. The qadi is not limited by anything; the position of the khakim, that is, the Akhund, is fully controlled by the mufti.

On this occasion, I think as follows: some positions are suited to scholars, others are not. When the previous two muftis were here, Akhunds and qadis received a decree written neither in Turkish nor Persian. Thus, not being able to read the decree, they were unaware of their responsibilities as they began their work in the courts. Some, because they carried out extraneous investigations, ended up delaying their cases. As a result, a lot of paperwork piled up in the Assembly. From my point of view, we need to adopt the following measures: a) Qadis and rural judges—their rulings must be written in Arabic and in Russian in the fifth paragraph. The supreme qadi, that is, mufti, shall determine the deadline for their appointments and provide them with a fatwa (decree) explaining their rank, even though provincial authorities issue them a decree in Russian. b) Since 1829, imams in the mosques have been in charge of the naming of newborns, reading the khutbah nikah, overseeing divorces, burial of the dead, and inscriptions in the parish register. An imam may consider a spouse's claims in the local mahallah and help each side reach an amicable agreement. If the parties do not reconcile, the imam records their claims and sends this document to the rural qadi, that is, the Akhund. c) The county qadi is independent; judges, that is, Akhunds, are eager to solve things peacefully; in accordance with the laws of sharia, they consider the claims of both parties who come to them with petitions from the imams of local mahallahs. If this does not happen, then they, according to sharia and the law, having interviewed witnesses on both sides and taken their signatures, and having received from Islamic scholars a fatwa concerning the investigation, address the Religious Mohammedan Assembly. If the spouses, on the basis of mutual grievances, decide to separate, a divorce decree (talakname) is drawn up and signed by witnesses from both parties, which is then sent to the imam of the local mahallah and recorded in the official register. d) Marriage of orphans having no guardians, or little or no inheritance are the responsibility, according to the Law and sharia, of the county qadis or khakims, that is, Akhunds. e) Without the permission of the Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly qadis and Akhunds cannot travel to a county or to villages for

⁴⁵ These events are described in a detailed way in the book 'Quran Wa Tabaqat'.

⁴⁶ To pronounce takbir is to pronounce 'Allahu Akbar!'

review of disputes when they arise. Considering themselves educated men, they must be humane and of good character, God-fearing and righteous so that the common people honour and respect them. They avoid those scholars who deserve censure and removal from their posts. They try to obey secret orders (Muslim scholars must keep any secret!). e) If a woman states that she was beaten severely, the county quadis and Akhunds should immediately send her to the civilian authorities. According to sharia, a husband must not beat his wife severely, break her arms or legs, or pull out her hair. If a husband commits these actions, he is subject to legal punishment. In this case, judgment does not depend on the scholar.

This memorandum was sent by Orenburg mufti Gabdelvakhid Suleymanov to his highness Count Stroganov. 6 December 1840.

4) (Translation from the Russian). To the Honourable Minister of the Interior.⁴⁷ According to the Emperor's decree of 22 September 1788, Orenburg General Igelström was to open the Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly in Ufa. A mufti was appointed its chairman, along with two or three other mullahs from among the Kazan Tatars, who are sincere in their dealings with the Emperor and are respected by the people. But these mullahs, who are appointed jurymen, will they be chosen by the people or the government? This is not specified in the Emperor's decree.

Based on the Emperor's decree, mullahs in Kazan guberniya select jurors, who are then confirmed by the Provincial Office. Owing to this Decree, I find myself in this position. Based upon my experience, however, I believe that these appointments are contrary to sharia. Without checking on the suitability of these candidates, we appoint jurors who are complete strangers and lack any comprehension of sharia and the Law. They do not know how to examine cases or carry out their decisions. Once, for example, they started replacing our secretaries on a regular basis. This resulted in a complete mix-up of cases in the Jurors' Office⁴⁸. We learned, however, that Gabdeshshukur, son of Gabderrakhim, from Bikuly village, Chistopol uyezd, and Amin, son of Damin, from Mamadysh Tukeldi village in Sviyazhsk uyezd were familiar with records management. As to those who were previously appointed and have already retired, and those who are now at the office, I see no sense in their presence. From this perspective, I believe that this appointment process should be stopped, and that jurors should be chosen by the government. If anyone unversed [in a case] should be assigned, there must be someone who has the right to appeal to the government and dismiss him⁴⁹. Or perhaps jurors appointed on a permanent basis would better understand the essence of a case and make an effort to execute their duties fairly. But now, being appointed only temporarily, they fail to pay adequate attention to their cases.

In describing this situation, I kindly request that you abolish the procedure in which judges are appointed by mullahs, and accept my proposal that the government appoint good and honest people, that this should become the norm for future appointments. I believe that the aforementioned Akhunds—son of Gabderrakhim, and son of Damin—are deserving of these positions, as I have examined their character and deeds. They are quite suited for this job. I can find someone for the third juror position as well.

Orenburg mufti tarkhan Gabdelvakhid, son of Suleyman. 19 July 1841, No.36.

5) (Translation from the Russian). To the Department. Regarding the correspondence of 19 July 1841, No.36 to Minister of Internal Affairs Count Stroganov, in which he was asked to change the manner in which jurors to the Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly are appointed so that they may be elected by the government. The Minister's decision on the matter remains unknown. Since the deadline for jurors currently serving is approaching, I wrote to the military governor of Kazan asking him to select judges from among learned scholars and acting mudarrises. Now Mukhammedvafa, son of Fazlulla, Gabdennasir, son of Almukhammed, and Gabdelmannan, son of Adel, have been appointed to these positions by the provincial board. I had hoped that they would be somewhat knowledgeable of sharia and the law, and that they would be good assistants. But my hopes were in vain. The first of them, as a result of paralysis, had his arm removed and thus signs documents with his left hand. When speaking with him, he is barely able to explain his requests. The second of them is quite old and, therefore, writes very slowly and with difficulty. The third one has bad eyesight and is almost blind. None of them is familiar with records management, thus we do not expect their work to be of any benefit.

In this regard, I am wondering whether I could be permitted to appoint Fakhredin, son of Fathulla, instead of his son Fazlullakh. I know that this person is well versed in records management since he has been teaching my children for the last two years. The Assembly has already submitted his candidature

⁴⁷ Iosif Andreyevich Igelström (1737–1817) was a baron, general-governor of Simbirsk and Ufa between 1784 and 1792, and Orenburg's military governor between 1796 and 1798.

⁴⁸ *Author's notes*: By this he meant to say that assessors allegedly depended on secretaries.

⁴⁹ *Author's notes*: He meant to say that this person should be mufti.

to the Department since, according to No.572 of 27 February of this year, he was appointed imam of the mahallah. Waiting for a response to this request, the Orenburg mufti tarkhan Gabdelvakhid, son of Suleyman. 7 April 1842, No.7.

6) The Akhund of Buray village Birsks uezd, Khushiyar, son of Akhund Gabdulla, conveyed a message from an officer in Kalmak village, Galiulla, son of Abulkhasan, in which it is said that in Kalmak village, Mishar Tatar Nasretidin, son of Zeynish, under the guise of teaching the common people tariqa, declared himself sheikh and called upon them to follow false teachings. Murids and women gather together at promenades, where they drink a lot. Nasretidin, son of Zeynish, also attends such gatherings. In 1836 the late mufti received a note from Zeynish's son and his followers imams, in which it was said that they would avoid such things. Also, based on the late mufti's report, General Silkovsky placed Zeynish's son under observation of the fourth canton, but this mullah continues his activities. It is said that the mullahs who follow him do not perform the five-time Namaz, do not come to Friday prayer, play the violin and the organ, indulge in gluttony and drunkenness. In connection with this, we request that the Orenburg military governor appoint someone from his contingent who could investigate the case against Zeynish's son and would transfer his followers-mullahs to the Assembly. Mufti ibn Suleyman. 9 July 1842. (This letter was abridged in the text; two-thirds of it are not included here).

7) (Project submitted to the Department)

1. A) Imams, muezzins, Akhunds and mukhtasibs should be exempted from military conscription. B) The mullahs, by law, must pass exams in the Assembly and be confirmed as mullahs by the Governorate. Imams from other governorates and uyezds should be granted residency without passports. C) Sons of mullahs who have studied religious sciences may replace the parish imam if they are qualified, even if they have not reached the age of 23. They should be considered for such a position when there is a vacancy. If they are not qualified and older than 23, then they should be required to fulfill their military duties as the Christian clergy that are not qualified for religious service are required to do. D) The local mahallah is responsible for the imam's state taxes and financial affairs. E) During the selection process, the parish population should take responsibility for all of the mullah's governmental and public affairs, including their children younger than 23 years old who study the religious sciences. F) If the mullah has no son, or he is not worthy of the title of mullah, then the population of the local mahallah has the right to choose a mullah from among the common people.

Sent on 12 July 1841.

2. The Treasury must provide funding for scholars and their children, as well as for officials and the military. Those such as scholars and military are, therefore, legally responsible for their positions in the mahallah and may not be absent from their posts. If they engage in other activities, they will infringe upon their main occupation, and the interests of the population of the mahallah will suffer. The second point in this presentation, with respect to tributes paid by imams, was written in order to protect the interests of the common people. We would not dare to request that taxes should be forgiven since they are set by the Emperor. But if the activities of Mohammedan scholars were under the control of higher officials, perhaps the Emperor would grant them a courtesy: they could be exempted from taxes as are Russian priests. Thus, they would be on an equal footing with all citizens—something that would greatly please Muslim scholars. According to sharia, scholars are not subject to tributes. That is, if a scholar does not pay tribute, and the Emperor does not pay him a salary, then the scholar is considered indigent and worthy of receiving gosher-sadaqah, fitr, and other obligatory alms for the poor. Gosher, fitr, and other sadaqah must, in actuality, be given to the poor and those similarly in need.

Secondly, higher authorities may release imams in the local mahallah from taxes and other public expenditures. If anyone hired by the local mahallah refuses to take upon himself public expenditures, then such a person would not be suitable for the post. It could cause disorder.

Sent on 15 September 1842.

8) The reason for writing this is as follows: 'I command the imam of Sufman village Yelabuga uyezd, mullah Akhmadi, son of Iskhak: the mosque in your village was built according to a resolution by the Assembly in 1823. I allow you to perform the five-time namaz in this mosque, Friday and holiday celebrations, after which you must perform a litany for the health of our great Emperor and the distinguished royal family'. Written by an Orenburg mufti, tarkhan Gabdelvakhid bin Suleyman. 12 February 1844, No.9.

9) Memorandum to the Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly. A report for consideration by the Ufa provincial committee on the monitoring of smallpox: 1. Imams in the local mahallah have been warned by the Assembly that they are not to leave the city, thus foisting their duties upon incumbents. 2. Parish imams have no duties. There are bureaucrats who carry out the Emperor's orders. 3. Imams in the ma-

hallah are not required by law to travel from village to village and from uyezd to uyezd by cart. Imams do not own horses. Every month they have to go to the district committee, which is 50 to 150 km away to register newborns and the deceased. Thus, the mullah's job is very difficult. In connection with the above-mentioned, I suggest the following: if it is not contrary to the great Emperor's edict, then once every six months parish imams, having composed a list of newborns and the deceased, could seal it in an envelope labeled 'Record of births and deaths to be delivered to the county committee on smallpox'. They could give it to an uyezd lieutenant, who could pass it to a local police officer, who could give it to the appropriate organisation. Or the Office of the Governorate can suggest another legitimate, easy way to handle it.

Mufti, tarkhan Suleymanov. 9 January 1845.

10) The mufti of Orenburg's fatwa. Based on the words of the Bashkirs' leader, Zhukovsky, I order that: Bashkir men and women in the 6th and 9th cantons must, before marrying, obtain a medical certificate stating that they have no contagious diseases. This is necessary to ensure that after the ceremony a husband cannot divorce his wife due to a lack of desire. Thus, knowledge of one's health is necessary before the wedding. In this regard, imams who have married the young couple without a health certificate will be removed from office.

Written by the Muslim mufti Gabdelvakhid ibn Suleyman al-Orenburg. 7 February 1846. (Since there was no original of this fatwa, we convey here only its intent).

11) The fatwa. Orenburg superior and cavalier, Mr. Esterkhavemsky told me on 17 May 1846 in No.9788 that during a period of high cattle mortality Muslims apparently do nothing to save their herds or prevent disease. Based on this information, I wrote a manual, with which you must intelligently and unquestionably comply. Firstly, the Prophet said, 'If you are bound by economic relations, then in this world and in the next you will be asked about the death of people and animals belonging to you'. Secondly, the Prophet said, 'If you hear that there has been an outbreak of plague in a certain city, do not enter into it. If this happens in your city, flee from it'. Thirdly, there are obvious, as well as hidden, causes for the plague, the first of which is fornication. If a people begin to sin, fatal diseases will begin to immediately appear. An epidemic occurs because, according to Sharia, people who are involved in fornication are not whipped. Fourthly, in all books concerning fatwas, it is stated that the buying and selling of the skins of dead animals is forbidden. Fifthly, doctors believe epidemics are caused by contaminated waste from deceased and unburied animal carcasses winding up in the rivers, which spoils the water in them. But the real reason, in their opinion, is that cholera and plague among humans and animals are due, in a great number of cases, to sinful behavior. You know that, according to Islam, in cases of high mortality among the cattle, Muhammad's descendants had to separate the sick from the herd and make every effort to avoid infecting others. If the epidemic originates in other towns and villages, you must not let your cattle graze there or bring cattle from these villages to other pastures. If a large number of cattle have died in your own village, you cannot bring anything except hay and straw into it. If there is another epidemic, the entire Muslim population should recall all of their sins and ask forgiveness for them, say a namaz and, while repeating the name of Allah, beg Him to save the animals. If someone behaves stubbornly and veers from the true path by selling the skins of sick animals, then he will bring harm to his fellow believers and those around him. The skins of dead animals must be buried far away from the village so that noxious fumes do not affect the healthy animals. You must also clean all filth from the house, courtyard, and streets. The benefits of these actions will return to you. You must comply with all orders from officials concerning sick animals; if you should choose not to, it will only bring about your own death. You, dear Akhunds and imams, should explain this to the entire population of your parishes.

12) An official fatwa. A high-ranking military governor in Orenburg told me the following: 'The Bashkirs, Mishar Tatars, Teptyars, and other Muslim groups are not heating their houses, are freezing in the cold, and eating raw food; they are not paying attention to the doctor's advice or treatments and do not go to the medical clinics, even though they are numerous. They do not pay attention to their health, and as a result many of them die of cholera'. The fatwa to co-religionists is as follows: 'in this dangerous time of epidemics and diseases, the Islamic population must constantly repent and pray for mercy, and take measures to guard their health. Listen to the doctor's advice and orders concerning nutrition and treatment. You, dear imams, having gathered your congregations into the mosques, must relate to them the contents of this fatwa, and explain to them that the plague is heaven's punishment for committing all manner of sins. Together, repent and ask for forgiveness, say the name of Allah, beading, and beg, and Allah by his grace and majesty will stop the plague. After that—the final treatment'. Written by the Muslim mufti of al-Orenburg Ibn Suleyman. 1847.

13) Dear Sir, Kazan Head Ibragim Yunusov. In 1847 I requested that, when choosing qadis, preference should be given to good scholars and mudarrises. On 17 January 1848, I received from you the ballot registry for qadis. Those who received 29, 28, and 24 white balls are not suitable, because there are more worthier scholars and mudarrises on the ballot. They are: 1) mudarris Khusnetdin, son of Gumer from Kazan sloboda; 2) Fakhretdin, son of Galimshakh from Urbagar village, Spassk uyezd; 3) Gimadetdin, son of Usman from the village of Maras, Chistopol uyezd⁵⁰; 4) Imam-khatib and mudarris Tukhfatulla, son of Abuyazid from the village of Tashly Elga, Mamadysh uyezd⁵¹. The fact that these four mudarrises were not selected is, in all probability, your fault, Mr. Yunusov. I also wrote to the governor that those qadis who had been elected previously were not re-elected, and that mudarrises were instead. Inform the Office of the Governorate about this. The mullah who received 28 white balls is guilty before the Assembly, as was reported to the Office of the Governorate on 18 January 1848.

14) Imam, son of Yakhi, is removed from office because on 14 May 1849 he conducted a marriage ceremony between Gaysha, daughter of an honorary citizen, a merchant of the first guild, Akhmed-shakh, son of Gabdulla, from Machkara village, Malmyzh uyezd, Vyatka guberniya, who was born 1 September 1833 and was at that time 15 years, 8 months and 16 days old, and a Kazan merchant, Mukhammedgali, son of Kurbangali, which is noted in the register book. 21 June 1849⁵²....

16) An exhortation to Muslims under the authority of the Orenburg mufti, who live on the eastern outskirts of the Russian Empire. The old and the young, commoners and nobles, the entire male and female population residing in the territory of our great state under the tutelage of our great Russian padishah, regardless of their origins or faith, all are protected by the law and live as one people. Russian padishahs regard their subjects as their children, and are equally merciful to all; the authorities treat the common people as their younger brothers.

We, Muslims, descendants of the Prophet, who did not find a padishah for ourselves among co-religionists, we are Russian citizens; we live just like our fathers and grandfathers did. No one forbids us to live under sharia law. What, according to our religion, do we need in this life and the afterlife to be happy? If you need riches, then in the Russian state it is possible to attain them, and the Russian people present no challenges to that; we can engage in trade; nothing is taken away from us by force, and no one punishes the innocent. Russia and its borders are protected by troops, so we are defended from military attacks. However, in the Islamic world our fellow believers are constantly in danger. If in peacetime we are faced with hunger, cholera, or other disasters, the padishah will give us seeds for sowing and medications for the sick. In this way we, like our Russian counterparts, are successful in our chosen fields of endeavour, are rewarded for our service, and even attain higher office. Seeing their good deeds rain down upon us and our ancestors, we must live under the rule of the padishah and sincerely thank Allah for making us happy. And we must wholeheartedly wish that the Russian state should flourish, and ask the Generous and Merciful for a long life for Alexander Nikolaevich, that we might surpass ourselves with each coming generation.

However, the enemies could not bear to watch the prosperity of Russia. During the time of the great sultan Nikolai Pavlovich, known for his arrogance, the French and British courts, showing their hostility to the Russian state, were looking for ways to harm it. To do this, they used the differences that had arisen in recent years between our late Emperor and padishah of Istanbul. Sowing the seeds of discord between Russia and the Turkish state, wanting to weaken Russia, they moved the Turkish state closer to themselves and became spiritual masters of the Muslims living there. It was in that same way that England took control of India, Punjab⁵³ and Afghanistan. At the present time, the same intentions of England and France were fully extended to the territory of the Turkish state. By deceit, in the guise of aid to the Turkish sultan, they sent their troops to Istanbul, and the soldiers also filled the city of Adrianople, Varna, and other Turkish areas. Furthermore, restraining the Muslim ruler from voluntary abdication, they appointed him as their authorised representative. Showing disrespect to the Islamic religion, turning castles and mosques into hospitals, mocking their manners and customs, they treated them like cattle. They demanded their food and sent them off to do dirty work. The Turks realised that they had been tricked and began to reproach themselves for this same assistance. It was that assistance which brought them into conflict with Russia, which resulted in bloodshed, and contributed to their

⁵⁰ Present-day village of Kulbaevo-Marasa in the Nurlat District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

⁵¹ Now it is a village in the Kukmor District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

⁵² *Author's notes: This letter is very long and here we limited ourselves to just this.*

⁵³ Punjab—the most northwestern province of British India, founded in 1849 from the areas belonging to the Sikh Kingdom.

deaths. But the Turks would not be able to get rid of them without Russia's help, and they very much wanted to ask for its help.

The British and the French, eager to extend their rule into the territory of the Turkish state, infiltrated our territory and by introducing their troops into the Crimea, undertook the siege of Sevastopol. For five months they besieged the city, but gradually they melted like wax as a result of hunger and cold. However, despite this, in spring they were planning to attack our country from different sides. They scared us that they would supposedly destroy some southern and western governorates. To counter these two powerful nations and prevent them from entering his home [state], the late Emperor Nikolai Pavlovich, known for his beneficence, told his faithful sons to arm a militia under someone's leadership so that it would guard the state, and after the war they returned to their villages and engaged in their handicrafts. This militia also included Muslims.

Muslim brothers! This is an opportunity to show our loyalty to the state in which we were born and raised; by your deeds you can show sincerity to padishah for all the great mercy shown to us and our grandfathers. Everyone who is capable of fighting must ask to join the militia; to protect your home and property from enemies you have to go together with the Russians, and not sparing your soul, you have to fight against our enemies and return home with honour! Just as 40 years ago for the destruction of Bonaparte on his invasion of Russia your fathers have helped the Russians and returned home with their heads held high. While at that time the danger was much higher than it is now, in spite of that Russia was victorious, and countless enemy soldiers were destroyed, and their bones are buried in our land. Without entering war, Russia became twice as strong as before (the meaning is not clear —R. F.). Now we hope that with the help of the almighty and just, the righteous cause shall triumph! Allah spoke of the devious and cunning: 'The day will come when you will be punished for pride and for the evil deeds you have committed'.

If any of you are unable to join the ranks of the militia, you shall, by the grace of almighty Allah and the padishah, to the extent of your skills, prepare soldiers, maintain them, and to help by donating your property, and to spare no resources for those who shed blood for the sake of your tranquility.

The Almighty said, 'Faithful and pious people are those who are true to their word and live humbly through difficult times'. Keeping this ever in mind, we, as loyal subjects, should keep our word to the great Tsar Alexander Nikolayevich. Finding ourselves a long way from the border, and being content with doing acts of divine worship for security, we read the following prayer: 'May Almighty Allah send down victory to our Emperor Alexandr Nikolaevich and establish accord between the emperors and the peoples.' Muslim Mufti, tarkhan Gabdelvakhid bin Suleyman al-Orenburgi. 1855, April.

(This letter was published, and in comparison with the rest, it was written almost without any mistakes, and the sentences are eloquently composed. However, there were a lot of synonyms, and so we deleted those which ran on for a whole line.—R. F.).

17) (Translated from Russian). To the Orenburg and Samara Governor-General. From the file on the construction of the building for the Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly in the city of Ufa, it is clear: a one-storey building for the Muslim Assembly, a wing on the right-hand side for the archives, and a wing on the left-hand side as a residence for the mullahs and qadis. An annexe behind the building for employees. The design makes no provision for an apartment for the mufti. Expenses for the construction of these buildings to the design are expected to be 45,000 roubles. When I was in Orenburg, you told me that for some reason the minister had not approved this design. Upon returning to Ufa, I talked to people who know the prices for similar work, and they told me that the construction of an apartment for the Mufti in the form of a second floor to the Assembly would be inexpensive. Therefore, we ask Your Excellency, if possible, to order someone to change the design in connection with the foregoing. 12 April 1855, No.1077.

18) To the Orenburg building commission. With the approval of the government in Ufa, construction of buildings for the Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly has begun, but it seems to me, there are drawbacks here. There are no places for horses and carts; in the wing for the qadis there is no basement, bath, or garden, although they are necessary. Therefore, estimates must be drawn up for them. Mufti Suleymanov. 22 May 1861, No.1471.

Conclusion: Permission to build the Assembly building was given, apparently, because the Muslims were essential in the defence of Sevastopol. The estimate was 41,994 roubles 25 kopecks, but at auction on 1 September 1860 it [construction of the buildings] was given to a Michael Abdeyev from Orenburg for 45,000 roubles. After completion of the construction by Abdeyev, the Assembly informed the building commission in Orenburg about it on 22 September 1864. In spite of active participation in the construction of the buildings of Mufti Gabdelvakhid bin Suleyman, he could not see the end of

construction because of his death. The first of the muftis to enter the new building was Mufti Salimgirey bin Shakhingirey al-Taukili. Some of the qadis could not live in the wing because the building was not suited to their needs, and so they were forced to live in another place. Observing these, the subsequent qadis also began to live in other places....

The letters written to the mufti.

The first letter: We know that our school (Mikhailovskaya School) is under the supervision of the director and the doctor. On 12 June, they took the examination with the children we taught. The doctor, wanting to go to Makaryev Fair, decided to write you a letter. We decided to go to Makaryev Fair after receiving only his permission. At the fair, we wanted to stay until the end of August. If we do not have time to go back, the doctor promised to appoint Mullah Khusnetdin in our stead. So getting permission elsewhere was not necessary. Mullah Gabdelgafur Ibn Mahmud al-Bulgari Mamishev. 1843, 4 July. Kazan. (This person is recorded under number 328. In addition, he was appointed by the Assembly to discharge the duties of imam at Makaryev Fair).

The second letter: Relying on the blessing of mufti khazrat, we pray for all your family. We were very pleased to receive your letter dated 11 November. We understand that you have written about the election of the qadis. The provincial government notified the uyezds so that from each uyezd two mullahs would arrive who are mudarrises, i.e. maintain a madrasah and teach shakirds. We have seen the mullahs who arrived, and not all of them meet this requirement. After consulting with the Mirza Alkin, the provincial government ordered those mullahs to return. The government again wrote to the uyezds so that from each uyezd village four mullahs would come. Among the newly-arrived mullahs there were good, religious, and pious mudarrises. We held a ballot, and the scholars were asked to vote for the very best. We decided to hold an oral vote. We did the best we could, and we hope for a good result. The ballot papers were sent out in the form of a register. The period of our service ended in this year; the ballot was held, and Your Marriage-broker Iskhaq, son of Mustafa, Apakov, was elected to the post of the head. Mukhammedvafa Makhdoom died, may the mercy of Allah abound. He was buried on 9 January after Friday prayers. Looking forward to your prayers, Ibrahim, son of Gubaydulla, Yunusov. 1848, 12 January, Monday. Kazan.

The notebook with a record of the mullahs for election to the posts of qadis for three years, from 1848, held on 29 December 1847.

From the Kazan imams	white balls	black balls
1. Mukhammedvafa, son of Fazla	19	24
2. Khusnetdin, son of Gumer	12	32
Kazan uyezd		
3. Aukhadi, son of Iskander from the village of Chulpa	8	35
4. Khibatulla, son of Khabibulla from the village of Arbash	4	39
5. Sagdetdin, son of Rakhmatulla from the village of Chemek	12	31
6. Sirazetdin, son of Nadzhmetdin from the village of Yamashirma	6	37
Sviyazhsk uyezd		
7. Gabdeldzhabbar, son of Mustakim from the village of Kaybitsa	11	32
8. Tukhfatulla, son of Nigmatulla from the village of Malye Kaybitsy	10	33
9. Akhmedzyan, son of Tagir from the village of Shusherma	7	36
10. Gabdelvali, son of Nigmatulla from the village of Bolshoy Utak	7	36
Tsaryevokokshaysk uyezd		
11. Khasan, son of Akhund Fatkhulla from the village of Kazaklar	5	38
12. Fazlulla, son of Ibragim from the village of Kimi	8	35
13. Mukhammedsharif, son of Mukhammedkarim of the village of Kungar (Shashi)	9	34
14. Khamid, son of Atnakul from the village of Nizhnie Shashi	11	32
Chistopol uyezd		
15. Gimadetdin, son of Usman of the village of Marasa	19	24

16. Gabdennasir, son of Valid from the village of Stary Adam suy	11	32
17. Khusnetdin, son of Khazan from the village of Gadelshakh	13	30
Spassk uyezd		
18. Fakhretdin, son of Gadelshakh from the village of Urbagar	20	23
19. Sibgatulla, son of Fakhretdin from the village of Tiganali	20	23
20. Radzhab, son of Abuzar from the village of Starye Chally	11	32
21. Kamaletdin, son of Galiakber from the village of Ashnak	12	31
Laishev uyezd		
22. Gabdeldzhabbar, son of Rakhmatulla from the village of Yulga	24	9
23. Sayfetdin, son of Shafi from the village of Yantuk	13	30
24. Salikh, son of Khibatulla from the village of Maly Ashnak	11	32
25. Gabdellatif, son of Bakhtiyar from the village of Bolshoy Sultan	8	35
Tetyushi uyezd		
26. Batyrsha, son of Gadelshakh from the village of Bolshie Karile	13	30
27. Miftahetdin, son of Zayni from the village of Telyanchi	8	35
28. Tukhfatulla, son of Khalil from the village of Shemek	28	15
29. Tazetdin, son of Mushtari from the village of Utyamysh	31	12
Mamadysh uyezd		
30. Bikchentay, son of Gabdellatif from the village of Teneki Sabasy	8	35
31. Tazetdin, son of Sayfetdin from the village of Ikisherma	8	35
32. Mukhammedzhan, son of Sabit from the village of Sikertan	9	34
33. Dzhamaletdin, son of Bikash from the village of Shashi	23	19
34. Nabiulla, son of Gaynulla from the village of Maly Kirman	13	29
35. Tukhfatulla, son of Abuyazid from the village of Tashly Elga	9	33
36. Sirazetdin, son of Mukhammedrakhim	14	28

The third letter: To the Mufti of Muslims Gabdelvakhid Suleymanov. On the basis of the 1848 decree, I went to Irbit Fair to perform religious affairs, and the Muslims there gave their verdict on the construction of a stone mosque. In the past 1849, when I went to Irbit Fair, the governor gave me a laced notebook to record money for building the mosque. But since the book was issued to me in the last days of the fair, I said that we would fill it up in the next year, 1850, with which the governor agreed. Akhund Gabdelkhalik, son of Mullah Akhtyam. 1850, 24 January.

The fourth letter: To Ufa, to Mufti Khazrat Gabdelvakhid bin Suleyman. From him who discharges the post of imam in the large stone mosque of head Mullah Sagid, son of Khamid, in Kazan sloboda, with the deepest obeisance. When I was appointed to the post of imam, a former Mullah Shigabutdin, son of Mullah Bagautdin, gave me a notebook for the year [18]54. In this notebook, the dates of birth, death, and nikahs were recorded under the names of astronomical constellations, for example, Aries, Taurus... But they do not correspond to the solar months, starting from January, which are accepted in the Muscovite state for the calculation of time. Take, for example, the constellation of Aries; it begins on 11 March and ends on 9 April, and it has 31 days. 10 March falls on the last days of the constellation of Pisces, while the beginning of March corresponds to day 21 of the constellation of Pisces. February begins on day 23 of the constellation of Aquarius, and ends on the 20th day of the constellation Pisces. Thus, if the Mullah Shigabutdin, son of Bagautdin, counts January and the constellation of Aquarius as one month, then 24 January refers to the constellation of Capricorn. Then why is nothing written for day 24? No births, no deaths, no nikahs—it cannot be that nothing happened on that day.

The fourth nikah was recorded on day 31 of the constellation of Aquarius. He wrote thus, counting the constellation of Aquarius and January as one month, while the first is made up of 30 days. In this nikah, the husband is Gabbas, son of Gabdessalyama. However, the witnesses are recorded as the sons of the bridegroom, Gabderrashid and Gabdulla.

In the second nikah there is only age; the word 'groom' is omitted. It is written that the sum of makhar in the amount of 200 roubles was delayed and the groom gave a room in his own home. It is not clear if the room is part of makhar or whether it is an additional gift. At all events, it is unclear why it is written down in the notebook. <...>

In the fourth nikah, the witnesses for Gabbas, son of Gabdessalyam, are given as two of his own sons, Gabdulla and Gabderrashid. The evidence of two of his sons could not constitute confirmation of Gabbas's oath. The purpose of this record in the notebook became clear after the conflict.

In the seventh nikah, the bride's father Shakhiakhmed is recorded without the father's name.

In the notebook with the entries of the deceased a mistake was made in writing the name of the disease; the name of the father of Ismagil Valid Sagdi was not recorded; the exact age of a child who did not live to its first birthday was not recorded; the name of Valid Sagdi's father is missing; the age of one woman is not understandable, for another the cause of death is not recorded; the number of one woman is put in the male column; therefore, the number of deaths is not clear. These mistakes made by Shigabutdin, son of Bagautdin, in the notebook of entries of the nikah and deceased were copied out and sent for consideration of the khazrats by the chief mudarris, Mullah Sagid, son of Mullah Khamid. 3 September 1854 and 11 December 1854...

The sixth letter: To Mufti and Sheikh of Islam. As you know, on 20 August 1860 there appeared a cad, a sorcerer, liar and impostor posing as a sheikh. He calls himself Khusain, son of Mullah Bay from Khokand. He sends the faithful astray. He announced that dancing and music are allowed. Banging two pieces of iron together, he gave orders that the words 'There is no God but Allah' should be uttered loudly, and despite the fact that I, son of Imam Abuzyar, was against it, the mahallah people agreed with this requirement. Because of this, discord was sown between me and the people of mahallah. He says that he has the consent of the Muslim Assembly. He banished me from the place of prayer, and appointed a commoner from mahallah, Khabibullah, son of Zabir, to be the imam. To this day, the son of Zabir is the imam, and he has been doing unrighteous deeds. I was not allowed to fivefold or Friday prayers. Mufti of Islam! I, miserable son of Abuzyar, grieving for defiance of the sacred law, wrote you a report in September of 1860; it is unknown whether it reached its destination. Currently, the impostor is in Saratov. He wrote a lot of letters with the request to appoint him Ishan, but later he began to abandon them, saying that he had not sent such letters to anyone. He says he does not know how to read or write, and was not engaged in Ishan business. Mufti Khazrat! We have no money to write a petition; we do not get salary for it. In our mahallah there are seven houses; by false promises, he bent them to his side, and forced them to write statements to our Provincial Government. It would be good to have the matter reviewed according to law, and this was reported to the Akhund of Kuznetsk uyezd, Shaikhutdin, son of Salikh. I would like to bring together the pious mullahs of Kuznetsk uyezd Gubaydull, son of Ayub, from the village of Gali, Hajji Khabibullah, son of Damkay, and Miftakhetdin, son of Salikh, from the village of Mirzalar, Khusnetdin, son of Biktemir, from the village of Duma. Khusnetdin, son of Abuzyar, Imam of Volsky city. 26 February 1861

Wives.

The wife of Khabib, daughter of Rakhmankul, travelled from Saint Petersburg with him, and she was buried by his side with their son, Akhund Sharafetdin. Her epitaph says, 'The wife of Islamic Mufti Gabdelvakhid Suleyman Khabib, daughter of Rakhmankul. Rabigul-akhir 1815'. After her, on 20 May of the same year, he married a daughter of a Sterlitamak merchant Bakhtiyar Gabdelkarim, son of Ismagil ar-Ramevi Ummugulsum. This wife is buried by his side, and the writing on her gravestone says, 'Ummugulsum, daughter of Bakhtiyar, wife of mufti Gabdelvakhid, son of Suleyman, [died] at the age of 46, in the month of zul'-kagda 1297 / 3 September 1880'.

Children.

We know of his children named Sharafetdin, Makhbubkamal, and Rauzatelzhanan. Makhbubkamal was born on 15 August 1828, was married to Ibragim, son of Iskhak Apakov from Kazan, and had one daughter Maryam. Rauzatelzhanan was married to the prince Mukhammedkhasan, son of Gabdelgaffar Akchurin⁵⁴. Their children currently live in Ufa. The mufti's bloodline was preserved in the children of his two daughters; his sons had no children.

⁵⁴ *Author's notes:* According to the certificate provided by the Orenburg Deputy Assembly on 8 January 1834, Akchurin's genealogy is as follows: the son of prince Adash Akchurin (the family's founder), Akchura's son Bulash, his son Yeniki, his son Bikbulad, his son Kilmash, his son Khasan, his son Uрмаi, his son Umrai.

Bulash, Akchura's son, also had sons—Tengrevirde, Irbak and Tenibek. Tenibek's son was Buchan; Tengrevirde's sons were Ilshikai, Nurai, and Mavlyud.

Sharafetdin was born on 10 July 1823/1238, and died on 21 February 1888 / 23 jumadiel-akhir 1305 at the age of 67. He was buried in Ufa. His gravestone bears the inscription 'Performed the Hajj during his travels to Hejaz. His teachers are unknown.'

His official biography: Sharafetdin, son of Gabdelvakhid ibn Suleyman, was born on 10 July 1823. In July 1844, he was promoted to be an imam-khatib and mudarris. Pursuant to the Edict of the Assembly dated 9 October 1844, he was appointed a member of the smallpox Committee in Ufa uyezd. On 23 April 1849, he was appointed a member of the prison commission in Ufa. That same year in response to the mufti's petition, he was authorised to take divine service for Muslims in Ufa prison. On 21 August 1857, Orenburg guberniya authorities appointed him as the Akhund. In 1861, the Governor of Ufa made him a member of the audit chamber. In the same year, he and the mufti went to the Bashkirs in Usa vilage to instruct them in matters of compulsory military service. In 1876, he was appointed to take divine service for sick Muslims in Ufa zemsky hospital.

One of his letters: To the Orenburg Muslim Assembly.

Orenburg Muslim Assembly ordered the preparation of logs and selection of people who would be needed for surveying Ufa's cemetery in the upcoming year 1858. However, the Assembly did not specify where to get the money to pay for the logs or to pay to the employees. If the cemetery were not to be fenced, the Russians would trample rough-shod over it. The stone walls around the graves of mufti Gabdessalyam and some murzas have already become useless. As we cannot find money, we ask the Assembly to announce fundraising among the Muslims of Ufa, especially wealthy ones, to gather subscriptions to restore the walls around these graves

Senior Akhund, tarkhan Sharafetdin Suleymanov. Ufa.

26 December 1857.

His father, Akhund Suleyman, was Akhund and imam in the village of Arbashcha. Here is one of his letters in shortened form. To the government of the Orenburg Assembly. Akhund of the Bolshoy Arbashcha village of Kuznetsk uyezd, Suleyman, son of Sagluk, wrote: 'Over many years, there has been a conflict between the imams in our neighbourhood about the beginning and ending of Holy Ramadan. Thus, for example, as they cannot see the Moon, they start and finish [the uraza (fasting)] two days earlier. They do not appeal to the Holy hadiths to solve the problem of visibility of the Moon. Their leader is the imam of the village of Kuysuy, Yunus, son of Gabdelzhalil. The rest accept him as the son of an ishan, and so they obey his words. However, mullah Yunus does not listen to me. Every year uraza starts one day earlier than in Kazan (if it were binding to follow Kazan according to the Sharia, then, undoubtedly, Yunus would be guilty of his actions). Before they followed his father Gabdelzhalil; now they follow mullah Yunus. Our village is 5 km from the village of Kuysuy. Muslims of our village started to go for Friday namaz and gaet to mullah Yunus. Last year, paying no attention to the Moon, mullah Yunus read the gaet one day earlier than in Kazan and than our mufti did.

Akhund Suleyman, son of Sagluk. 10 December 1829.

Source: Fäxretudin R. Asar. Cild 2. Cöze 13. Orenburg, 1907. pp. 348–389.

Salimgarey bin Shakhingirey bin Yusuf bin Kutlugmukhammed bin Mamesh at-Tevkeli.

The fourth mufti of the Spiritual Assembly died at the age of 80, on 2 January 1885 (27 rabigul-aval 1302 according to the Hijrah) and was buried on 4 January. The memorial prayer was recited by the Kazan imam Muhammad bin Gumar al-Salakhi, a member of the Spiritual Board at that time. With the authorisation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the mufti was buried on the west side of the first mosque in Ufa. His grave is enclosed by an iron fence, inside which a white marble stone is placed at the head. The epitaph is beautifully drawn, but written with mistakes.

Official biography.

Mufti Salimgarey, descended from Ufa nobility, entered military service. In 1828–1829, during the Russo-Turkish War, he served under the command of the Count Balin and the general, Baron Budbirkh. For the courage he displayed during military actions, he was awarded the Order of Saint Anna, 3rd and

Bikbulad, son of Yeniki, also had sons—Timergali, Barbik, and Muhammed.

The sons of Kilmash, Bikbulad's son, were Siunbai, Ishgaki and Safar.

The sons of Uрмаi, Khasan's son, were Kaderem and Kadershah. Kaderem's son was Ibrai, the latter's son was Yakub, and Yakub's son was Kutluket.

Umrai's son was Kali, his son was Gabdelgaffar, and the latter's son was Mukhammedkhusain. This is the last link which was rewritten from the certificate.

4th class, and, moreover, he was granted a silver medal. For successful negotiations with the Governor of Malakia, Kaimkam Pasha, he was included in the ambassador's mission to the city of Adrianople⁵⁵. In 1831 he was sent to the Pulak Region to suppress unrest, and as a result of his successful actions, a decoration was conferred on him. Having obtained the rank of shtab-rotmistr [captain of cavalry], he left military service and in February 1848 was elected a marshal of the uyezdnobility in the city of Bugulma. There he served until 14 December 1850. By the Emperor's Edict of 28 February 1865, Salimgarey Tevkelev was appointed as a mufti of the Muslim Spiritual Board in Ufa. On 29 July 1866, he was appointed director of the prison commission. On 30 April 1869, he was awarded the Order of Saint Anna, 2nd class; on 16 April 1872, Emperor Alexander bestowed on him a signet ring, ornamented with jewels and the inscription 'Alexander'. He participated in suppressing unrest among the Perm Bashkirs, who were protesting against compulsory military service, for which Emperor Alexander officially expressed his gratitude and presented him with a gold cigar case. On 1 January 1877, he was awarded the 1st class Order of Saint Stanislaus; on 7 March 1880 the 1st class Order of Saint Anna; and on 6 May 1884 the 2nd class Order of Saint Vladimir. In 1880 he participated in the celebrations for the 25th anniversary of Emperor Alexander Nikolaevich's rule; in 1883 he attended the coronation of the Emperor Alexander Alexandrovich, and in honour of this celebration he was awarded a gold medal. He died on 2 January 1885, at the age of 77 and was buried in the apple tree garden beside the first cathedral mosque in Ufa.

Unofficial biography.

Mufti Salimgarey was born on 30 December 1805 in the village of Kilim, Belebey uyezd (so he could not have been 77 when he died). After the completion of his military service, in 1854 he performed the Hajj during his journey to Hejaz. In Istanbul, with the Russian Ambassadors, he was received by the Sultan Gabdelmazhid. During this same journey he also visited Syria.

His first wife was a daughter of Mirza Asfandiyar Davletkildeev, Gainelkhayat. She died at the age of 29 in the village of Kilem. After that, he married one of her relatives, Fatima, a daughter of Mirza Suleyman Davletkildeev. With this wife he lived for 25 years, and after his death, Fatima lived for a further 26 years, and died on 19 June 1912, at the age of 85. She was buried next to her husband. She left her house, worth 80,000, as a waqf for the mosque.

The mufti had no children with either of his wives.

The general situation.

During the reign of Mufti Salimgarey, the Spiritual Assembly only took care of official business and did not undertake any measures against the unrest among the Muslims. The Muslims were unhappy with the negative attitude of the authorities towards them and were well aware of the restrictive measures against their religion. Thus, as soon as the Muslims learned of any disturbing news, they sent word to the mufti.

In 1878, the religious problem affected the entire Islamic population. The mahallahs sent their representatives to Ufa. 83 of their petitions were kept in the archive of the Assembly. However, the members of the Assembly did not officially consider them or make any decisions on them but sent them straight to the archive. It is difficult to appreciate such actions by members of the Assembly elected by the Kazan Muslims.

During the period of the mufti's activities, the madrasahs were transferred to the Ministry of Education. However, the translation of this decree into the Tatar language was not distributed among the Tatars, so they did not undertake any actions.

The venerable Marjani spoke of the mufti: 'Despite the fact that he knows nothing of Fiqh and Sharia law, he has managed to attain this position. Although his predecessors were not scientists in the true sense of the word, this mufti made the mistake of opening the doors to uneducated people. Although he was acting with the sincerest of intentions, owing to his lack of knowledge and courage, he was forced to listen to the opinions of others and was unable to stand his ground. Hence, he accomplished very little for his nation and often changed his own decisions. There were high expectations of this man, who was open-minded and had a good understanding of state decrees, but these expectations went unfulfilled'... (Mustafadel-akhbar. Vol. 2, pp. 311–312).

The fact that he was not capable of performing useful deeds and unable to guard the nation and religion we learned from well-informed people in Ufa. They said, 'There is growing discontent with the members of the Assembly elected in the Kazan wilayah. Each time familiar but narrow-minded people

⁵⁵ Adrianople (Edirne) was the main city of the Turkish Adrianople vilayet. It was the residence of the sultans between 1360 and 1453.

are elected, who know nothing of their work, cannot tell their right from their left, and the mufti is left in a helpless situation'.

Before he was appointed Mufti, Mirza Salimgarey had travelled to Saint Petersburg, where he had met Khusain Faizkhanov and discussed with him the opening of a school of higher scientific and religious education for the Tatars. (Personally, I think Salimgarey needed these meetings to become a mufti, but he hid his true goal from Khusain Effendi).

In 1864 Khusain Effendi wrote the following to Marjani from Saint Petersburg: 1) Tevkelev has put a great deal of effort into and talked with a lot of people about the proposed madrasah. 2) The madrasah, on which Tevkelev and I have agreed, will be opened in Kazan and fully funded. Useless books will be excluded from the school curriculum; emphasis will be placed on religious and secular studies. The madrasah will be fully regulated. The Russian language, geography, and geometry will be taught in Russian. 3) It was originally intended that the madrasah would teach the same subjects as the gymnasium, and that the school itself would be on an equal footing with the gymnasium. However, considering that there is no one amongst us who can teach these subjects, we have discarded that thought. The teaching of Russian to a good standard will be sufficient for us. 4) Tevkelev was going to speak with the Minister of Education on this matter.

After Mirza Salimgarey was appointed mufti, Khusain Faizkhanov visited him as a guest in the village of Kilem. Afterwards, in 1865, he wrote a letter to Marjani, which stated: 'The Mufti stands by his opinion about the opening of the madrasah and wants to bring all his ideas to fruition'.

On the one hand, the Mufti agreed with this idea because the mullahs of Kazan were causing harm to Khusain Faizkhanov, but, on the other hand, after the death of Khusain Effendi, the Mufti forgot all about it and his words became louder than his actions. Originally, this idea was supposed to be realised in a Teachers' school open for Muslims in Ufa, which is confirmed in the archived documents.

Official letters.

28 May 1880, No.1282 to the Minister of Internal Affairs. As the letter is too long to be written out in full, only extracts are given here:

1) Only imams of the Kazan wilayah can be elected as members of the Assembly; other Muslims did not have this opportunity. However, the Assembly consider affairs that concern the whole Muslim population. Thus, electing Assembly members from the Kazan wilayah only is wrong. For this reason, one of three members will be elected in Kazan every three years, and the other two will be elected in other governorates.

Elections to the Spiritual Board are currently held in December. This causes a certain amount of discomfort for those finishing their duties to return and for the newly elected members to arrive. The elections should be rescheduled for May, by which time the water route is open, which is convenient for both the departing and the arriving members of the Assembly.

Electing three members at once is not profitable for our Board. It takes a lot of time for new members to get settled in. Therefore, we only need to replace one every year. Thus, the arrival of only one new member will not hinder the Assembly.

2) (Instruction written in the Russian language. At the beginning of the letter, there is a Russian translation of the 'Fatiha' surah. The date is not specified despite the fact that the instruction was distributed among the imams).

Distinguished Mullahs and Akhunds of the Orenburg Assembly!

I am compelled to write to you in view of the mistakes that some of you are making. It has come to my attention that some of you are hostile towards the Christians. Thus, I consider it necessary to acquaint you with the Christians of Russia.

The Christians are people who have allowed us to build mosques and who promote the development of our agriculture, trading, and crafts. They are the loyal sons of their Emperor and homeland, who do not expect our gratitude for their good deeds. How can we thank our Emperor? Our gratitude should be expressed in our compliance with his laws and the fulfilment of his decrees.

If we do not know the language of our state, how are we to learn about the laws of our Emperor? How are you going to speak with officials? Not knowing the Russian language will be disastrous for you. With no understanding of what officials want, you will have to content yourselves with the words of translators. Without the opportunity to ask the necessary things of officials, you will lose a lot. If you have a question concerning your religious needs, you will ask for help from someone who speaks Russian. You never know; they may write something harmful.

Some people think that by learning Russian they will have to be baptised. You must not believe these words. Sahih al-Bukhari wrote that the Prophet spoke of the benefit of learning the Hebrew language.

Knowing Russian is useful for you. Your happiness depends on it. He who does not want to speak the Russian language does not respect our Emperor. There is also an academic benefit. However, some of you do not understand that knowledge of the Russian language is the main science of religion.

How would you ask for bread from the Russians if you do not know Russian? How would you answer in court cases? How would you learn about land and water taxes? All decrees and laws concerning your life are written in the Russian language.

Our great Emperor has ordained teaching in Russian in the new schools and madrasahs, which will be open for his loyal subjects. For the implementation of this decree it is you, Akhunds and Mullahs, who must be the first to provide assistance.

Thus, I have listed the reasons why you must know the Russian language. So I order you: urge people to learn Russian.

Read Surah 191 from the 3rd Ayah of the Quran and prove that you can carry out these instructions. And may Allah help you in matters of religion!

(This paper was printed out; I found it among the archive documents which had been prepared for destruction. Most probably, this instruction was distributed⁵⁶, but it should have been spread in the Turkic language, not in Russian. It would have been a good idea to write it in the form of books 'Fazailsh-shuxur' and 'Badavam'. But for that the author of 'Fazailsh-shuxur' would be needed, and there was no such person in the Assembly. The Russian version was most probably composed by his illiterate secretary. If it had been given to a lawyer, it would have been much better.)

Some of the letters written to the Mufti.

1) From the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 23 June 1884, No.329.

From the letter dated 28 May 1880 we learned about your suggestions concerning the procedure for electing new members to the Orenburg Assembly. Some of the governors we questioned were opposed to calling a meeting for the election of members. At any rate, your suggestion is against the law. Therefore, once you have compiled a new project, send it for my consideration. (Excellent answer after four years!—R. F.)

2) (Rewritten in an abridged version): 'To the Mufti Tefkelev. From Yarmukhammed, son of Gabdesattar from the village of Muslim in the Chistopol uyezd⁵⁷'.

(After listing the names and titles of the ishans and caliphs of the village of Kizlyau—R. F.) he writes: 'I was well in with them, so I heard their words and saw their deeds, which conflicted with the Sharia. Apparently, they are opposed to the Hajj. I am 67 now, and I have seen a lot of sheikhs who did not act against the laws of the Sharia. But these have no honesty. They only become ishans to get wealthy, which only brings harm to the common people. Not a single one of them has an ijaza. Women consort with strange men under the pretext of visiting an ishan. Some of the women are taken by refugees on the road and are kept for up to ten days. Being honourable and distinguished women, they spread a lot of gossip at the same time. The murids and khalfas drink alcohol, rustle horses and steal, then go to their ishan and receive absolution of their sins. It is impossible to enumerate all the sinful deeds of the murids. The whole village knows that one khalfa, known to everyone, fornicated in his apiary. Holding his family prisoner, he goes around with another man's wife. He eats the products stolen by the son of this fallen woman. In another village, one khalfa takes young women alone to an empty house allegedly to explain something to them. In another village, a khalfa gets his accomplices drunk with a few buckets of vodka to get some job done. He was found guilty of appropriating another man's property but found some witnesses who were made to give false testimonies.

...Therefore, they need to be stopped before it is too late. Because of them the religion of Islam may disappear. Cursed be those ishans who do not know basic Islamic rules. I am almost blind; my pen does not obey me; I am old; nevertheless, as I write these lines, I fear the wrath of Allah. May Allah preserve us from the evil designs of the murids!

13 March 1878.

Some letters written by the Mufti Salimgarey and letters addressed to him were published in the first part of 'State Instructions concerning Muslims' (Islamnar xakında xökümät tädbirläre⁵⁸). Included in

⁵⁶ This refers to the admonition of mufti S. Tevkelev which was compiled no later than February 1873. It was printed and spread among the Islamic clergy of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly. See the Russian text of the original. Materials on the history of the latter half of the 19th century. Part 1. Moscow—Leningrad, 1936. PP. 301–302.

⁵⁷ The village of Muslyumkino in the Chistopol District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

⁵⁸ See: Fäxreddin Rizaeddin. Dini vä ictimagi mä'sälälär: saylanma xezmätlär. Kazan, 2011. B. 153–203..

the work 'Yadkar' by Mukhammedsalim Umetbayev⁵⁹ were letters by Tevkelev addressed to the muftis of the Crimea and the Caucasus. This is a good source of reference for those wishing to become better acquainted with the written tradition of the Russian muftis, which existed half a century ago.

Source: National Archive of the Ufa Scientific Centre, Russian Academy of Sciences, fund 7, inventory 1, file 12 (old document), sheets 99–103. Original.

**Muhammadyar bine Mukhammedsharif bine Bayazid bine Gabdelzhalil bine Sultan
bine Mamat bine Chuban bine Tutar bine Kuzay bine Akyul bine Yulbirde bine Tangrebirde
bine Tavkil bine Shakhuli bine Tuksybay.**

The fifth Mufti of the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly in Ufa died on 12 June 1915 (12 Shagban 1333 according to the Hijrah), at the age of 80. He was buried on the west side of the First Cathedral Mosque, north of the graves of the Mufti Salimgarey Tevkelev and his wife.

Mufti Muhammadyar came from a Bashkir estate; his distant ancestors originated in the village of Kudzhaka in the Menzelinsk uyezd⁶⁰. The Mufti's last name comes from his grandfather Sultan bin Mamat. His Shajare is included in the collection of works 'Maglumat'⁶¹ under numbers 24–33.

Gabdelzhalil bine Sultan served in the position of canton chief for the Bashkirs and died in September 1824 (1239 AH). His wife and the mother of the Mufti Muhammadyar, Sagadatdana, daughter of Gabderrashid Mutin from the village of Takta Alachyk⁶², died in Ufa in 1891 (1308 AH) and was buried in a Muslim cemetery.

Mufti Muhammadyar mentioned in his autobiography, written in the 1905, that he was 68 years old at that time, thus his year of birth is 1837 (1253 AH).

After finishing the Kazan Gymnasium he entered university, but having spent only a year there, he joined the civil service ('Shura', Vol. 8, P. 449). On 2 January 1886, he was appointed Mufti in the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly by imperial edict, with an annual salary of 5,000 roubles (the annual salary of the previous mufti was 2,000 roubles).

Wives: after the death of his first wife, Muhammadyar Sultanov married a daughter of Sheikhulislam, son of Muhammedrakhim Sultanov, Maryam (granddaughter of the Mufti Gabdessalyam), who died after the Mufti.

Source: National Archive of the Ufa Scientific Centre, Russian Academy of Sciences, fund 7, inventory 1, file 12 (old document), sheet 282. Original.

The materials were translated and prepared by Liliya Baibulatova

⁵⁹ Muhammedsalim Ishmukhammedovich Umetbaev (1841–1907)—a philologist, publisher, and poet. An author of several Russian-Tatar dictionaries, Tatar language grammar books, verses, and essays. 'Yadgar' was published in 1897.

⁶⁰ Modern village of Kuzyakino in the Aktanysh District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

⁶¹ 'Mäglümate cädidä' (New data)—a religious weekly magazine. Published in 1908–1917 in Ufa..

⁶² The village of Taktalachyk in the Aktanysh District of the Republic of Tatarstan.

IV. 'Mirat' ('Mirror') by Gabderashit Ibragimov About Problems of the Tatar-Islamic Society at the Turn of the 19–20th Centuries.

Gabderashit Ibragimov (1857–1940) was one of the first persons to identify in public the problems of reforming the Tatar society in the early 20th century, and urged the people to seek out together the path of non-scholasticism, of transforming the Tatars into a competitive nation. For the transmission of his ideas he successfully used his publicist work 'Mirat' ('Mirror'). G. Ibragimov was born into the family of a member of the Islamic clergy; he received his primary education in the rural madrasah and continued at schools in other regions of Russia and also in Medina. In 1885 he was appointed as a mullah and mullim in his home town of Tara in the Tobolsk guberniya¹. In 1892–1894, he was an assessor with the Orenburg Islamic Spiritual Assembly, then travelled to Turkey, where he published his publicist composition 'Çulmap yıldızı' ('Morning Star'), concerning the legal status of Muslims in the Russian Empire and the paramount questions of their development, which required an immediate solution. In 1897–1900, he travelled across the countries of the East and Europe.

During his travels in the Volga-Ural region, Western Siberia and the Kazakh Steppes, investigating the complaints of his co-religionists to the OMSA, G. Ibragimov developed a clear understanding of the needs and wishes of Muslims from different regions, of their common problems and obstacles, which were hindering the gradual development of the Tatar nation. His travels to the European and Oriental countries helped him to define the level of development of the Russian and Tatar-Islamic societies on a global scale, to form a thorough understanding of the under-development of the Islamic countries and to evaluate the potential of the Tatar mahallahs in the Russian environment. As a result, G. Ibragimov abandoned the critical evaluation of the legal status of the Muslims in Russia and focused instead on the internal problems of the Tatar-Islamic society, which he considered to be the main reasons for the deterrence to progress.

On his return from his travels abroad, G. Ibragimov published a series of publicistic brochures entitled 'Mir'at' ('Mirror') in the printing house of I. Boragansky in Saint Petersburg and in Kazan (1900–1909). These enjoyed huge popularity amongst the Tatars.

The first 18 editions of 'Mir'at' were published in 1900–1903, and further 4 editions in 1907–1909. The name of the small-format brochures (16 x 22 cm), containing up to 36 pages, told the reader that they, as their name suggested, would reflect events currently taking place in the Russian Islamic society. Judging by the content of the brochures, the author was mainly concerned about the problems of the Russian Muslims in education and the necessity to implement reforms quickly in this area. G. Ibragimov advocated not to invent new methods and ways of teaching but to use those that had been successfully implemented in Russian schools. He explained the backwardness of the Russian Muslims by their reluctance to develop themselves, their failure to use the opportunities provided by Russian legislation. From an educational perspective, he wrote about the necessity of disseminating essential knowledge among men and women and teaching them different crafts, and about the emancipation of women from domestic and spiritual oppression.

The second issue that troubled G. Ibragimov was finding a solution to the social problems of the Tatars in an urban, foreign-culture environment. The urbanisation required new, effective ways of organising the social and cultural life of the Tatar communities, it created conditions for their members to participate in civil life, for transforming public charitable organisations with the status of legal entity into a real centre for the social and cultural life of the co-religionists. The turn of the 19–20th centuries was the time of the emergence of the first Islamic charities. Seeing in them a great potential as public, secular ethno-confessional centres, he sought to prevent those that had newly appeared from repeating the mistakes that had been made and urged the existing societies to restructure their activity.

In his opinion, the existing societies failed to fulfill adequately the mission entrusted to them of socially protecting the co-religionists in need. He saw the reason for this phenomenon in the passivity and indifference of the members of the society, most of whom were selected solely on account of their publicity or wealth. G. Ibragimov revealed the expenses involved in the societies' activities, reproached their management for the lack of targeted and consistent fund raising, for their biased approach to the just distribution of the collected funds, and accused members of the management and board of being dependent on the opinion of one wealthy member of the society. G. Ibragimov saw the solution to this problem in the rigorous implementation of the provisions of the Statute—the normative document of the

¹ Present-day Tara—the administrative centre of the Tarsk District of the Omsk Oblast.

charitable organisation, defining the duties of all its members. He also considered it necessary to elect honest and active Muslims as board members of these societies.

It is important to note that, in the absence of Tatar newspapers and magazines, the 'Mir'at' carried out, to some extent, the functions of a national periodic publication. G. Ibragimov published his readers' reviews of his articles in his brochures, promoting public dialogue and the discussion of pressing problems of the Muslims, thereby shaping public opinion.

Liliya Baibulatova

Mir'at, or Mirror

<...> Our essay will reveal some events of recent years to the Russian Muslims and, in giving useful advice, will show the right way.

Among the Russian Muslims, writing books was the privilege of the scholars², in recent years only the mullahs have held teaching positions and have started to be critical of people who write.

25–30 years ago khazret³ damella Shigabuddin Marjani wrote some works on history and religion, but a lot of excellent writings still remain unfinished. Kayyum Nasiri is also famous for several short stories, calendars and translations. However, these do not amount to much. It would appear that nothing, apart from the Quran, has been published in the Arabic print, and that only Kazan University has an Arabic printing press.

We should also be grateful that we are living in better times in comparison with the previous period, the number of printing houses is growing constantly, and new, useful books and compositions are published by mullahs every year.

If we examine closely the Tatars' past deeds and compare them with the present time, it will be clear that they possess astuteness and perception in all spheres. There are no obstacles to progressive development, the decrees of the Russian government are loyal enough; moreover, the government is eager to help in any respect.

Books in Arabic print have started to be published and distributed in Kazan and other areas. A lot of books have been published in the University and the Chirkovaya printing houses; the 'Tardjeman' printing house has recently been opened in Bakhchysaray, in the Crimea by the Muslim administration; in Saint Petersburg, thanks to Ilyas Mirza Boragatsky's⁴ efforts, an Islamic printing house⁵ has been opened for publishing Muslim books in Arabic print. In the latter two volumes of 'Mishkat al-Masabih' were published twice over a short period, the first time lithographically, the second time by letterpress printing, 5,000 copies in total. A lot of our mullahs have found various ways of publishing poems, short stories and many other books on science, morality, history, and works written by the Tatars have even appeared in foreign newspapers.

Everyone knows that for the assiduous, bold and strong there are no obstacles on their path through life; he who tries succeeds. The assiduous will level mountains to the ground, the strong will rend steel hawsers; thanks to mutual help and cooperation one can improve matters in the state. We cannot deny everything; initially, anything can seem disgusting to a person and be rejected, but later on by degrees they will be able to accept it.

Even those who used to say that scholars should not write books, as everything necessary had already been written about, now have taken up quills and begun writing and publishing various compositions, some of them in Tatar, some in Turkic, others—in a mixture of the two languages. Everything that was written has been accepted by society and sold in thousands of copies; there have been no obstacles either on the part of the government or on the part of anyone else.

In spite of that, however, desirable progress is not visible, for in the past there were many scholars who were prominent and celebrated personalities; even every vilayet and village used to have its own scholarly circle, but now they do not. In the era of progress, having great opportunities, we have no scholars. To speak of there being no scholars is to take a very grave step, for every vilayet has a well-appointed madrasah. So how can we talk about a lack of scholars? All the same, I aver that there are no scholars, and I will advance reasons with which not everyone will be in agreement.

² In this case, the word 'scientists' means Islamic clergymen—mullahs and imams—who constituted the most educated strata of the Tatar society.

³ Hazret—an honourable title which is added to the name—also used to denote an educated religious figure.

⁴ Ilyaz mirza Boragatsky (1852 to the end of the 1920s)—a publisher, typographer, pedagogue.

⁵ I. Boragatsky's typography was opened in 1894 in Saint Petersburg. It issued scientific, public-political and religious literature in the Kazakh, Crimean-Tatar, Arabic and Persian languages..

It is necessary to show at least some evidence of the lack of scholars. To state their presence or absence we should first of all pay attention to the morals, life and the atmosphere around simple people.

20–30 years ago, mutual help and support, exaltation of scholars and respect for elders, compassion for the young and many other fine traits were widespread among the Tatars, and in particular women-folk were distinguished by their purity and decency. The Tatars treated other nations or peoples well. Drinking of alcohol was rare, and never in public, and smoking was considered evil. A five-fold Namaz was observed in mosques in front of a large number of people. Reconciliation between two people was considered as a duty of scholars. They also judged, disseminated knowledge, and had the last word in disputes. Any member of mahallah feared the imam and obeyed his every word.

We can thus say that in former times there used to be genuine scholars, whose words were respected and followed by mahallah.

If we pay attention to the current situation, it is completely unclear if there are scholars or not. On observing simple people carefully we can see hostility among them. In each town, village and even mahallah there are two rich men or two aqsqaqs, or one rich man and one mullah, who, being enemies, seek for support among their friends and relatives, look for drawbacks in each other, thereby splitting a mahallah into two or three parts, and for days on end they lay traps for each other. Hostility and trials are spread not only in the mahallah, but even between brothers and cousins, relatives, between a mother and her son. There is no better way to destroy a people or a nation than by fomenting hostility. Hostility is the gravest tribulation, and is the cause of blood and tears. It makes towns, villages, and great powers to perish, and nations to disappear. To prevent hostility and to ameliorate the current situation we need scholars, but can there be found in all Russia even a single scholar?

With us there remains not a trace of friendship, each is only concerned about themselves, for friendship is viewed only for the advantages it might bring. Such notions as mercy, help, and compassion do not exist. How many hungry and sick children of the poor wander in the streets and, in the end, perish, how many orphan girls ask for alms near the gates or in front of a mosque, and then, when barely adult, begin flirting with those same children near that same mosque! Later, after they fall under the eye of a policeman, they take a downward path...

There are no orphanages to provide for these unfortunates, and no adults to teach and raise them. In recent years, thanks to the efforts of certain officials and prominent persons, charities have been set up in some towns, but they are not supported either; moreover, people put obstacles in the way of charity.

According to a respected citizen of Astrakhan, during a performance in Kasimov in favour of a charity, local khazrets issued a fatwa against visiting the theatre. The next day, when the revenues from the performance were directed to the theatre's needs, all the khazrets with their wives set out for the performance. What can society do in the face of such a state of affairs? Orphanages have been built in some towns, but there is no money to maintain them. An orphanage was opened three years ago, but none of the orphans has been given a piece of bread since. At present there are 5–6 charity societies in Russia currently; they have names and members, but no funds. The lack of funds, like an Indian plague, has spread everywhere.

It is amazing—surely there are some rich people among the Tatars! Or is the money used for something else? The Tatars seem to have money, there are said to be millionaires as well. These people cannot find a lawful way of giving alms, which is obligatory under sharia. But non-obligatory alms are taken up by a khazret, who appears quite fortuitously, and in return the rich are rewarded (sawāb) for it.

We can say that our beys expect rewards only in one respect, that is, in sacrificing small sums they hope for a great reward, having no thoughts about the future. Believing that the ass thinks about tomorrow, and living according to but one rule they gradually turn themselves into asses. If people thought about the future, then a town or mahallah would not worry about their population: they would raise shakirds capable of becoming imams who would teach the children of the poor in high schools and academies. Everyone knows what should be done for the future, but the Tatars have none of it. When in some town an imam passes on, the beys, soliciting a good imam from a poor village with money, appoint him as a replacement. That imam moves away, and the poor and miserable villagers remain without an imam, as they do not have either money or a decent candidate to elect a new one. What can these poor people do, how will they raise their children, in whom will they confide their woes...

Beys will always manage to find a mullah: when the next one dies they will take a mullah from another poor village again. Kazan beys have already taken all the village mullahs. It can be said that not one decent mullah remains around Kazan. Even if several of them remained, one would be needed for the khazret of Gallyam appointment, another—for the position in Samarkand. This also constitutes evidence of the lack of scholars.

Another important reason for the lack of scholars is the blessing of an old mullah and ostabika⁶. It is also a common misfortune. Clerics' children, on becoming makhdums⁷, are seduced with public money and get literally no education (especially if they possess at least some beauty). By the age of 20, a makh-dum's status is completely clear, and the old khazret himself starts to divine the makhdum's intentions.

One day a khazret invites beys, aqsaqals and the most garrulous villagers to his house and complains about his old age: 'Oh, I am old! I'm in bad health! Glory to Allah, the makhdums have grown up, so how can we not be aging? Badreddin Agai, I want to ask you: do you think it is time to make a determination for a makhdum? If he remains in the forthcoming selection, then I will be able to leave my post'.

The old men exclaim unanimously: 'Very well! We need that! That's the right way!'

Straightaway they start drawing up the determination, the pretender passed the exam, the makhdum is exempted from the conscription and becomes the imam...

If the khazret dies without settling the matter, then it is completed by the ostabika. There is no doubt that the makhdum will become the imam. However, as soon as the makhdum becomes the imam, the madrasah is closed, its shakirds leave, and the ostabika's blessing ends it all...

Sometimes poor men can also become mullahs. Children of the poor roam the streets (some of them have run away from their stepmothers, others—from extreme poverty or having no mentor), and finding nowhere to spend the night enter a madrasah. Changing from one madrasah to another, and beginning to distinguish between black and white, they become khalfas⁸ of beys' children. In some time, having learnt a few expressions and a couple of words from introductions [to books], they begin writing letters ornamented like 'Sharkha Mullah' and 'Tauzikh'. As a result, they draw the beys' attention, and the latter make them mullahs.

However, by that time, having spent half of his life in poverty and destitution, this man is already 40. He spends two years to become an imam; he travels to Cheboksary or Yekaterinburg to sit the examination, and that takes another year; after that he gets the decree. But he himself is poor, he has no wife, he has not this, he has not that—and in that way he spends a further 5 or 6 years, by which time he turns 50. <...>

We must now put all our efforts into the sphere of enlightenment, helping each other, and as soon as possible we must study sciences and acquire the skills of a trade. Nowadays everyone can learn in the way which is most accessible for them; it is too early to raise the question of creating our own programmes and methods, as it is almost impossible to put this necessity across to the people. Firstly, we have no people who are capable of creating such programmes and methods, and even if one such person were found it could not be done single-handedly. In the state schools there are people who are known in the world of pedagogy, there are text-books published with the support of some society, and there are certain accepted rules. However, the situation with this problem remains unsatisfactory, which is permanently being covered in the pages of our newspapers and journals. So it is too early for us to study methods, as we do not know which of them are useful; we have no methods that have been generally approved and tested. We were told that the most effective one was a new method, and after setting off for Istanbul we brought back new methods for whose analysis we needed to fetch a mudarris from the fish market.

Now everyone must put in more effort to explain and teach something with those methods and rules that they themselves possess. There is no use in disputes, since the goal of reading is knowledge, the goal of teaching is learning. But whatever the methods are, there is one goal. So there is obvious futility in disputation and also in writing diverse compositions on that subject. It is unwise to pose the question whether this or that teaching method is lawful according to Islam. The best response to that would be silence. <...>

Source: G. Ibrahimov. *Mir'at yaki közge. Berenche jöz'e*. Saint Petersburg, 1900. P. 5–29.

The Birth of a Human

<...> There are sensible people who do not use their wit, thus making no good either to themselves or to others. But if someone uses their wit every day, ruminating on the beneficial and evil aspects of a matter, then their wit develops every day and every year to the extent that they are able to predict events 100 years in advance. They will be able to tell what nations and states should expect in future, and their words will come true. They will manage to rule the state being able to predict future demands and ad-

⁶ Ostabika—a prioress teaching secular and spiritual disciplines.

⁷ Makhdum—sons of clergymen..

⁸ Halfa—teacher.

verse circumstances. Those who do not use their wit and know nothing cannot even say what they have in their homes, and so they cannot be masters there.

What I mean to say is that we, that is the Tatars, have wit, Allah has made us sensible along with other nations, we have no drawbacks. However, from failure to use our wit, we have already spent 100 years in the same state, without endeavouring to take a step forward; we know nothing about the current situation, to say nothing of the future; we do not distinguish bad from good; we live like our parents and grandparents did; we eat, drink, and barely distinguish ourselves from animals—all this is the consequence of thoughtlessness, or more precisely, of ignorance. For when someone has knowledge he constantly reads books and thinks. Whereas in former times one could observe such a situation, and there were people who had mastered a trade, now they have become extinct because of laziness, and even their names are forgotten. There were also people without a trade, but, with some effort, they managed to become the owners of the world. Constant thinking develops wit, enlarges perception—in the end all this is of use for both the person concerned and also for the nation. The spreading of knowledge is also a science, enhancing respect is also a science. All knowledge vanishes without science. <...>

Wherever we look, we will not find a Muslim heading anything worthwhile. There are a lot of ministerial institutions in the capital, Saint Petersburg; Tatars not only do not manage anything worthy, they are not even deputies to the managers. There are about 10,000 Tatars in Saint Petersburg now. We can distinguish a group of Astrakhan Tatars among them who engage in one trade. The rest are beggars, street cleaners and similar workers. Several times a year they are visited by *ishans*,⁹ to whom, in their ignorance, they pay out their hard-earned money for a *sadaqah*,¹⁰ and in exchange receive a *fatiha*.¹¹ They are also visited by mullahs who collect money to build a mosque, and in exchange these unfortunates receive a *sawāb*.¹² They are steeped in ignorance; it would be better to spend the money given to the *ishans* and a mosque on building a *maktab* or a *madrasah*, where they could teach their children the Tatar and Russian languages. Now, having learnt from experience, we know that a mere blessing is not enough, we must put in effort and in all things follow the example of our Prophet. He restricted himself to one *fatiha*, dug trenches in the ruins with his own hands, and tried to find the cause of what had happened. Great scholars and Allah's disciples never collected the petty *sadaqah*, and foreign scholars do not involve themselves in such an unworthy matter; the law does not allow begging for the reason of being an *ishan* or a scholar. If someone is actually poor, they must tie a bag round their neck to make the alms-giver know that he is giving alms to a beggar; and we give alms to *ishans*. Under such circumstances the imams of a *mahallah* are in an exclusive position as they receive a legal salary in their parish. So, if we raise our children in the right way, they will not be seduced by *ishans*' deceit and will be able to distinguish for themselves where lies the good, and where the bad, and will start thinking about future. <...>

Until recently the education of girls was thought improper. Only unusual people gave their daughters to an *ostabika*, who taught them how to read in Tatar, a few prayers and a short *surah* from the Quran—everything that the *ostabika* herself knew. But girls never received a complete education, and did not learn crafts. The *khazrets* had always insisted: 'Do not teach girls to write, do not let them climb the roof of the house'. Evidently, teaching girls in Russian was regarded as a sin.

But now, Allah be praised, we hear that schools for girls have appeared. Women with an excellent education and broad views are known. Women have published books.

Recently, girls who have received a Russian education have appeared. Many of us have heard of the girl from a village of Belebey uyezd who studied in Saint Petersburg and learnt Russian, French and English. Then she returned to her village and began to look after orphan girls and girls from poor families. A lot of people helped her, in accordance with their powers and abilities. Recently, a man coming from those places has said that the girl is feeding and educating about 50 girls, paying for it herself. <...>

The problem of female education has become widely discussed among the Tatars, and some *beys* have even had the courage to give an education to their wives, who have begun reading the Quran and learning the Arabic and Persian languages.

⁹ *Ishan*—a Sufi tutor; an honourable name for religious authorities, experts of religious disciplines, and people famous for their virtue.

¹⁰ *Sadaqah*—alms.

¹¹ *Al-Fatiha*—the name of the Quran's first *surah*. Also means 'blessing'.

¹² *Sawāb*—a reward for a good deed.

Our women possess many skills; Tatar girls work in telegraph stations and cash desks, they are in charities and trade associations, zemstvo administration, and perform in the theatre. We hear about a Tatar girl who has performed at the Vienna Opera. <...>

Source: G. Ibrahimov. *Mir'at sani yakhud ikenche közge*. Saint Petersburg, 1900. P. 3–5, 9–12, 17–20.

Piety

Muslims are currently associated with laziness, unemployment and poverty. <...> Some write that it is Islam that call Muslims to idleness and poverty. However, we have come to such a state because we have put aside those books which form the essence of Islam, and have begun living on the basis of books that are poorly related to our religion, such as 'Akhyr Zaman'¹³, 'Badavam'¹⁴ and others of that kind. We would not have come to such a state if we had guided ourselves exclusively by the Quran and Hadiths of the Prophet. Our sharia is based on wonderful traditions and humanity, and it guards us from useless deeds. The deeds allowed by Islam are equal to wisdom and bear witness to the benefits. Every deed that is forbidden by our religion is evil. <...>

In this connection, the problem of banks is an exceptional matter, as, on the one hand, they are evil, and on the other, very useful. In general, transactions with interest become haram¹⁵ only when they are made between two people. <...>

A part of a bank should be public, and there is no doubt that the state would see to its development. According to the law and rules, it is proper to give money at interest to a simple and honest person.

Source: G. Ibrahimov. *Mir'at sani yakhud ikenche közge*. Saint Petersburg, 1900. P. 32–34.

Every place will have its word, every square—its public figure

We have already talked a lot about the necessity of educating children, and we repeat it once more. State schools are always open for us, and so we should use them, and not spend our life idly.

There have been many false rumours among the Tatars recently; having believed that the Russian government desires to teach children Russian so as to russify them in future. So the Tatar population started to act thoughtlessly and unnecessarily. People from several villages decided to move to Turkey; some of them, having lost all their property and moved to Turkey, returned to Russia in the end. How many serious diseases they have risked—it is all the consequence of ignorance. In Russia, religious freedom is stated by the law. In solving the religious problem, the government have opened the Spiritual Assembly for us, have appointed the mufti and qadis, have established special laws and procedure. If we had received education at the appropriate time we would not listen to false rumours now and would not have deceived ourselves.

To correct this matter we have to give our children to the state schools. In that there is no harm to religion, as these schools are based on a programme, regulations and rules. There is nothing taught above the programme, Muslim children also learn in accordance with the programme, and during the holidays they can learn at home in Tatar and Arabic, it is not forbidden. The government will say nothing against that, they will not attract to their religion, so you should not believe such unconfirmed words. <...>

We, Muslims who live in Russia, must not forget all the good done for us by Russian tsars; we should be grateful for everything that they have done for our religion. The greatness of Russia rests in the fact that, after conquering part of Siberia, it sent scientists there, who introduced the Russian government so favourably that the local Muslims, known as the Bukharans and the Sarts,¹⁶ joined Russia willingly. We must always remember those good deeds and be grateful. <...>

Oh, Muslims! What else do you need? The kindness of Emperor Nicholas II of Russia knows no limits. A special committee is currently studying and discussing measures in order to take Muslims to Hijāz and back. Thus, the government themselves are taking useful measures for the sake of our religion.

¹³ 'Axir zaman kitabi'—a monument of the religious-didactic literature. The authorship is attributed to S. Bakyr-gani. The Doomsday, Qiyāmah, and otherworldly life are described in the book.

¹⁴ 'Badavam'—a monument of the Tatar religious-didactic literature. The author is unknown. Devoted to a criticism of pagan customs and rituals and propaganda of Islam's basic concepts..

¹⁵ Haram—forbidden.

¹⁶ The Sarts—the general name of certain population groups inhabiting Central Asia in the 18 and 19th centuries. Before the Revolution of 1917, the name 'Sart' was used mostly by the Kazakhs and a semi-nomadic part of the Uzbeks in regards to the sedentary Uzbeks and sometimes to plain Tadjiks.

We hope that in the near future our people educated in schools will be able to translate scientific literature and belles-lettres from Russian into Tatar, will teach our religious brothers to think, will be useful to the nation and the government.

One cannot waste one's precious time. Despite the fact that we remain behind Europe, in comparison with <...> Muslims from other countries our condition is much better. We have scholars, manufacturers, gold-miners, merchants, and we have madrasahs.

But our khazrets and heads of the houses, having put a sack over their head, undertake many actions to spoil the relations between Muslims, from which they have almost made them extinct. That is why the government, in order to resolve the situation, have issued a decree on obligatory knowledge of the Russian language for those who are elected imams in a mahallah. If imams are people speaking Russian, they will not allow such ignorant actions and will cause general changes. Still, we must not reproach the old khazrets too much, they are travelers; we must get their blessing and let them go; we must not offend them, we will always need their blessing. There is hope that if their fatiha marches with the wit of our youth then our situation will rapidly improve.

Source: G. Ibrahimov. *Mir'at salis yakhud echenche közge*. Saint Petersburg, 1900. P. 2–4, 8–11.

* * *

The aim of 'Mir'at' is to show the way and give necessary advice for the future of Muslim brothers. Each nation makes efforts to provide for its future, seeks paths, and even now thinks of its children's and grandchildren's futures.

As we can see, our compatriots—the Russians—are currently developing industry and using natural resources very actively; the number of scholars and specialists among them is growing; their schools are improving year by year; their trade spreads from the West to the East. It is the Russians who are most of all engaged in useful crafts in the towns, and each of them puts great efforts into their occupation. The Tatars completely lack industry, some of them are involved in trade, but in comparison with other nations living in the same territory their trade is restricted and poor. Jewish, Armenian, Polish, Finnish, Russian and Ukrainian manufacturers and millionaires carry on trade between the East and West, work day and night to increase their fortunes, yet we content ourselves with little.

There are all the necessary tradesmen in Russian villages: blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, bricklayers. But in Tatar villages there are no such tradesmen, despite the fact that they are big and rich. Blacksmiths and tailors come when needed from Russian villages, and the Tatars care only about their food and, perhaps, a little about their money. There are even villages where all the local Tatars are given food and drink by the only Russian trader, and the Tatars themselves do not have even one grocery shop. Or a Jewish trader opens a shop in an Islamic village and launches an active trade, and the local women buy threads from him at three times the normal price.

No matter how much we try, Muslims cannot be changed as they lack even the knowledge needed at the initial stage of social reform. It is impossible to change for the better a people that does not possess knowledge or unity. They are still arguing about the teaching method in madrasahs; mullahs, having captured their decrees, do not even remember the faithful, no one worries about children's education; moreover, they can scold someone who brings a khalfa to teach children and can say 'you have nothing to do in my madrasah, I myself have a khalfa who has been lying in vain for 30 years already'. Thus, the khazret does not either enter the madrasah himself or let somebody else in (so he is like a dog in the manger: he himself does not eat, yet does not allow others to do so).

I would like to write that the majority of khazrets are like that, but they are not in the majority, but they are common. There are very few precious people who really teach, and so we can say there aren't any at all. Our imams do not like teaching, that is why they give no education to their children. There are those among known and respected khazret-ishans who, giving their children to khalfas, say that they will not pay for the education as it contradicts sharia, and give orders to teach their children for sadaqah¹⁷, demanding to give them knowledge in all the sciences for a ruble per year. What can a miserable khalfa do in that situation, manifesting humanity? He sets about teaching, and later the khazrets will blame the khalfa for their children's poor education. At the same time, those khazrets pay 25 rubles a month to teach their daughters Russian. beys kiss such khazrets' hands, and no one except the miserable khalfas pays attention to children in madrasahs. 'Mir'at' can only feel sorry about the situation, we can do nothing else.

¹⁷ Sadaqah—alms.

Source: G. Ibrahimov. *Mir'at yaki közge. Unynchy jöz'e*. Saint Petersburg, 1902. P. 4–6.

Education and Enlightenment

The name of a scholar is eternal. Even when the scholar himself passes on or leaves no descendants, his name will live on. Education means respect and honour in this and the next world. If we take all the hadiths¹⁸ and ayahs¹⁹ devoted to knowledge, we could write a whole book. But, unfortunately, if we look at Muslims' current state, we will see that it (education.—*L. B.*) has nothing to do with them. The only goal that the Tatars seek when getting an education is the wish to become an imam. They believe that only having become an imam can you receive respect and fame in life as well as after death. How grievously mistaken they are!

The Russians have progressed so much with the help of education: they level mountains to the ground, unite towns, communicate by telegraph and telephone having linked two distant points with a thin cable, and they have lit up their towns brightly. They do unbelievable things and never stop. We share towns and the land with this people, but do not even try to reach their level, only blame them. We do not see our mistakes, our drawbacks, and do not realise our decline.

Our scholars must constantly and each Friday summon the people to education and enlightenment, at every Majlis must they find the necessary words that will help to make people interested in getting knowledge. We must summon them to get an education in state schools, high schools and at the universities. Knowledge is vital and is, no doubt, a treasure that can save people's honour, decency, nationality and religion.

An educated person will never be in need, and will not be humiliated or insulted.

Humanity consists in education and enlightenment. Muslims! Brothers! Teach your children; if you do not nurture your children, you will be responsible to Allah and to the people.

Source: G. Ibrahimov. *Mir'at yaki közge. Unykenche jöz'e*. Saint Petersburg, 1902. P. 9–11.

Charities

Russian Muslims have established a few charities recently, but no one knows what benefit accrues from them... <...>

A Charter is a precious thing. According to the rules, the beginning of the year is meant for accounts, but in our charities the accounts are written in March. The rules should fix a certain sum for annual purposes. No one among us remembers about the estimate: in accounting for elections, they state as costs what they have spent on those who applauded and screamed 'bravo' to them during the election; they point out that they have had these or those costs and revenues in the recent two or three years, but it remains unknown where the money came from and what it was spent on, for if they made it all public, many people would probably be offended. Why they should be offended is unclear.

Actually, it is this offence which has led the Tatars to this condition. In our opinion, people holding such positions in the similar organisations should not pay attention to others' susceptibility and should not be offended themselves by rightful words addressed to them; on the contrary, they should be thankful for their drawbacks being highlighted; only in this event will the nation begin developing. Generals and officers²⁰ should serve as an example to us, it is out of the question to cover up for each other in such matters. Officials and famous people should always be the example we emulate. Such people should not consider only themselves clever; there are people at the meetings who hang on to their every word and their evil actions, which can lead to being expelled from membership.

In the account books of the first year only half of the necessary number of members is fixed; in the second year, there aren't any at all; and, thus, it becomes harder and harder to find new members year by year. In our opinion, it should be written down in the account books who exactly the help was given to; otherwise, it is not worth asking for help. There is no reason to be offended. There can be no offence in public matters, the matters should be run in accordance with the accepted rules.

What is the aim of charities? It must be understood, and we must act in compliance with that aim. My wish is to direct charities so that we do not feel ashamed of them. That is what I call on the members of the charities to do.

¹⁸ Hadith—a tale about Prophet Muhammad's words and deeds which relates different religious and legal sides of the Islamic community's life..

¹⁹ Ayah—a verse of the Quranic text which has an independent semantic value.

²⁰ Ibragimov writes it in reference to the St. Petersburg Islamic Charitable Society.

Source: G. Ibrahimov. *Mir'at yaki közge. Unechenche jöz'e*. Saint Petersburg, 1903. P. 13–16.

Once again about charities

We have already written about charities, having highlighted in the 13th issue of 'Mir'at' some of their drawbacks. After that, some members of those organisations have taken offence as they did not understand the essence of our words, so we believe it necessary to raise the question again. Furthermore, in 1902–1903 all the members of Saint Petersburg Charity who are decent and ideal people will not spend a kopeck of the organisation in vain, and will make no mistakes in spending. However, wisdom is not in spending the money—that is not the problem. The main thing is to collect money, and here the members of the organisation can be of little help, so that 'Mir'at' objective consists in disclosing this problem. The members of Saint Petersburg Charity need to resolve the following matters: where to find money for the organisation; how to increase the organisation's funds, and how to make Muslims and people in general happy; how to make the status of the organisation known to the Russians, French, English, Bashkirs, Tatars and everyone else who arrives in Saint Petersburg; what useful things 10–15 rubles could be spent on; or if money should be earned with a calendar published for the needs of the organisation; or if it is worth publishing announcements or advertisements. But none of these things worries the members of the organisation. 'Mir'at' will always draw attention to these deficiencies. The members of the charity hold meetings once a month only to allocate money, but not to collect it. They are not able to ask a rich man, who has come to the town, for money, even if that man publicly announces a donation, they cannot ask him for the money, but wait till the rich man personally suggests coming and taking the money. But no one invites them, so the money meant for the organisation does not reach it. Of course, some could ask why the sponsor does not bring the money himself, and 'Mir'at' will respond: if that man is a Tatar and has decided to make such a large donation, he expects to be treated with respect. Such people prefer to give money so that everyone knows about it, that is why they stretch their hand as high as possible to make the coins ring. No matter how arrogant the sponsor is, we should not blame him; the one who takes the money should be submissive and humble, giving thanks for every ruble he gets; it can be learnt from the khazrets, who have great experience in this matter. Everyone must learn from his mistakes. Everyone who has given somebody 10–15 kopecks talks about it whenever he can; a person donating a few thousand rubles also endeavours to let people know about it, and we cannot blame him.

I will not tire of repeating: the members of charities should act within the framework of their charter, should find ways to increase the organisation's funds, should pay a secretary 10 rubles a month to keep control of matters, and give him money for petty cash, then the secretary would be more attentive and careful, he will write prompt letters of thanks to sponsors. At all events, there must be no empty words, things must be done. You cannot blame the mirror, it reflects all your defects, and that is what its function is. <...>

A charity should indicate those places where its financial support has been given: this student or shakird was given that money; this money was given to bury the poor; this sum was given to orphans; all the donations should be written down with names. If the address of the needy is known someone else could help them; it must also be published in newspapers.

Source: G. Ibrahimov. *Mir'at yaki közge. Unjidenche jöz'e*. Saint Petersburg, 1903. P. 7–9.

Zakat and charitable organisations

In past times beys gathered the poor to declare the amount of their zakat; the latter, after hearing that beys were giving zakat, came from miles around a week before the proposed event and quartered in the homes of the same poor. For 10 arshines of coarse calico or 5 arshines of calico, they come from 30 miles away and wait for a week. Because of a bey who had promised to give two thousand rubles of zakat, so many hundreds of people stopped working. At the same time as the poor, after receiving a piece of bey's zakat, go straight to the pub where they leave the zakat they received for nothing, our scholars say not one word. In our nation there are people whose fortune amounts to two, three or even five million, for which the required amount of zakat is 1000, or 100 thousand rubles. Handing out such huge sums of money to the needy, at the same time, it is impossible to give to one person more than the due amount of zakat. Therefore, a man who is giving zakat is faced with many problems. In this situation, the members of the charitable organisations, elected by general consensus of the Muslim community and approved by the government, should provide assistance to those people who give zakat and sadaqah. The people who collect zakat can be paid wages out of this money. In this case, a charitable organisation acts like an

Islamic Bank. If Muslim scholars agree with this opinion and write their solution to this problem, we will publish it with great pleasure.

However, there is one detail: an obvious aim should be the basis of any action. The goal of the majority of Muslims is the preservation of Islam, so charities should change their activities, subordinating themselves to this purpose, and seek the funds which are required for the needs of Muslims. To do this, the rules of the charities should state that only pious and righteous people can become their members; elected members also need to issue a manual where all their duties will be written, only in this case our zakats, spent in accordance with the Sharia, will become useful to God.

Lately, there has been a lack of manners among our women, particularly the Kazan Tatar women. They look quite healthy, their speech is literate, however, they are only interested in clothes, they don't care about reality, they are not aware of events that are taking place outside of the home, they do not think about the future, and furthermore, they do not perform their duties—the upbringing of children. We have to educate our women so that they can fit into today's life and our world and to teach them all the necessary things for this world and the other one. We need to precisely define their responsibilities. All of this is written in our Holy book. First of all, we need to know it. By nature, women are imperfect, so if you equalize them with men, a new people would be created. If all are equal, then women should serve as porters, drivers, cab drivers, and soldiers, but women can't do this. There are several activities that are not obligatory for women, as they are not able to do them. In this case, equality between men and women is out of the question. It is no doubt that women are less capable. Even in Europe men design women's clothing, although this activity should only be for women. In Europe, all the cooks are men; you will not see any woman-cook there, despite the fact that this work is purely for females. Generally, there are much fewer women than men in high schools, classes of geometry, mathematics, and other exact sciences, as evident by tests in schools. Only in France, women enjoy the same freedom and rights as men. Among women there are doctors, lawyers; they are found in all the professions except for magistrates or district judges. If they are equal, what could they achieve? There are no women among the deputies, there are still many situations where they cannot become the equals of men. To talk about equality, firstly, we need to balance the two. Women have their special duties, which men may not carry out, for example, how can men breastfeed babies? Therefore, without having considering this issue thoroughly, it is impossible to talk about equality. According to Sharia, women have more rights than men. First, men should feed women; secondly, the upbringing of children is the duty of fathers, not of mothers; a man must provide a woman with housing, if a wife tells her husband that she cannot live in the same house with his parents, the husband should provide her with a separate house; Sharia law does not force women to breast-feed babies. Therefore, in order to make a final decision regarding women, everything must be considered. Of course, men and women can never be equal, but it would be wrong to obscure the legal rights of women. Women living in the villages work more than salaried employees, they take care of the cattle, milk cows, stoke the stove, cook meals, mow the hay, and pull a cart like a donkey; these unfortunate women, their husbands beat them with whips, throw dishes at them, demean them—these poor women are starting to regret that they were born. However, no one remembers that women have rights, too. Even the manifestos of Russian parties say nothing about the rights of women, and we put up with when a man hurts a woman. The Social Democrats don't notice it, although women are the guardians of the farm. Somehow, supporters of equality are more worried about urban women, the wives of the beys, who are sitting within four walls, striving to open the doors of their home.

I want to repeat once again: the members of the charities should accept zakat, and the society should distribute this money for the needs of Muslims, and then there will be no doubt about the legitimacy of these expenses.

The state provides official assistance to charitable organisations in raising money for the needs of Muslims, imams read Friday Namaz's glorifying state aid. Due to government decrees and assistance, the decisions of qadis become more official. Thus, on the basis of these rules, the members of charitable organisations are confirmed as officials. Support for charity organisations will wholly bring us good.

The source: G. Ibrahimov. *Mir'at yaki közge*. Eguerme berenche cöz'e. Saint Petersburg, 1908. P. 7–11

The woman question

For Russian Muslims, 'the woman question' firstly refers to the problem of hijab.²¹ Tatar scholars, beys, and many others know only two answers to this problem—needing to cover up or not needing to

²¹ Hijab—a chador, mantle, or coverlet an Islamic woman puts on when going out.

cover up. After proclaiming the equality of women and men, we did not think of anything other than mutual walks in the garden and visits to the theatre.

In fact, this problem is very important. It is impossible to make the wrong decision. Like any other problem that concerns our people, this problem is also strongly underestimated.

First of all, we must find out the needs of our women. What is their current situation? What are their duties? What rights do they have? For each of these issues, we need to talk in detail.

What do our unfortunate companions need now? We don't know. What do they need for the afterlife? We don't know. We don't even know what position they are currently in.

No one asks: 'Oh, women! Why do you need diamonds, pearls, and multiple rings, why do you turn into mannequins'. If poor women had any sense, would they be happy with these trifles? If women possessed intelligence, would they sell all their rings and earrings, spending the earned money to fill their heads with thoughts and knowledge? Due to their lack of knowledge and education, they do not know about their rights; being covered with gold and silver, they do not think about that, nor about the afterlife. If today, a woman's husband dies, then tomorrow she will be hungry; if she becomes a rich widow, she will not be able to manage the money. To spend it, she marries again, often the second husband is a drunkard, and in a few years they squander all the fortune.

For a woman to support herself, she needs to learn some craft. If she's the wife of a rich husband, she must learn to keep registries at least for small expenses in the shop of her husband. If a woman is poor, she should, according to her position, learn some craft, at least cooking. Anyway, after divorce or if she has become a widow, a woman should not cry, she must possess the craft that can ensure her life.

The source: G. Ibrahimov. *Mir'at yaki közge*. Eguerme berenche cöz'e. Saint Petersburg, 1908. P. 4–5.

Letters from readers

The letter from Orenburg

To dear Gabdrashit effendi khazret

Gabdrashit efendi! I have known you for many years, but with the release of 'Mirrors' I began to understand you better. I have wanted to write you a letter, but I didn't have an opportunity. However, now I am in such a state that I can forget about all of my affairs, as I can not help but write to you. I am a merchant, I live in Siberia; at the moment I am in Moscow to buy some goods, and on the way, I had to stop for one day in Chelyabinsk. Making use of this stop, I decided to meet with khazrets which were extremely unhappy after having recognised themselves in your 'Mirror'. After Chelyabinsk, I went to Troitsk, where I had the same situation: many were so traumatised by the first 'Mirror' that they could not even look at the second one. However, there were people who praised 'Mirror'; among them, there were learned scholars, but these scholars were not of those mullahs who prefer the sweet crunchy bottom of the cake...

On the day of Eid al-Adha I was in Orenburg, where the most interesting events were taking place. For prayers, I went to the mosque in the lower mahallah. There were many people, but from their gestures, it was evident that they were not familiar with Islam. Everyone knows that the mullahs should instruct such an uneducated people to study crafts and become actively involved in trade in order to increase their income and teach their child by example. However, we don't have such imams yet, thank God. In this regard, I was hoping that in Orenburg there would be at least one such person, but unfortunately, my hopes were dashed. After the festive Namaz, the local khazret pronounced an exhortation that criticised jadidists and forbade the reading of new books. I'm tired of hearing people say that you should not teach children according to the new method and that you should not teach girls; however, the last instruction of the khazret was the last straw. The mullah denies jadidists at a time when many men don't know their mother tongue and are unlearned in the Islamic faith. What could be worse than that?

I stayed in Orenburg for a few days to see my friends. Due to the holiday, I had to visit several Muslims. No matter how many times they called their Majlis scholars, I didn't notice anything like that; conversations were mainly about your 'Mirror'.

The Orenburg mullahs became scared when they recognised themselves in the 'Mirror'; of course, they did not deny the similarities, but, having no desire to look unattractive in the eyes of readers, they decided to look for flaws in the 'Mirror' itself.

You probably know that Tatar mullahs like calling someone a disbeliever (kafir) most of all. For example, someone who has not trimmed his mustache is a kafir, someone who teaches writing is a kafir, someone who has a collar serif is a kafir. They are always ready to say the word 'kafir'.

Recently I visited one Majlis, where there were a lot of mullahs, men, and rich people. The Majlis began as always with a discussion about the 'Mir'yat', though this conversation was a continuation of the previous Majlis. Someone in a turban started to say that there are controversies [in 'Mir'yat'.—*L. B.*] and there is a danger that it is blasphemy. Someone else, in confirmation of these words, added that it mocked the Sharia by forbidding driving girls to the attic, and thus there is no doubt about its godlessness. Another mullah said that the author of the 'Mirror' called Tatars dirty and smelly, and this also indicated his blasphemy. Another mullah cited the fact that it taught girls the Russian language as evidence of godlessness. While the mullahs tried to prove its godlessness, one of those present said to them: 'Khazrets! Shame on you for spending your time in having such conversations. You sit in the corner and while eating a pie accuse a man of blasphemy. Do you really think that if you call a person a kafir, it is indeed so? Who gave you the right to accuse a man of profanity? Do you hope that due to your accusations the author of 'Mir'yat' will stop writing? You followers of the prophet and the guardians of Islam, if there is something contrary to the Shariah and knowledge in 'Mir'yat', then take a pen and write about it, point to the error. What is the point of you, like turkeys, arguing in this Parliament? If you scare turkeys, they fluff their tails and begin to clang, and you are no different: you cannot hear each other, and even your ears do not hear what your mouths utter. Your words are dirty, their existence is filled with conjecture and speculation. Well, we live in Russia, if this happened in Bukhara, you would have already issued a fatwa about the hanging of the author of 'Mir'yat', and some illiterate man, considering it a noble cause, would have gotten out the rope. You used to talk about the new method and called its supporters atheists; after a while, you began to use the method in training. If you had a conscience you would feel shame when appearing among the people and would not call those who serve their nation and religion infidels'.

I was very surprised to hear these words. I was glad that there was a man who managed to speak out in front of the mullahs, who could not answer his charges. After the Majlis, I inquired about the man; he turned out to be an employee of the Majlis.

Sir, do not worry, there are a lot of people who accept your work well, go on with it.

Effendi, I compare these learned mullahs with worms (microbes) that are slowly devouring everything around. The 'Mir'yat' is like a powder for them which is sprinkled on worms, after which they start writhing in pre-mortem agony. Maybe if you sprinkle even more 'Mir'yt', the scholarly class will be cleansed from such worms.

Effendi, I say it again, there are many people who highly exalt your name, so don't stop your work. Siberian merchant Sharifulla. 3 April 1900.

The source: G. Ibrahimov. *Mir'at at-tasig' yakhud tuguyzynch y közge*. Saint Petersburg, 1902. P. 4–8.

The letter form Petropavlovsk

Dear author of 'Mir't'

In our region, and perhaps throughout Russia, the following problem exists: when we address questions to our mullahs, their answer is based on their own benefit. For example, we want to know how much money mullahs should take for nikah—the funeral prayer—or for the record of a newborn, according to the Sharia. This evokes many arguments. Most of all, rural imams oppress the poor: if a poor man marries the daughter of a poor man, all of the expenses, including mahr²², equate 10 rubles. If someone's mother dies, the imam asks for a large sum of money for the funeral prayer. It would be great if the 'Mir'at' would give a clarification on this issue.

Kh. B.

'Mir't'

This problem has interested us for a long time, and it is pertinent for us to say a few words about it here. In Russia, scholars do not have special duties; when the parish chooses an imam, it promises to take care of all of his expenses, but after the appointment of the imam, the parish does not provide any money. According to the verdict, an imam's salary is the responsibility of the community, therefore, the imams should not take money for the recording of newborns, or for saying a requiem or nikah. Once in Siberia, an imam requested 25 rubles for issuing a certificate of divorce. Our imams, without knowing the legal ways of receiving their wages, take money from others. All of this is a result of a lack of necessary activity. Scholars equated the amount of fitr²³ to 8 kopecks and collect it from the poor, who have nothing to eat,

²² Mahr—property the husband apportions to his wife when they get married.

²³ Fitr—alms Muslims give out on the last day of Ramadan..

and from the rich men, who have fortunes of several thousand. This is also a result of a lack of necessary activity. The true meaning of alms given after the uraza is to show our dependence on food, which we eat all day like animals, while according to the will of Allah, we should remember those who lack food. Fitr should show our gratitude to Allah for the wealth we have and help those who are in need, to protect them from hunger. Undoubtedly, the size of the alms of rich people must correspond to their status, our imams should understand that and convey it to the people, therefore, where they took 8 kopecks from 10 men, they can collect 5 or 10 rubles. <...> However, the salaries of the mullahs should originate from the community, according to the verdict, the parish must provide for imams.

The source: G. Ibrahimov. Mir'at yakhud közge. Gadäd 15. Saint Petersburg, 1903. P. 8–10.

Nikah in Astrakhan

In the September issue of the newspaper 'Tardzheman', we had a chance to read many interesting things about nikah in Astrakhan. Thereby we think that this letter, which we received, will arouse great interest:

'The Tatars–Muslims who live in Russia—have no possibility to spend their money. Of course, these words will surprise many, but if I am able to present the proof, everyone will agree with me.

Every nation has a school, hospital, orphanages, and homes for the poor that support them. For this, someone allocates money or mentions a sum in their will, in the future, they can be sure about the strict and proper spending of this money. But we have nothing like that: there are no places where rich people can invest, if they divide money between their children, they will not donate money to charities. So they have to spend money for the nikah and other useless activities. Here the expenses spent for the marriage of their daughter or son equate to the construction of one orphanage; gifts from matchmakers, chests of clothing, food, and drink: all of these cost a fortune. The marriages of Tatar children is a source of revenue for Moscow manufacturers. At these events, everyone is trying to outdo the others; there have been instances in which the wedding of a daughter became a cause of bankruptcy. For the wedding, 15–20 troikas of white horses are prepared, a clock is ordered specially for the coachman. According to Saint Petersburg fashion, it is put on his back, after an incident in which a delayed clock led to the postponement of a wedding for three days. Alcohol consumption becomes a sign of nikah. What is the amount of mahr for the bride? During the marriage, two matchmakers agree that all that will be left after the wedding expenses—the food and drinks—will be the mahr, which the mullah records in a notebook. A poor bride doesn't get anything from this mahr. Besides this, Muslims from Astrakhan have plenty of opportunities to squander their money. Our mullahs also don't agree with this state of affairs, but they cannot oppose the rich. The rich also don't like this situation, but they are forced to continue out of a fear of judgment. This is unstoppable, moreover, there are not many places where one could invest money. Despite the fact that we have madrasahs and maktabas, we think the owner of a madrasah should finance it. Even if somebody wants to give some money, there is no special box for money in the madrasah; if he gives this money to a mullah, the latter will guzzle it. Mosques also don't know where they should invest their money. We need explanations on this matter.

The zakats of our beys are spent meaninglessly. During the sacred month of Ramadan, many people who want to receive some pieces of zakat come to the city. For 10 arshins of fabric, they spend the whole week in the city, bothering the citizens, and as a result, having received a piece of cloth, they sell it for 80 kopecks, which they drink away immediately. What is the point? It would be much better to spend the money on the needy, but our khazrets consider this way of spending money to be wrong, or that there will be much more benefit if the money is transferred to charities. Other nations spend millions on the needy, however, due to a lack of places where one can donate money, our nation is content to allocate some money for tahlil²⁴, for reading the Quran, and for the atonement of the sins of the deceased (Fidyah).

Sir! We will wait for your judgment on this question and your answer on the pages of the 'Mir'at'.

The source: G. Ibrahimov. Mir'yat-Közge. Gadäd 15. Saint Petersburg, 1903. P. 10–13

The materials were translated and prepared by Liliya Baibulatova

²⁴ Tahlil—a delivery of 'there is no God, but Allah'.

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Abbreviations

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- AASUHAMR: Archive of Astrakhan State United Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve
 ANO—Autonomous non-profit organization
 Archive of St. Petersburg IOM—Archive of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts
 AS—Academy of Sciences
 ASRO—Astrakhan Oblast State Record Office
 Brotherhood of St. Gurias—Brotherhood of Saint Gurias
 CHA BR—Central Historical Archive of Bashkortostan Republic
 CSA CR—Central State Archive of Chuvash Republic
 CSBT—Central school for baptised Tatars
 CSU—Chelyabinsk State University
 DRAFF: Department of Religious Affairs of Foreign Faiths
 ETUE HPE—Educational trade union establishment of higher professional education
 FSAEI HVE—Federal State Autonomous educational institution of higher vocational education
 FSBEI HVE—Federal State budgetary educational institution of higher vocational education
 FSBRI -Federal State Budgetary Research Institution
 FSRI—Federal State Research Institution
 GDP—General Directorate of Press
 ILLA—Institute of Language, Literature, and Arts named after G.Ibragimov
 ISRO—Ivanovo Oblast State Record Office
 JSC—Joint-stock company
 K(V)FU—Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University
 KCCTS—Kazan Central Christian Tatar School
 KED—Kazan Educational District
 KR CSA—Central State Archive of Kazakhstan Republic
 KSA—Kazan Spiritual Academy
 KSRO—Kirov Oblast State Record Office
 KSRO—Kursk Oblast State Record Office
 KST—Kazan Seminary for Non-Russian teachers
 KTTS—Kazan Tatar Teachers' School
 KU—Kazan University
 MAE RAS—Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) of Russian Academy of Sciences
 MCHA—Moscow Central Historical Archive
 MESRO—Mary El Republic State Record Office
 MIA—Ministry of Internal Affairs
 MPE -The Ministry of National Education
 MPSC—Moscow provincial Statistical Committee
 MR MFSRIHS—Manuscript fund of Scientific and Research Institute of humane studies under the Government of Mordovia Republic
 MSA—Moscow Spiritual Academy
 MSP—Ministry of State Property
 NA TR—National Archives of Tatarstan Republic
 NEI HVE—Non-state educational institution of higher vocational education
 NM BR—National Museum of Bashkortostan Republic
 NM TR—National Museum of Tatarstan Republic
 OATR—Ottoman archive under the Prime Minister of the Turkish Republic
 OCA—Orenburg Cossack Army
 OED—Orenburg educational district
 OMC—Orthodox Missionary Community
 OMSA—Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly
 OSRO—Orenburg Oblast State Record Office
 OTTS—Orenburg Tatar Teaching School
 PDGD—Police department, general division
 PFNI—Publicly funded national institution
 PS—Parochial school
 PSI—Publicly-funded scientific institutions
 PSRO—Penza Oblast State Record Office
 RAS archive—Russian Academy of Sciences Archive
 RAS IOM—Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences
 RAS—Russian Academy of Sciences
 REM—Russian Ethnographic Museum
 RGS—Imperial Russian Geographical Society
 RNL MD—Manuscripts Department of the Russian National Library
 ROC—Russian Orthodox Church
 RSAAA—Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts
 RSAN—Russian State Archive of the Navy
 RSHA—Russian State Historical Archive
 RSL MD—Manuscripts Department of the Russian State Library
 RSMHA -Russian State Military History Archive
 RSRO—Ryazan Oblast State Record Office
 RTMS—Russian and Tatar Ministry Schools
 RUR—Ryazan and Urals Railway
 RUSA—St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences Archive
 SA CSIHS—Scientific Archive of Chuvash State Institute of Humane Studies
 SA RF—State Archive of the Russian Federation
 SA SMLS- Scientific Archive of Saratov museum of local studies
 SA TSHAMR—Scientific Archive of Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum Reserve
 SAHE—Society of Archaeology, History and Ethnography
 SBEI HVE—State budget educational institution of higher vocational education
 SEI HVE—State educational institution of higher vocational education
 SHA CR—State Historical Archive of Chuvash Republic
 SHAOO—Omsk Oblast public establishment 'State Historical Archive of the Omsk Oblast'
 SL KFU MRBD—The Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books of N. I. Lobachevsky Scientific Library of Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University
 SRI—Scientific and Research Institute
 SSRO—Samara Oblast State Record Office
 STTS—Simferopol Tatar Teachers' School
 TMSB—Tauride Mohammedan Spiritual Board
 TOGI SROTO—Tyumen Oblast Government Institution 'State Record Office of Tyumen Oblast'

Translation commission—Translation Commission of the Orthodox Missionary Community at the Brotherhood of St. Guria
 TSHAR—Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Reserve
 TSRO—Tomsk Oblast State Record Office
 UCS—Urals Cossack Army
 UR CSA—Central State Archive of Udmurt Republic
 UR CSA—Central State Archive of Uzbekistan Republic
 USRO—Ulyanovsk Oblast State Record Office
 UTTS—Ufa Tatar Teachers' School
 VSRO—Voronezh Oblast State Record Office

Series of publications and periodical literature

AEBP—Archaeology and ethnography of Bashkortostan people (Ufa)
 ASTRAPOLIS—Astrakhan political researches, magazine (Astrakhan).
 BE—Bashkortostan: Brief encyclopedia (Ufa)
 BE—Bulletin of Eurasia, magazine (Kazan)
 BEK—Bulletins of the Eparchy of Kazan (Kazan)
 BIRGC—Bulletin of the Imperial Russian Geographic Community (Saint Petersburg)
 BOED—Bulletin of Orenburg educational district, magazine (Ufa)
 BSSEU—Bulletin of Saratov socio-economic university, magazine (Saratov)
 CCL—Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire (Saint Petersburg)
 CCSTR—Complete collection of scientific travelings around Russia (Saint Petersburg)
 CDI—Collection of data of income and levy of state-owned, country and public estate taxes (Saint Petersburg)
 CHB—Chuvash Humane Bulletin, magazine (Cheboksary)
 CKED—Circular on Kazan educational district (Kazan)
 CLRE—Compilation of Laws of Russian Empire (Saint Petersburg)
 CRHS—Collections of Russian Historical Society (Saint Petersburg)
 CRME—Collection of resolutions of the Ministry of Education (Saint Petersburg)
 CSDSP—Collection of statistical data of Samara province (Samara)
 CSL—Church and social life, magazine (Kazan)
 ER—Ethnographic review, magazine (Moscow)
 FD, 1998—Field data of Viktorin V., expedition of 1998 and subsequent years
 GA—EC—Gasırlar avazı—Echo of centuries, magazine (Kazan)
 HCH—Historical and cultural heritage, newspaper (Naberezhnye Chelny)
 HR—Historical Records (Moscow)
 Idel—newspaper (Astrakhan)
 JJD—Journal of Justice Department (Saint Petersburg)
 JMIA—Journal of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Saint Petersburg)
 JMNE—Journal of the Ministry of National Education (Saint Petersburg)

JRM—Journals and records of Kazan City Council meetings (Kazan)
 K-V.—Kama-Volga newspaper (Kazan)
 KC—Kazan Courier, newspaper (Kazan)
 KP—Kazan Proceedings, newspaper (Kazan)
 KSL—Kazan stock list, newspaper (Kazan)
 KT—Kazan Telegraph, newspaper (Kazan)
 MC—Military collection, magazine (Saint Petersburg)
 MCEL—Materials for comparative evaluation of lands in uyezds of Kazan guberniya (Kazan)
 MHSD—Materials on historical and statistical description of Orenburg Cossack Army (Orenburg)
 MN—Moscow News, newspaper (Moscow)
 MSKU—Materials on statistics of Krasnoufimsk Uyezd of Perm guberniya (Kazan)
 MSTR—Materials for statistics of Turkestan region, annual (Saint Petersburg)
 MSVG—Materials on statistics of Vyatka guberniya (Vyatka)
 NED—New encyclopaedic dictionary (Petrograd)
 NH—National History, magazine (Moscow)
 NIRGC—Notes of the Imperial Russian Geographic Community (Saint Petersburg)
 OBM—Orthodox Blessed Messenger, magazine (Moscow)
 OGN—Orenburg governorate news, newspaper (Orenburg)
 OI—Orthodox interlocutor, magazine (Kazan)
 OL—Orenburg Leaflet, newspaper (Orenburg)
 PGN—Penza governorate news, newspaper (Penza)
 PIKU—Proceedings of Imperial Kazan University, magazine (Kazan)
 PKRSC—Proceedings of Kazan Regional Statistic Committee (Kazan)
 PKSPI—Proceedings of Kazan State Pedagogical Institute, magazine (Kazan)
 PKSPI—Proceedings of Kustanay State Pedagogical Institute, magazine (Kustanay)
 PKSU—Proceedings of Kazan State University (Kazan)
 POAAC—Proceedings of Orenburg Academic Archival Commission (Orenburg)
 Proceedings of the Fourth Archaeological Congress—Proceedings of the Fourth Archaeological Congress in Russia, in Kazan from the 31st of July until 12th of August of 1877 (Kazan)
 PSAHE—Proceedings of the Society of Archaeology, History, and Ethnography (Kazan)
 PSSTS—Proceedings of the Scientific Society of Tatar Studies (Kazan)
 PTAAC—Proceedings of the Taurida Academic Archival Commission (Simferopol)
 QH—'Questions of History', magazine (Moscow)
 RAC—Report of administration of community for the benefit of poor Muslims in Kazan (Kazan)
 RAGOB—Report about the activity of St. Guria Orthodox Brotherhood (Kazan)
 RKSACM—Record of Kazan Spiritual Academy Council meeting (Kazan)
 RMCCSP—Report of the Muslim charity community in Saint Petersburg (Saint Petersburg)

- RRCIR—Reports and researches on craft industry in Russia
 RVCOMC—Report of Vyatka Committee of the Orthodox Missionary Community (Vyatka)
 SCRE—Statistics Chronicle of Russian Empire (Saint Petersburg)
 SE—Soviet Ethnography, magazine (Moscow)
 SEB—Simbirsk Eparchial Bulletin, newspaper (Simbirsk)
 SGB—Bulletin of Simbirsk guberniya, newspaper (Simbirsk)
 SPB—Semipalatinsk provincial bulletin, newspaper (Semipalatinsk)
 Tärceман—Tardzheman -Translator, newspaper (Simferopol)
 TB—Turkestan Bulletin, newspaper (Tashkent)
 TGB—Tobolsk Governorate Bulletin, newspaper (Tobolsk)
 TXI—Tatar xalıq ıcatı (Kazan)
- Different abbreviations***
- a.c.—anni currentis
 A.N.—Author's note
 A.S.C., act.st.coun.—actual state councillor
 act.—acting
 am -and more
 arsh.—arshin
 art.—article
 ass.—assigination
 AY—academic year
 b. -bourgeois
 b.s. -of both sexes
 br.—brothers, brotherhood
 c.—case
 C.C. -commercial councilor
 cand.h.s.—candidate of historical science
 Cand.phil.—candidate of philology
 CL.—clause
 col.—collection
 colm.—column
 contemp.—contemporary
 cr.—compiler
 d.h.s.—doctor of historical sciences
 dd.—died
 dist.—district
 Dr.phil.—doctor of philology
 Dr.sc.pol.—doctor of political science
 ed.—edition
 ed.—editor
 encl.—enclosure
 etc—et cetera
 f.—free
 f.s.—female sex
 fcl. -facility
 for ex.—for example
 form.—former
 fr. -father
 gub.—governorate (guberniya)
 h. -head
 H.I.M.—His Imperial Majesty
 H.P. —horse power
 HSC—hereditary senior citizen
 HTN—hereditary Tatar nobleman
 i.e.—id est
 IA—inter alia
 Imp. -Imperial
 inv. —inventory
 isl. -island
 l. -landlord
 L.G.—Leib Guard
 lit.—literally
 lk—lake
 m.—man
 m.s.—male sex
 merch.—merchant
 mil.—military
 NBB—noble by birth
 nob.—nobleman
 obl.—obligation
 old—old
 OOO—of one's own
 otr—other
 P. —page
 P. H.—printing-house
 P. n. -personal nobleman
 P. r.a.—Principal Research Associate
 P. r.a.—Principal Research Associate
 P. r.a.—Principal Research Associate
 PD—police department
 poc.—pochinok (hamlet)
 prof.—professor
 prst—priest
 PS—printer's sheet
 psnt -peasant
 PTN—personal Tatar nobleman
 reg.—region
 res.—reserves
 riv.—river
 RO -research officer
 Rs—railway station
 rw—railway
 s.—sheet
 S.C.—state counsellor
 s.k.u.—stock keeping unit
 saz.—sazhen
 SC—senior citizen
 SC—so-called
 sec.—section
 settlem.—settlement
 sq.—square
 sq.sazh. -square sazhen
 st.—saint
 t.—tithe
 T.C.—titular counselor
 T.M.—temporary merchant
 tnv.—turnover
 u.—uyezd
 v., vil.—village
 vlg—village
 vol.—volost
 vol.—volume
 w.—west, western

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Information About the Authors

- Ahmetzyanov Marsel' Ibragimovich**—Doctor of philology, Chief Researcher of PFNI "Institute of Language, Literature, and History of G.Ibragimov of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences" (Kazan)
- Alp Alper**—Doctor of history from the Ghazi University (Turkey, Ankara)
- Arslanov Leonid Shajsultanovich**—Doctor of philology, Professor of FSAEI HVE branch ""Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University" branch in the Yelabuga city" (Yelabuga)
- Arslanova Alsu Ajratovna**—Candidate of historical sciences, Senior Researcher of PFNI "Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences" (Kazan)
- Bagautdinova Khalida Zinnatovna**—Researcher of PFNI "Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences" (Kazan)
- Baibulatova Liliya Faritovna**—Candidate of historical sciences, Senior Researcher of PFNI "Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences" (Kazan)
- Bakieva Gul'sifa Takiyulovna**—Candidate of historical sciences, Senior Researcher of FSBRI "Institute for Problems of setting in the North" of Russian Academy of Sciences Siberian branch (Tumen).
- Basyrova Svetlana Gabdraufvna**—Candidate of historical sciences, Docent of FSBEI HVE "ZajnaB Biisheva Sterlitamak State Academy of Education" (Sterlitamak)
- Churakov Vladimir Segeevich**—Candidate of historical sciences, Senior Researcher of FSRI "Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature of the Russian Academy of Sciences Ural branch" (Izhevsk).
- Denisov Denis Nikolayevich**—Candidate of historical sciences, Senior Researcher of SRI of History and Ethnography of the South Urals of FSBEI HVE "Orenburg State University" (Orenburg)
- Eremina Svetlana Sergeevna**—Candidate of historical sciences, History and Law Faculty Dean of the FSBEI HVE "M. Evseyev Mordova State University of Education" (Saransk)
- Fayzrahmanov Il'shat Zavdatovich**—Candidate of historical sciences, Senior Researcher of PFNI "Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences" (Kazan)
- Gabdelganeeva Guzel' Gabdraufvna**—Doctor of philology, Professor of FSBEI HVE "Kazan State University of Culture and Arts" (Kazan)
- Galiev Vil' Zajnullovich**—Doctor of historical sciences, Professor, Chief Researcher of the Institute of History and Ethnology of Sh. Valikhanov, Kazakhstan Ministry of Education and Studies (Kazakhstan, Almaty)
- Gankevich Viktor Yur'yevich**—Doctor of historical sciences, Professor of Taurida National University of V.Vernadsky (Ukraine, Simferopol)
- Garipov Nail' Kamilevich**—Candidate of historical sciences, Senior Researcher of PFNI "Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences" (Kazan)
- Gibadullin Marat Zufarovich**—Docent of FSAEI HVE Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University (Kazan)
- Gilyazutdinov Salim Mingazovich**—Candidate of philology, Senior Researcher of PFNI "Institute of Language, Literature, and History of G.Ibragimov of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences" (Kazan)
- Godovova Elena Viktorovna**—Candidate of historical sciences, Docent of the ETUE HPE "Academy of Labour and Social Relations" Orenburg branch (Orenburg)
- Grishin Yakov Yakovlevich**—Head of the department and faculty of international relations and diplomacy of FSAEI HVE Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University (Kazan)
- Iskhakov Damir Mavlyaveevich**—Doctor of historical sciences, Chief Researcher of PFNI "Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences" (Kazan)
- Iskhakov Radik Ravil'evich**—Candidate of historical sciences, Senior Researcher of PFNI "Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences" (Kazan)
- Kemper Michael**—Doctor of historical sciences, Professor, Head of the Eastern-European History Faculty of the Amsterdam University (Netherlands, Amsterdam)
- Khabibullin Mars Zabirovich**—Candidate of historical sciences, Scientific Secretary of PFNI "Institute of the Tatar encyclopedia of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences" (Kazan)
- Khabutdinov Ajdar Yur'evich**—Doctor of historical sciences, Professor of SEI HVE "Russian Academy of Justice" Kazan branch (Kazan)
- Khajretdinov Damir Zinyurovich**—Candidate of historical sciences, Rector of NEI HVE "Moscow Islamic University" (Moscow)
- Khajrutdinov Ramil' Ravilovich**—Candidate of historical sciences, Docent, Director of FSAEI HVE Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University (Kazan)
- Khalikov Nail' Alfredovich**—Candidate of historical sciences, Senior Researcher of PFNI "Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences" (Kazan)
- Khalitov Niyaz Khadzhevich**—Doctor of Architecture, Chief Researcher of PFNI "Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences" (Kazan)
- Khamitbaeva Najla Sakhabidinovna**—Candidate of historical sciences, Senior Researcher of PFNI "Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences" (Kazan)
- Kobzev Alexanr Viktorovich**—Candidate of historical sciences, Docent of FSBEI HVE "I. Ulyanov Ulyanovsk State University of Education" (Ulyanovsk)

- Korusenko Svetlana Nikolaevna**—Candidate of historical sciences, Docent, Leading Researcher of FSBRI "Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of Siberia Department of the Russian Academy of Sciences" Omsk branch (Omsk)
- Lazzerini Edvard**—Doctor of historical sciences, Professor, Director of the D. Sinor Center of intra-Asian research, Indiana University (USA, Bloomington)
- Lyubichankovsky Sergej Valentinovich**—Doctor of historical sciences, Professor of FSBEI HVE "Orenburg State University of Education" (Orenburg)
- Makarov Dmitry Vital'yevich**—Researcher of NEI HVE "Kh. Faizkhanov Nizhny Novgorod Islamic Institute" (Nizhny Novgorod)
- Makarov Gennady Mikhajlovich**—Candidate of Art Criticism, Head of the History Studying and Baptized Tatars (Kryashen Tatars) and Nağaybäks Culture Center PFNI "Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences" (Kazan)
- Makhmutova Al'ta Khazeevna**—Candidate of historical sciences, Docent of FSAEI HVE Scientific Library of the Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University (Kazan)
- Mariskin Oleg Ivanovich**—Doctor of historical sciences, Professor of SEI HVE "N. Ogarev Mordova State University" (Saransk)
- Muhametzaripov Il'shat Amirovich**—Candidate of historical sciences, Researcher of PFNI "Center of Islamic Research" of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences (Kazan)
- Mukhametshin Rafik Muhametshovich**—Doctor of political sciences, Professor, Rector of NEI HVE "Russian Islamic Institute" (Kazan)
- Nikolaev Gennady Alekseevich**—Candidate of historical sciences, Deputy Director on science of the Chuvash Republic PSI "Chuvash State Institute of Humanitarian Science" of the Ministry of Education and youth policy of Chuvash Republic (Cheboksary)
- Nogmanov Ajdar Il'surovich**—Candidate of historical sciences, Deputy Director of PFNI "Institute of the Tatar encyclopedia of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences" (Kazan)
- Paul Werth**—Doctor of historical sciences, Professor of Nevada University, Editor of the international English magazine "Kritika" ("Critique") (USA, Las Vegas)
- Pislegin Nikolaj Viktorovich**—Candidate of historical sciences, Researcher of FSRI "Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature of the Russian Academy of Sciences Ural branch" (Izhevsk)
- Remnev Anatoly Viktorovich**—Doctor of historical sciences, Professor, Docent of FSBEI HVE "F. Dostoevsky Omsk State University" (Omsk)
- Safiullina-Al' Ansi Rezeda Rifovna**—Candidate of philology, Senior Researcher of PFNI "Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences" (Kazan)
- Salikhov Radik Rimovich**—Doctor of historical sciences, Deputy Director on science of PFNI "Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences", corresponding member of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences (Kazan)
- Samatova Chulpan Khamitovna**—Candidate of historical sciences, Assistant of SBEI HVE "Kazan State Medical University" (Kazan)
- Sdykov Murat Nauryzgalievich**—Doctor of historical sciences, Professor, Director of Western-Kazakhstan Center of History and Archaeology (Kazakhstan, Uralsk)
- Shakurov Farit Nailovich**—Candidate of historical sciences, Docent of FSAEI HVE Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University (Kazan)
- Sharifullina Farida Lutfullovna**—Candidate of historical sciences, Docent, Senior Researcher of PFNI "Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences" (Kazan)
- Sibgatullina Alfina Tagirovna**—Doctor of historical sciences, Professor, Leading Researcher of FSBRI "Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Studies" (Moscow)
- Stolyarova Guzel Rafailovna**—Doctor of historical sciences, Professor of FSAEI HVE Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University (Kazan)
- Sulejmanova Dilyara Nailevna**—Candidate of historical sciences, Assistant of Professor of Zurich University (Switzerland, Zurich)
- Sultangalieva Gul'mira Salimdzhhanovna**—Doctor of historical sciences, Professor of Al-Farabi Kazakhstan National University (Kazakhstan, Almaty)
- Suslova Svetlana Vladimirovna**—Candidate of historical sciences, Senior Researcher of PFNI "Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences" (Kazan)
- Shkunov Vladimir Nikolaevich**—Doctor of historical sciences, Doctor of educational sciences, Professor, Director of FSBEI HVE "Ulyanovsk State University" Inza branch (Inza)
- Sverdlova Lyudmila Mikhajlovna**—Candidate of historical sciences, Docent of FSAEI HVE Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University (Kazan)
- Syzranov Andrej Vyacheslavovich**—Candidate of historical sciences, Docent of FSBEI HVE "Astrakhan State University" (Astrakhan)

- Tagirova Lejla Fakilovna**—Candidate of historical sciences, Junior Researcher of the Russian Academy of Sciences institution "Institute of History, Language and Literature of the Ufa Science Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences" (Ufa)
- Tagirova Nailya Faridovna**—Doctor of historical sciences, Professor, Head of the Economic History Faculty of SEI HVE "Samara State Economic University" (Samara)
- Tajmasov Leonid Aleksandrovich**—Doctor of historical sciences, Professor, vice-Rector on Scientific work and innovations of the Cheboksary Cooperative Institute (branch) of ANO HVE Central Union of Russian Federation "Russian University of Cooperation" (Cheboksary)
- Tomilov Nikolaj Arkad'evich**—Doctor of historical sciences, Professor, Director of FSBRI "Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of Siberia Department of the Russian Academy of Sciences" Omsk branch (Omsk)
- Tuna Mustafa**—Doctor of historical sciences, Professor of Duke University (USA, Durham)
- Turkoglu Ismail**—Doctor of History of Marmara State University Institute of Turkology (Turkey, Istanbul)
- Urazmanova Raufa Karimovna**—Candidate of historical sciences, Senior Researcher of PFNI "Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences" (Kazan)
- Usmanova Dilyara Mirkasymovna**—Doctor of historical sciences, Docent of FSAEI HVE Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University (Kazan)
- Valeev Ramil Mirgasimovich**—Doctor of historical sciences, Professor, Director of PFNI "Institute of the Tatar encyclopedia of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences" (Kazan)
- Viktorin Viktor Mikhajlovich**—Candidate of historical sciences, Docent of FSBEI HVE "Astrakhan State University" (Astrakhan)
- Yusupova Al'fiya Shavketovna**—Doctor of philology, Head of Applied Linguistics and Translations Faculty of FSAEI HVE Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University (Kazan)
- Yusupov Ajrat Faikovich**—Candidate of philology, Docent of FSAEI HVE Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University (Kazan)
- Zagidullina Daniya Fatikhovna**—Doctor of philology, Professor, Scientific Secretary of The Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan, Academic of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences (Kazan)
- Zagidullin Il'dus Kotdusovich**—Doctor of historical sciences, Head of Medieval History Department of PFNI "Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences" (Kazan)
- Zavgarova Fanzilya Khakimovna**—Candidate of philology, Docent, Director of the State center of collection, preserving, studying and propaganda of Tatar Folklore of the Tatarstan Ministry of Culture (Kazan)

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THE HISTORY OF THE TATARS SINCE ANCIENT TIMES
In Seven Volumes

Volume 6
Formation of the Tatar Nation
19–Beginning of the 20th Centuries



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'A Kazan Tatar Woman'.
 A page from the album 'The Collection
 of Korneev's Costumes', 1808.
 Paper of J. Whatman, 1804,
 etching, water color.
 (From the collections
 of the Kazan Kremlin Museum Reserve).



'Tatar Agun'.
 A page from the album 'The Collection
 of Korneev's costumes', 1808.
 Paper of J. Whatman, 1804, etching,
 water color. (From the collections
 of the Kazan Kremlin Museum Reserve).



'Tatar Girl from Tomsk'.

A page from the album
'The Collection of Korneev's
costumes', 1808. Paper
of J. Whatman, 1804, etching,
water color. (From the collections
of the Kazan Kremlin Museum
Reserve).



'Tatar Man from Tomsk'.

A page from the album
'The Collection
of Korneev's costumes', 1808.
Paper of J. Whatman, 1804,
etching, water color.
(From the collections
of the Kazan Kremlin
Museum Reserve).



Hippodrome of the Kazan Tatars.

Picture by E. Korneev, 1803.

(Tartarica. Etnography.

Reference and encyclopedic edition

Kazan–Moscow, 2008. P. 119).



'Tatar Woman from Tomsk'.

A page from the album

'The Collection of Korneev's costumes', 1808.

Paper of J. Whatman, 1804,

etching, water color.

(From the collections of the Kazan Kremlin Museum Reserve).



'Prince of the Nogay Tatars'.

A page from the album
'The Collection of Korneev's costumes',
1808. Paper of J. Whatman,
1804, etching, water color.
(From the collections of the Kazan
Kremlin Museum Reserve).



'The Nogay Princess'.

A page from the album 'The collection
of Korneev's costumes', 1808.
Paper of J. Whatman,
1804, etching, water color.
(From the collections
of the Kazan Kremlin Museum Reserve).



In the house of a Tatar merchant. (Household of the Kostroma Tatars).
Unknown artist. Oil on canvas. The first half of the 19th century. (From the collections of the National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan).

'Tatar Man from the Kazan Guberniya'.
Picture by K. Gun, 1862.
(From the collections of the Russian Museum).



'Tatar Woman from the Kazan Guberniya'.
Picture by K. Gun, 1862.
(From the collections of the Russian Museum).



'Mullah with His Wife'.

Picture by K. Gun, 1862. (From the collections of the Russian Museum).



'Tatar Costume'.

Picture by K. Gun, 1862. (From the collections of the Russian Museum).



'Interior of the Mullah's House'. Picture by K. Gun, 1862. (From the funds of the Russian Museum).



'Tatar Court'. Picture by K. Gun, 1862. (From the collections of the Russian Museum).

Camisole (a woman's costume).
 The first half of the 19th century.
 Orenburg Guberniya. Present of Her Imperial
 Majesty Empress Maria Aleksandrovna.
 (Russian Museum of Ethnography.
 8762–24658).



Women's shoes.
 The first half
 of the 19th century.
 Orenburg Guberniya.
 Present of Her Imperial
 Majesty Empress
 Maria Aleksandrovna.
 (The Russian Museum
 of Ethnography.
 8762–24707/1,2).



Costume of a Kryashen Tatar woman.
(From the exposition of the Russian
Museum of Ethnography).



Costume of a rich Tatar woman.
(From the exposition
of the Russian Museum of Ethnography).



Women's head-wear.

Kazan Guberniya. The middle of the 19th century.
(The Russian Museum of Ethnography. 5539–37).



'Kalfak' — women's head-wear.

The middle of the 19th century.
(The Russian Museum of Ethnography. 8762–24682).



Men's shoes.

The middle of the 19th century.
(The Russian Museum of Ethnography. 8762–24632/1,2).

Men's skullcap.
The middle of the 19th century.
(The Russian Museum of Ethnography. 8762–24581).





Neck and chest adornment.
The latter half of the 19th century.
(The Russian Museum of Ethnography.
8762–25417).



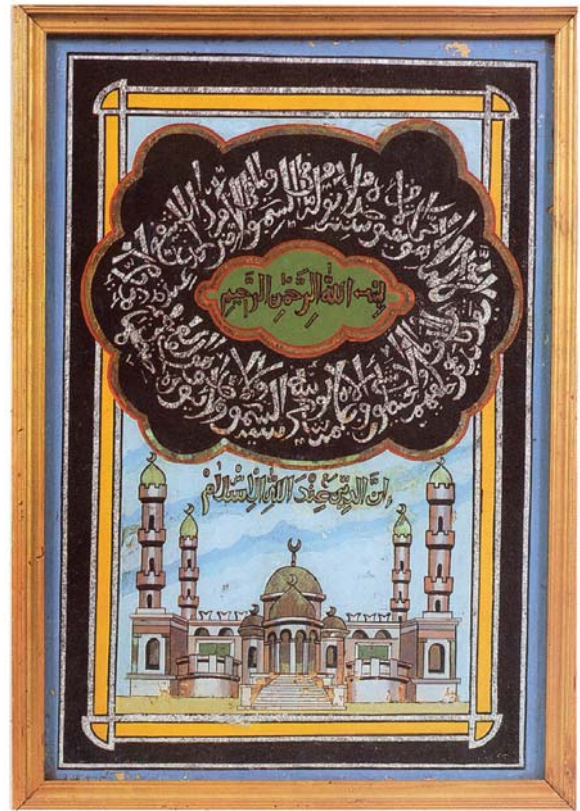
Bracelets.
The end of the 19th century. The Kazan Tatars.
(The Russian Museum of Ethnography.
8762–25363, 8762–25369,
8762–25372, 8762–25395).



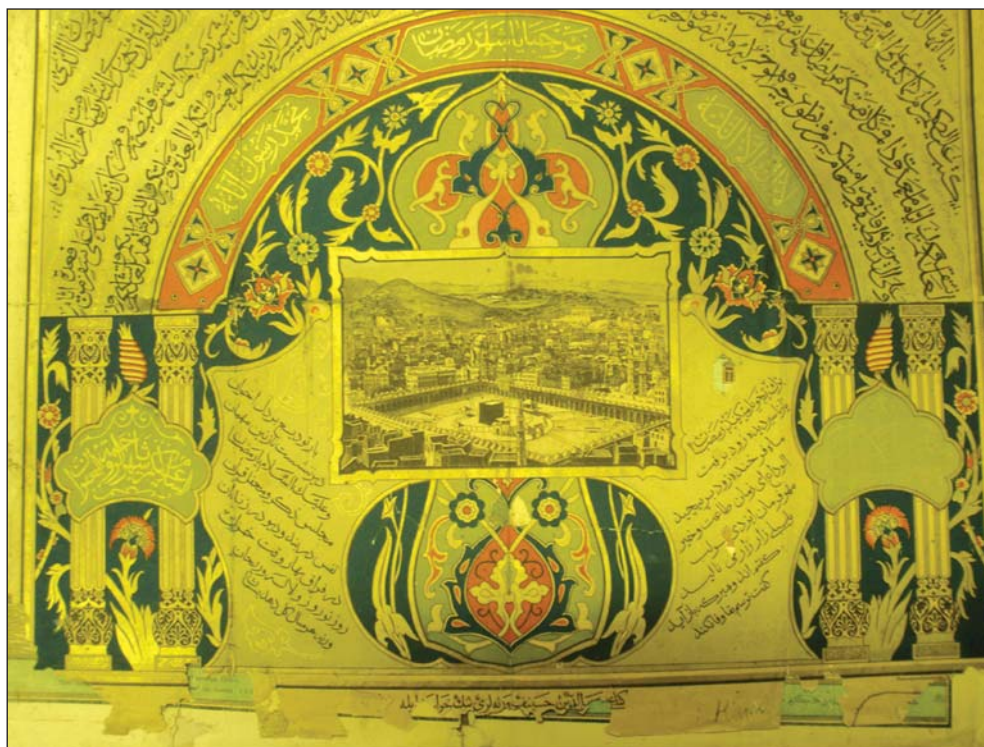
Neck and chest adornment.
The latter half of the 19th century.
(The Russian Museum of Arts. 8762–25403).



Earrings.
The latter half of the 19th century.
(The Russian Museum of Ethnography.
8762–25194, 8762–25190).



Lithography. Ismail Najmuddin bin Shamsuddin, 1902. **Shamail.** Glass, foil, painting. The 19th century.
(The National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan. 60/40). (Tatar history and civilisation. Istanbul, 2010. P. 658).



Shamail. The early 20th century. (From the personal archive of M. Ahmetzyanov).



Samples of traditional towels.

Clasped and patterned weaving. The late 19–the early 20th centuries. (Tatar history and civilisation. Istanbul, 2010. P. 660).



Example of a napless carpet — 'kelem'.

Wool, hand weaving. The 20th century. (Tatar history and civilisation. Istanbul, 2010. P. 660).



Carpet. Chain-stitch embroidered. The 19th century (Tatar history and civilisation. Istanbul, 2010. P. 661).



Costume ensemble. The middle of the 19th century. (Tatar history and civilisation. Istanbul, 2010. P. 662).



Patterned shoes. Leather, mosaics.
The middle of the 19th century.



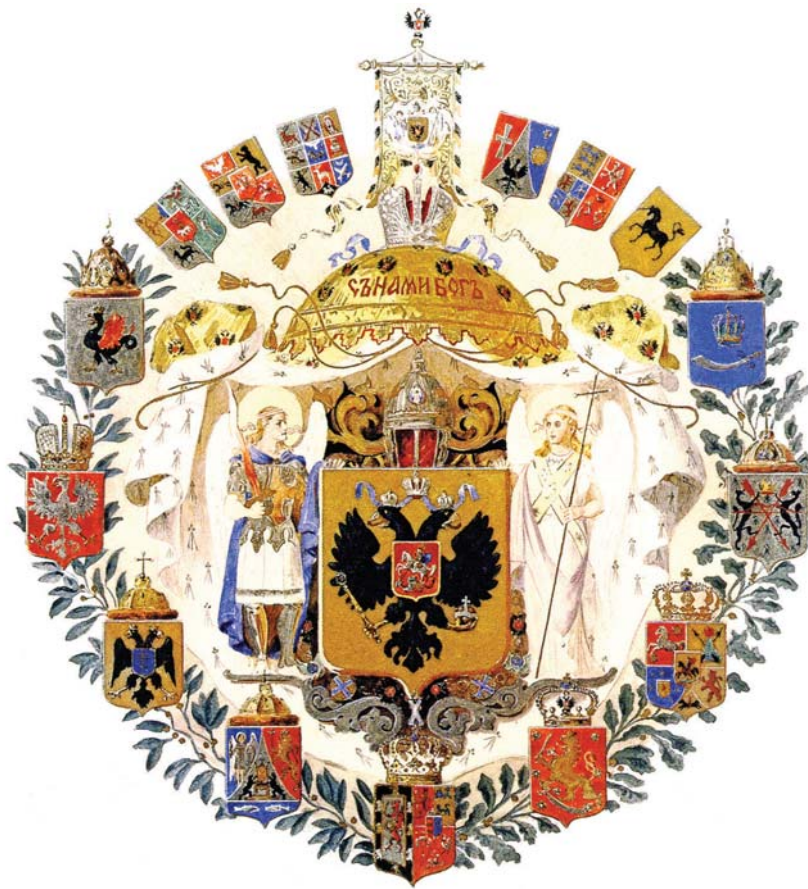
Women's kalfaks.
Velvet, golden stitch embroidery.
The 19th century.



Men's skullcaps.
Velvet, golden stitch embroidery.
The 19th century.



(Tatar history and civilisation.
Istanbul, 2010. P. 662).



Изображение Большого герба Империи, утвержденного в Петергофе 24 июля 1882 года
Государственный Эрмитаж, Санкт-Петербург



БОЛЬШОЙ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЙ ГЕРБ РОССИЙСКОЙ ИМПЕРИИ

Малые щитки:

1. Царство Казанское; 2. Царство Польское; 3. Царство Херсонеса Таврического; 4. Соединенные гербы великих княжеств Киевского, Владимирского и Новгородского; 5. Родовой герб Его Императорского Величества;
6. Княжество Финляндское; 7. Царство Грузинское; 8. Царство Сибирское; 9. Царство Астраханское;
10. Соединенные гербы северо-восточных областей; 11. Соединенные гербы княжеств и областей Белорусских и Литовских;
12. Соединенные гербы княжеств и областей великороссийских; 13. Соединенные гербы княжеств и областей юго-западных; 14. Соединенные гербы областей Прибалтийских; 15. Герб Туркестанский.

Greater coat of arms of the Russian Empire.

(Shamil Ahmetshin, the Velvet Book of Tatars. Russian noble clans of Turkic-Tatar origin. Saint Petersburg: Slaviya, 2010. P. 36).



A passage of the map of Russian domination in Asiatic Russia.
(Atlas of Asiatic Russia. Edition of the Resettlement Department of the Land Regulation and Agriculture Administration. Saint Petersburg: printing house of 'A. Marx' association, 1914, Pp. 32–33).



Map of European Russia by governorates.

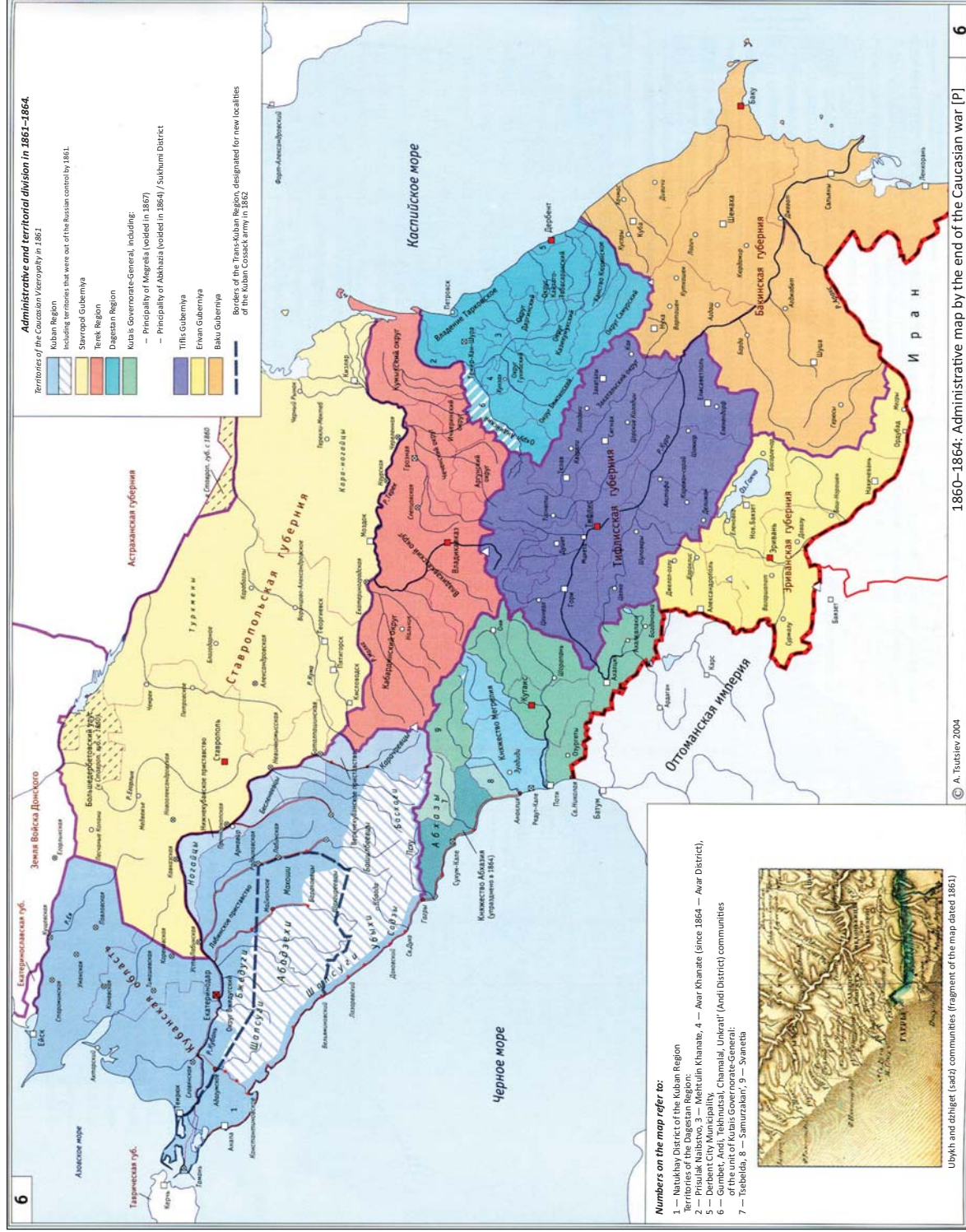
(A. Ilyin, Educational Geographic Atlas.

Saint Petersburg: Edition of the Cartographic Institution of A. Ilyin, 1894).

Administrative-territorial division of the Caucasus in 1861–1864

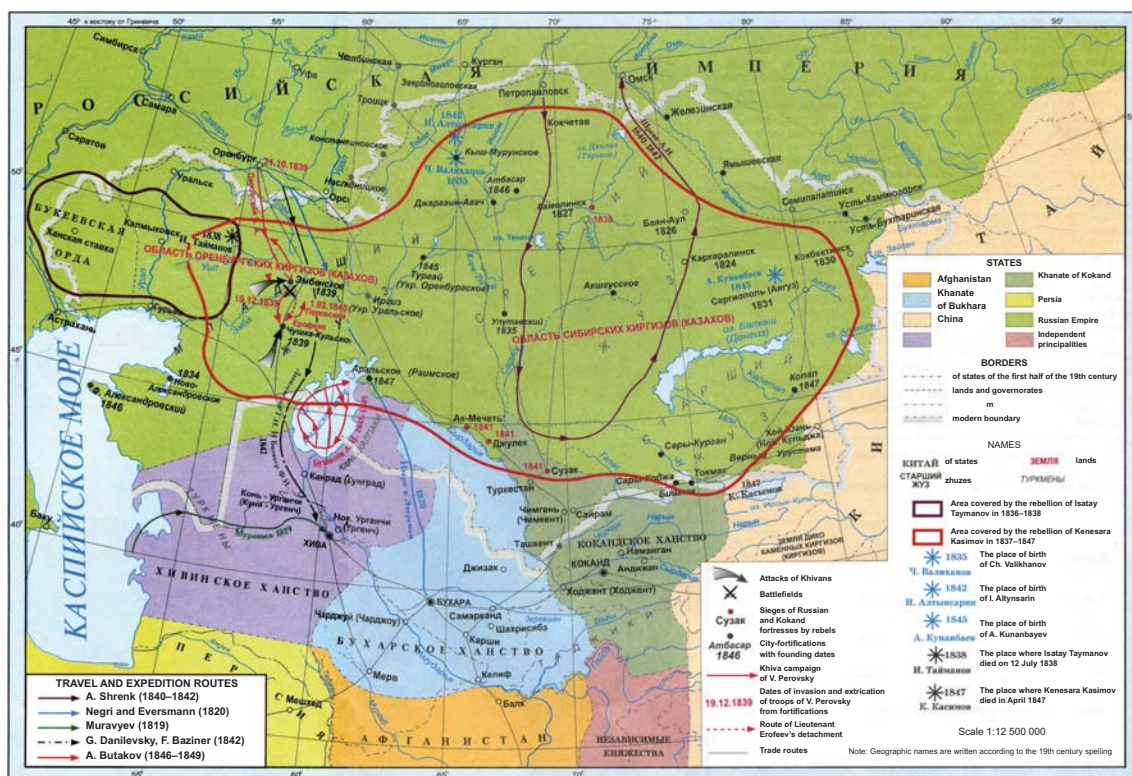
(A. Tsutsiev, Atlas of the Ethnopolitical History

of the Caucasus (1774–2004). Moscow, 2006. P. 22).





Passage of the map of the administrative division of Asiatic Russia.
(Atlas of Asiatic Russia. Edition of the Resettlement Department of the Land Regulation and Agriculture Administration. Saint Petersburg: Printing house of 'A. Marx' association, 1914. Pp. 36–37).

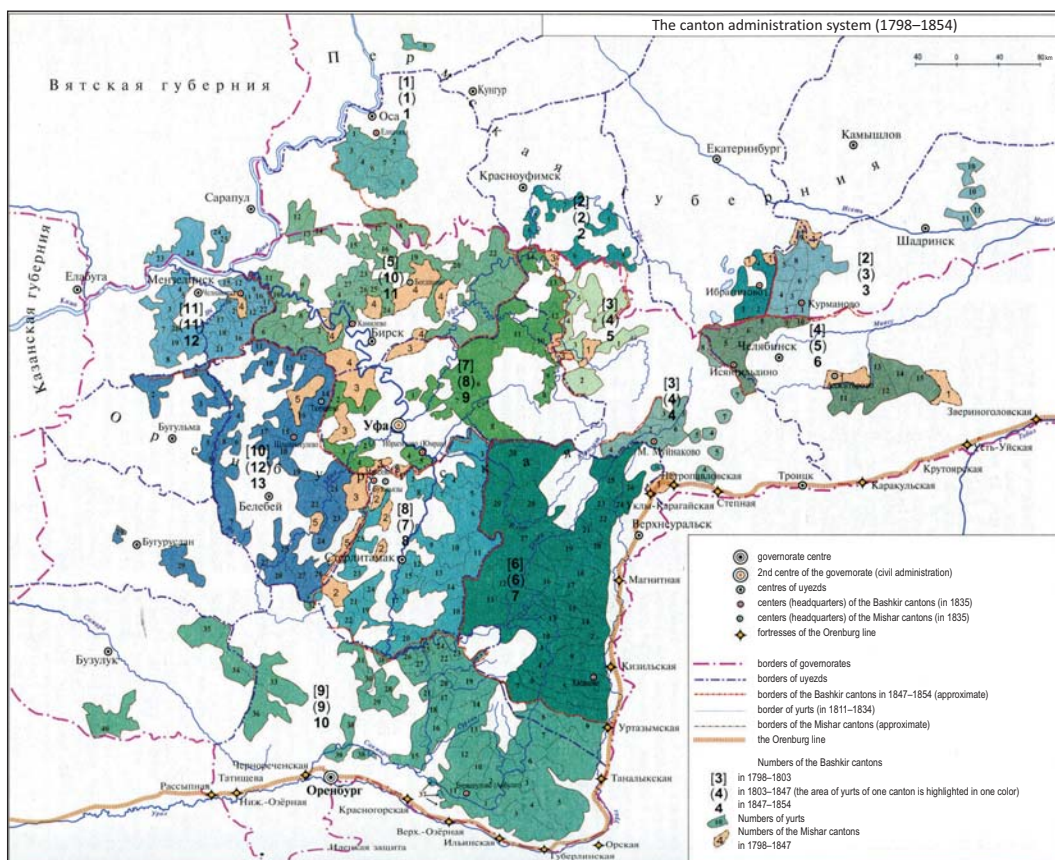


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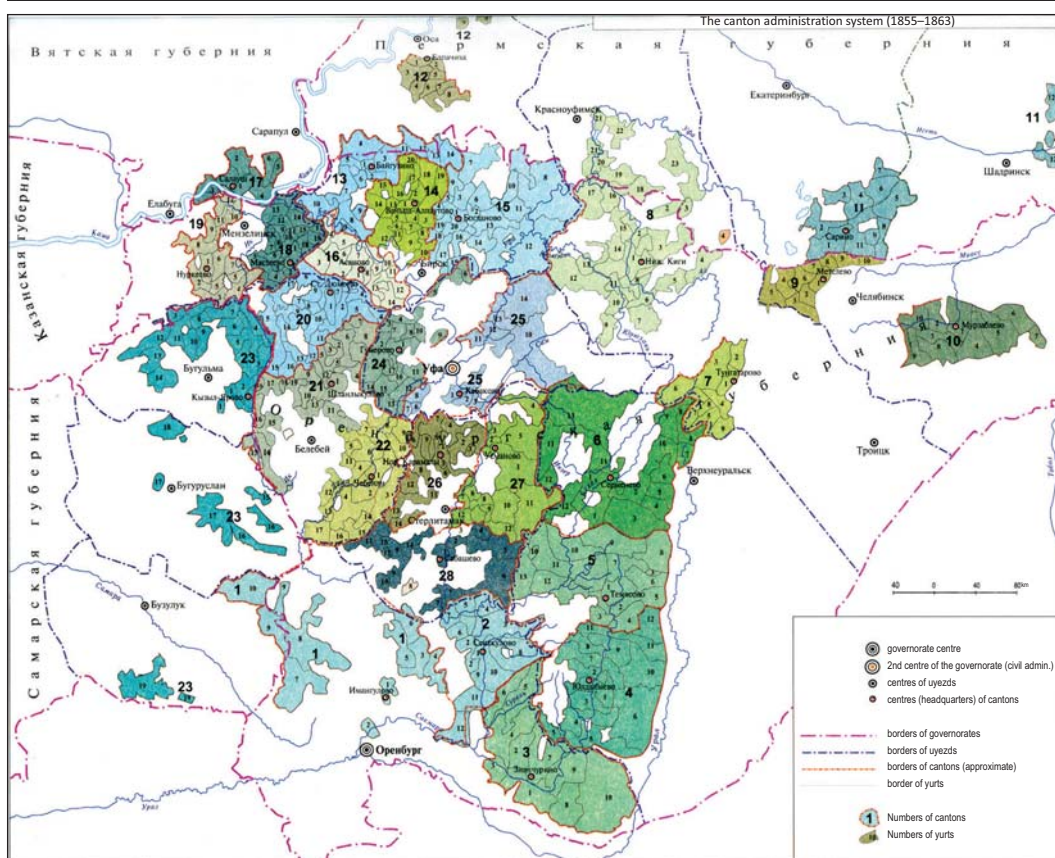


2

Kazakhstan in the first (1) and latter (2) half of the 19th century
(Historical Atlas of Kazakhstan. Almaty, 2006. Pp. 32–33, 36–37).

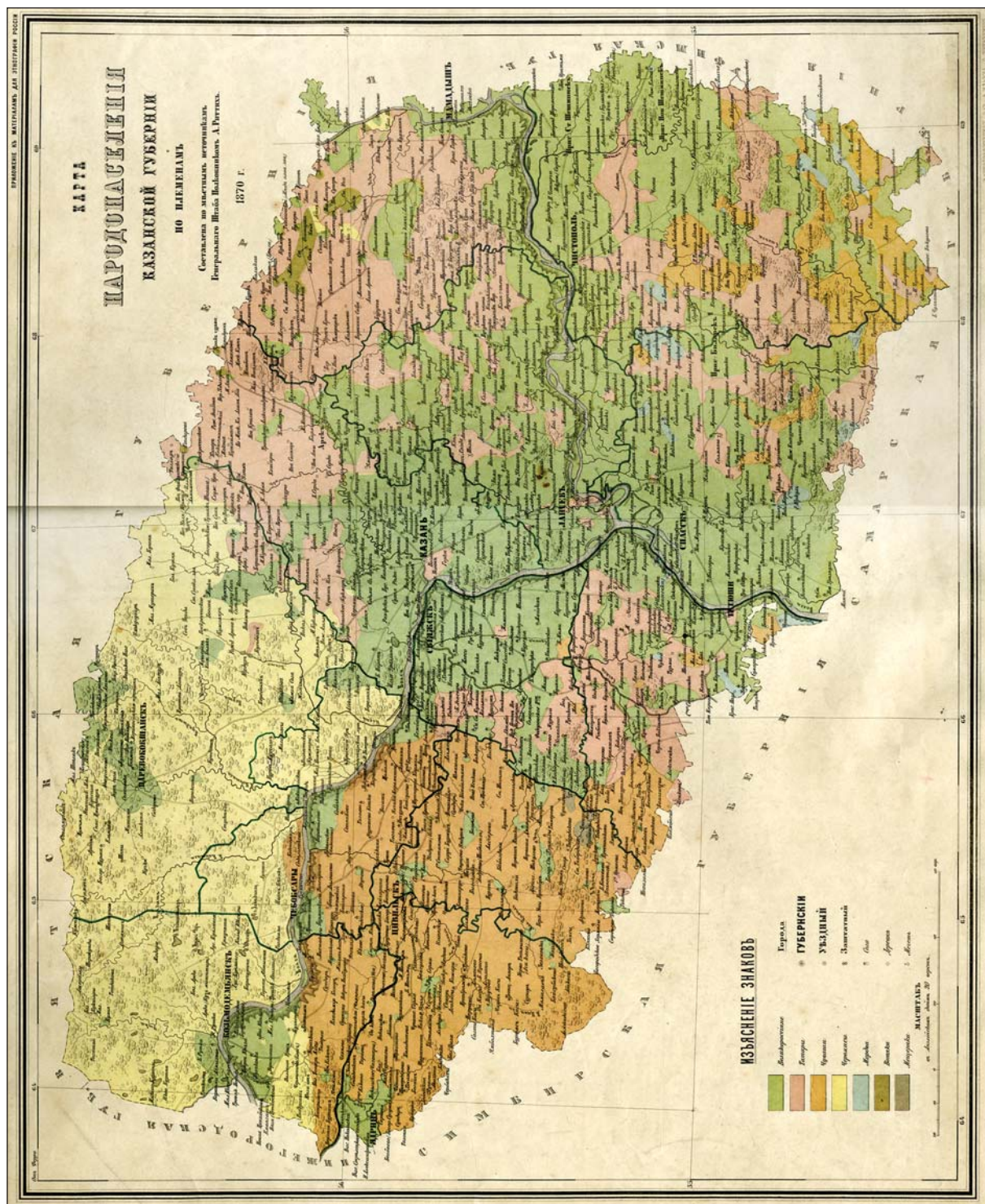


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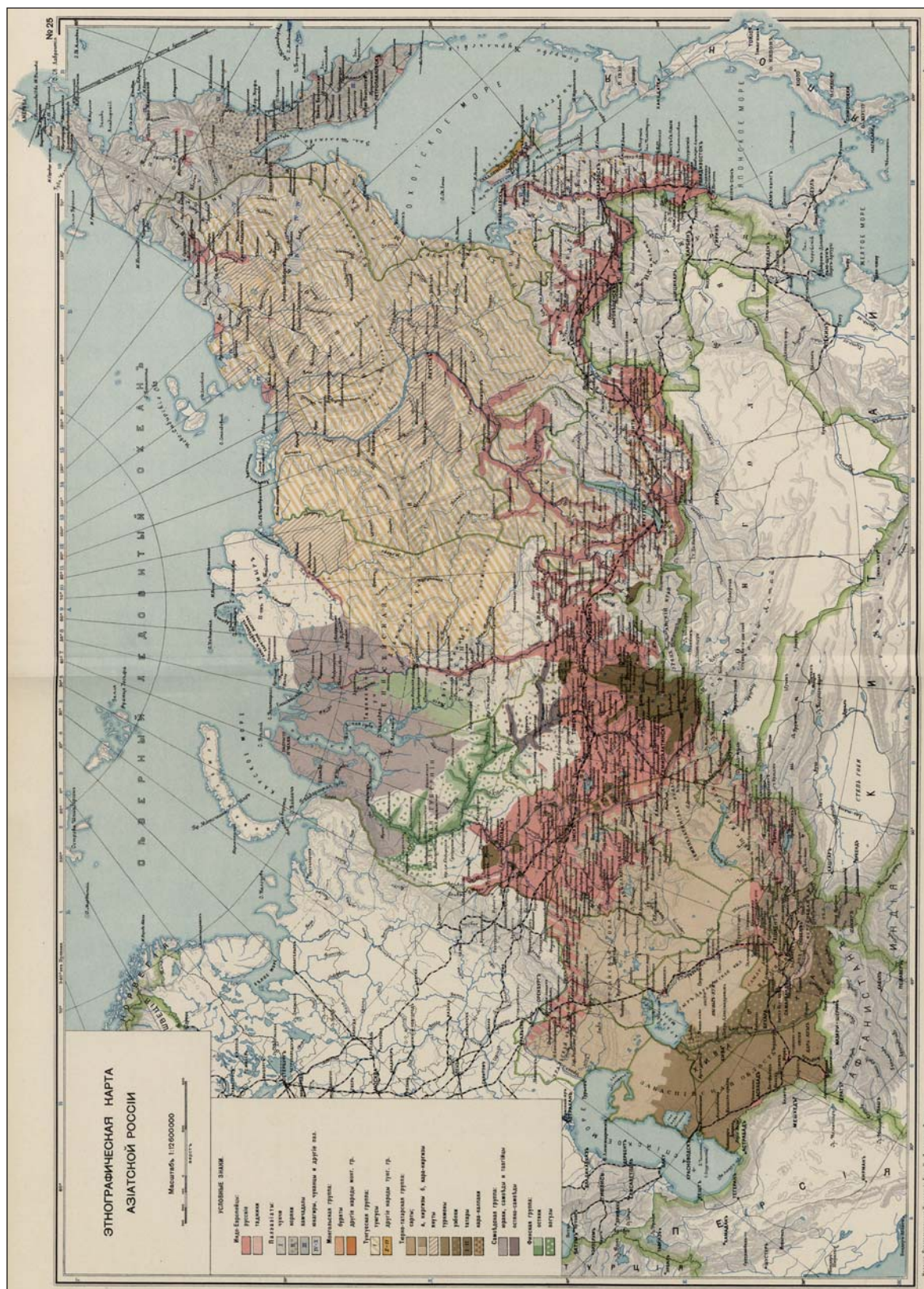


2

The canton system of government in 1798–1854 (1) and 1855–1863 (2).
(Bashkir Encyclopedia. 7 volumes. Vol. 3 3-K. Ufa, 2007. Pp. 308, 309).

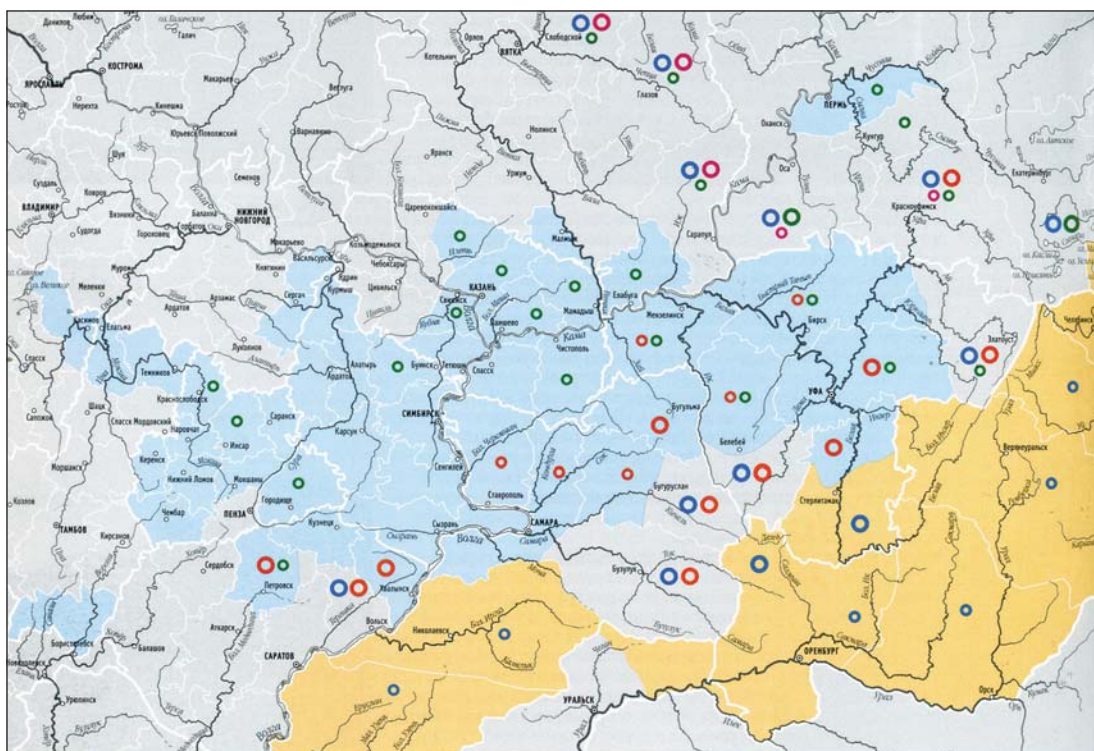


Map of the
Kazan Guberniya
population by tribes.
Developed
by A. Ritikh. 1870.

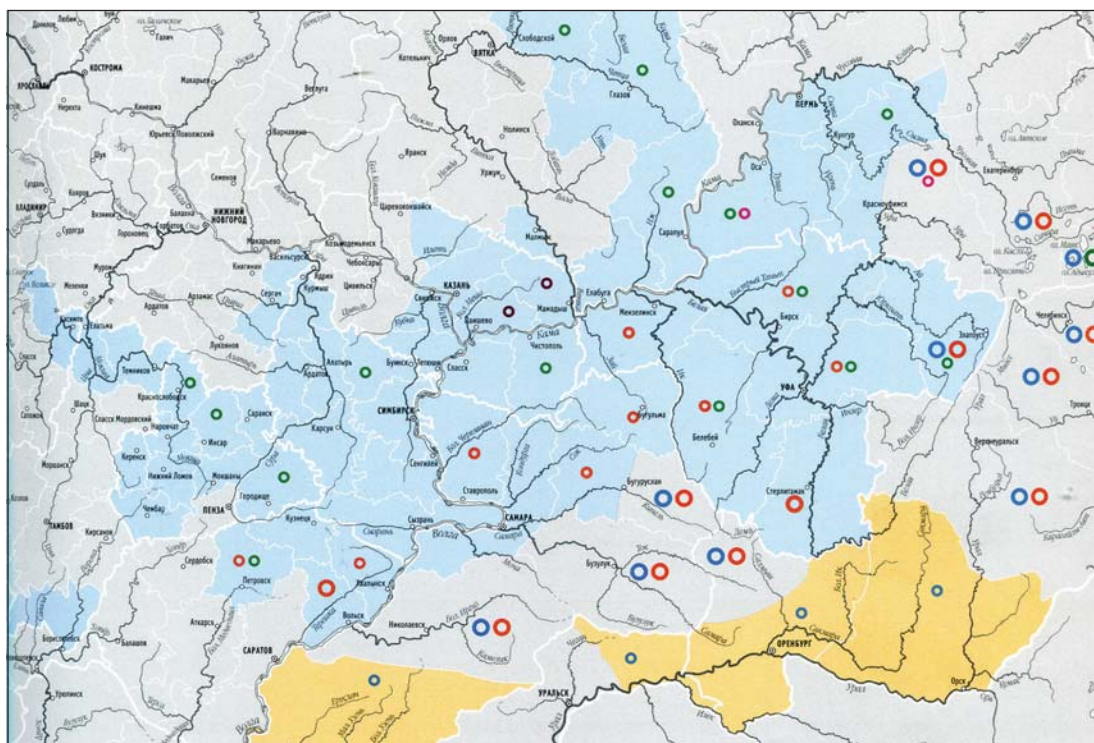


Ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia. (Atlas of Asiatic Russia.
Edition of the Resettlement Department of the Land Regulation and Agriculture Administration
. Saint Petersburg: Printing house of 'A. Marx' association, 1914. Pp. 74-75).

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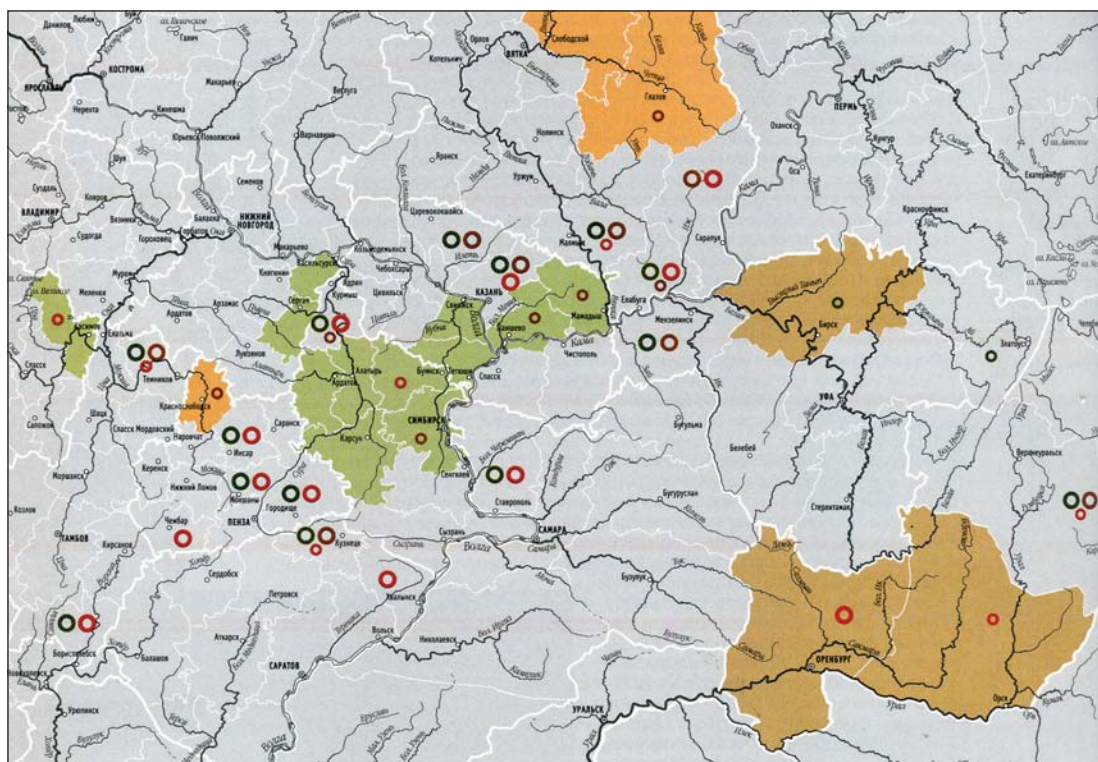


The agricultural systems of the Tatars.

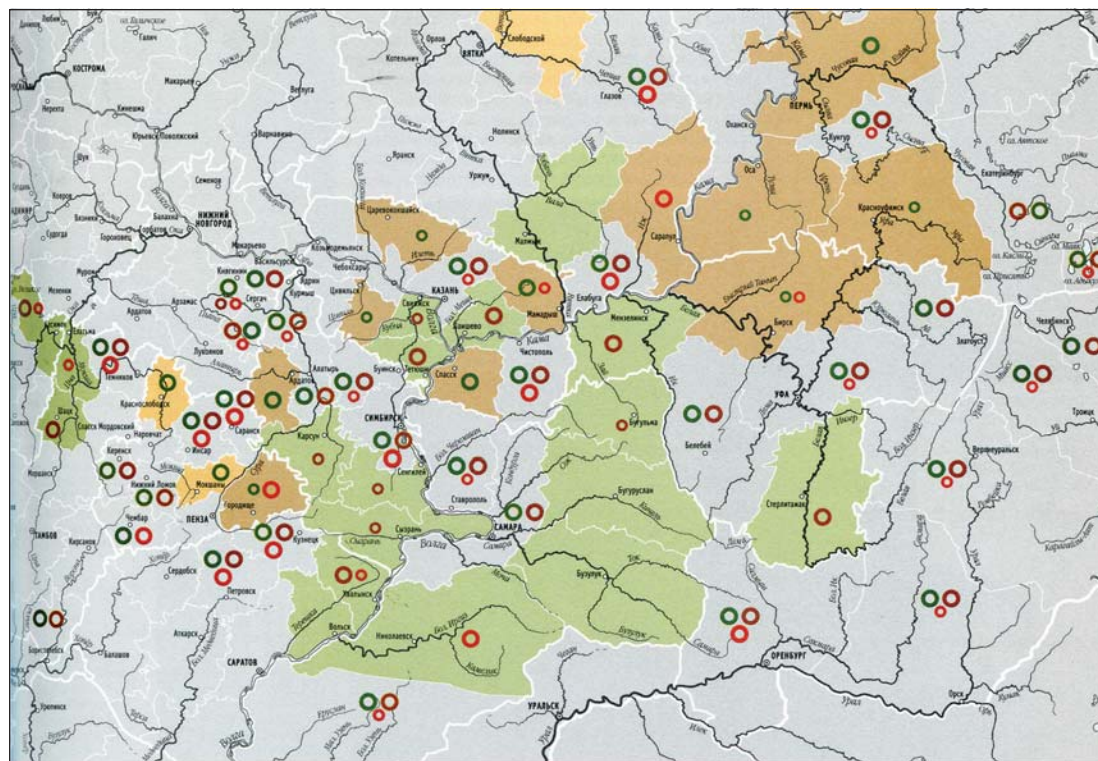
The middle of the 19th century (1).

The late 19th–early 20th centuries (2).

(Tartarica. Ethnography. Reference and encyclopedic edition. Kazan–Moscow, 2008. Pp. 184, 185).



1



2

Crafts and trade of the Tatars.

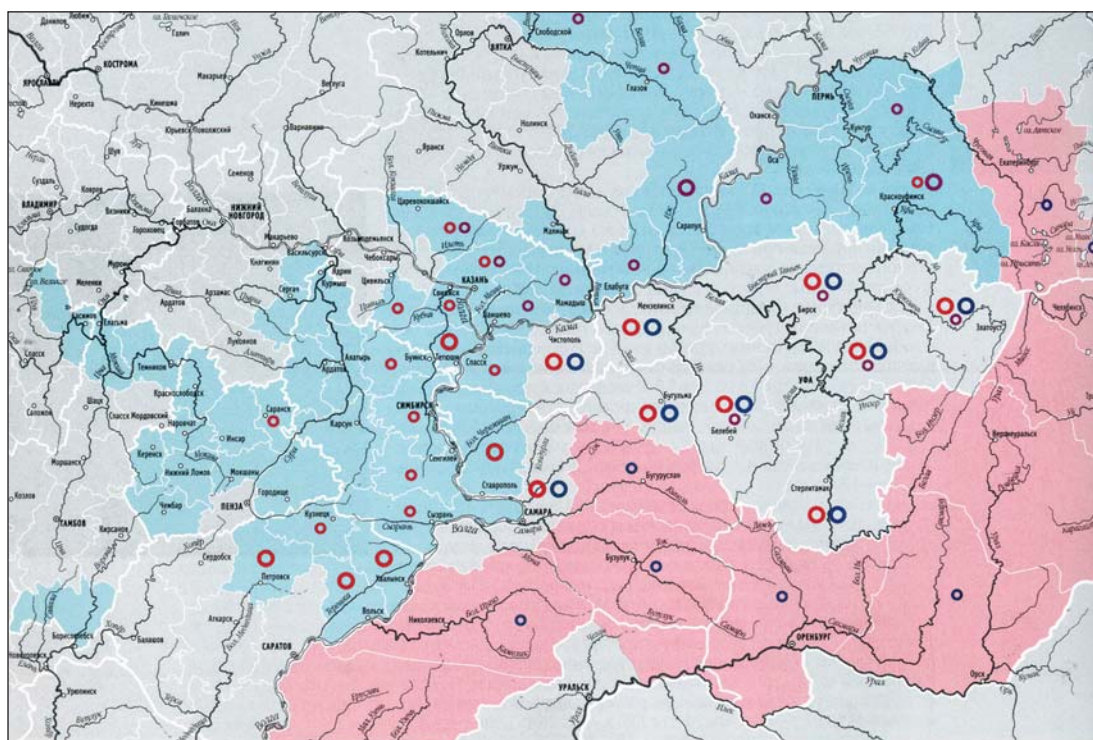
The middle 19th century (1).

The late 19th–early 20th centuries (2).

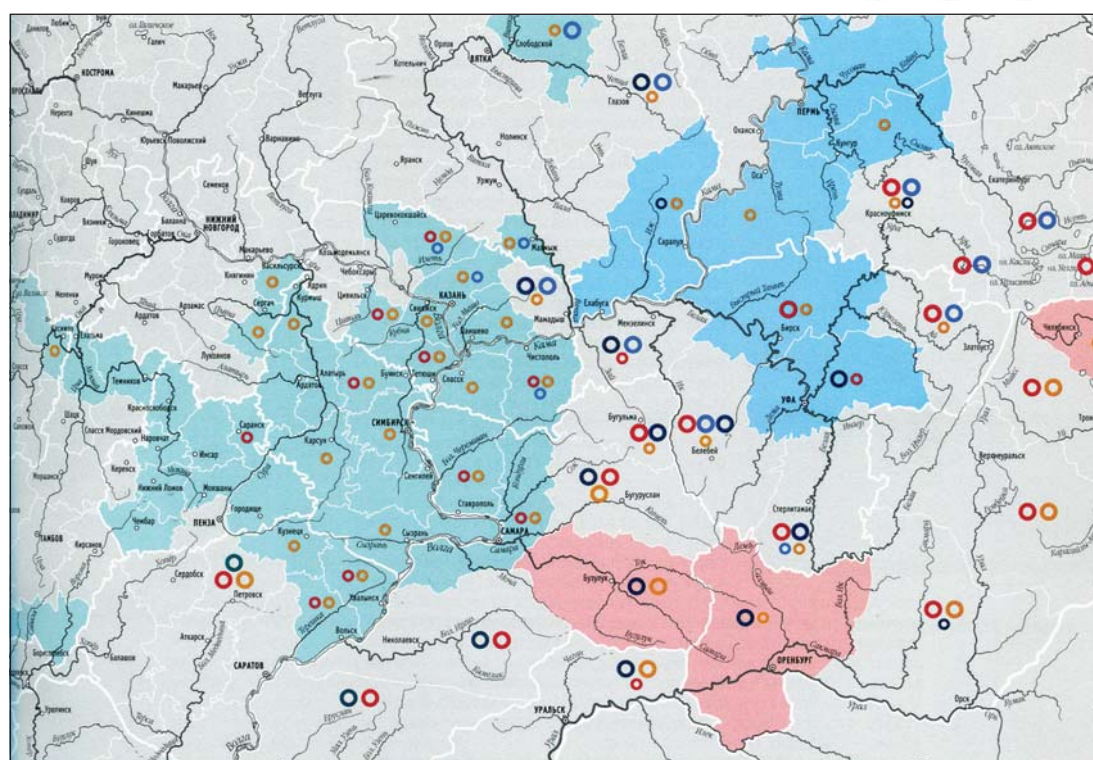
(Tartarica. Ethnography. Reference and encyclopedic edition. Kazan–Moscow, 2008. Pp. 278, 279).



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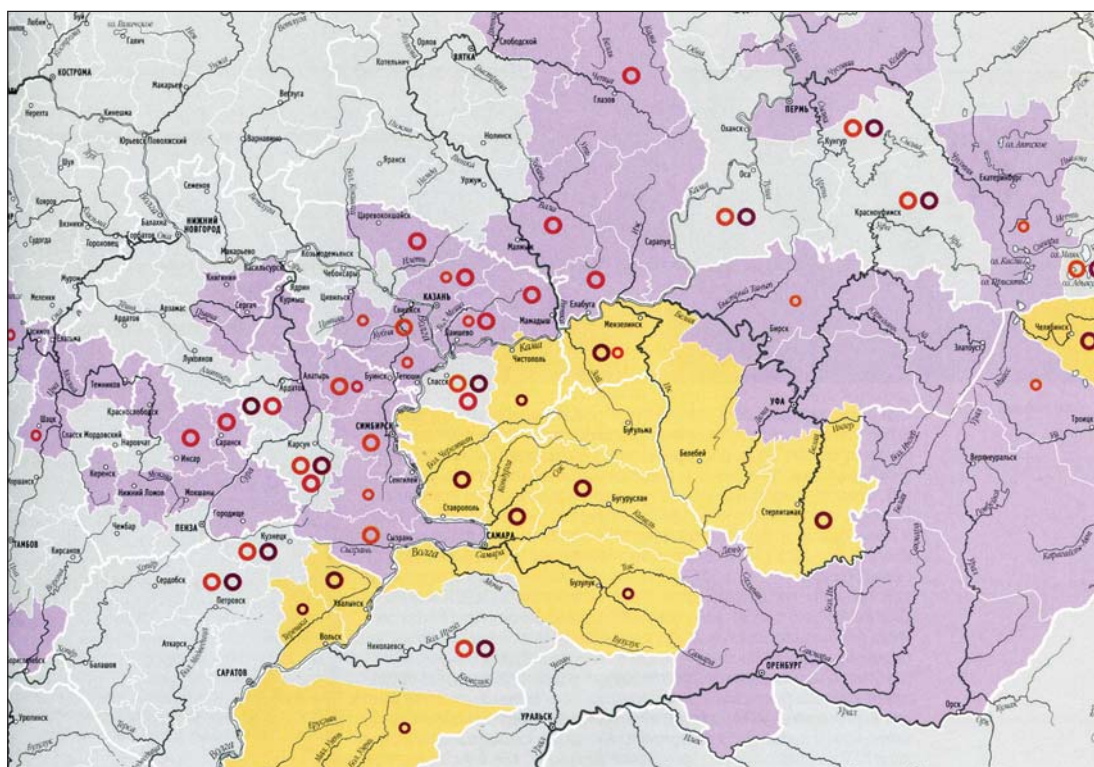


Sowing equipment of the Tatars.

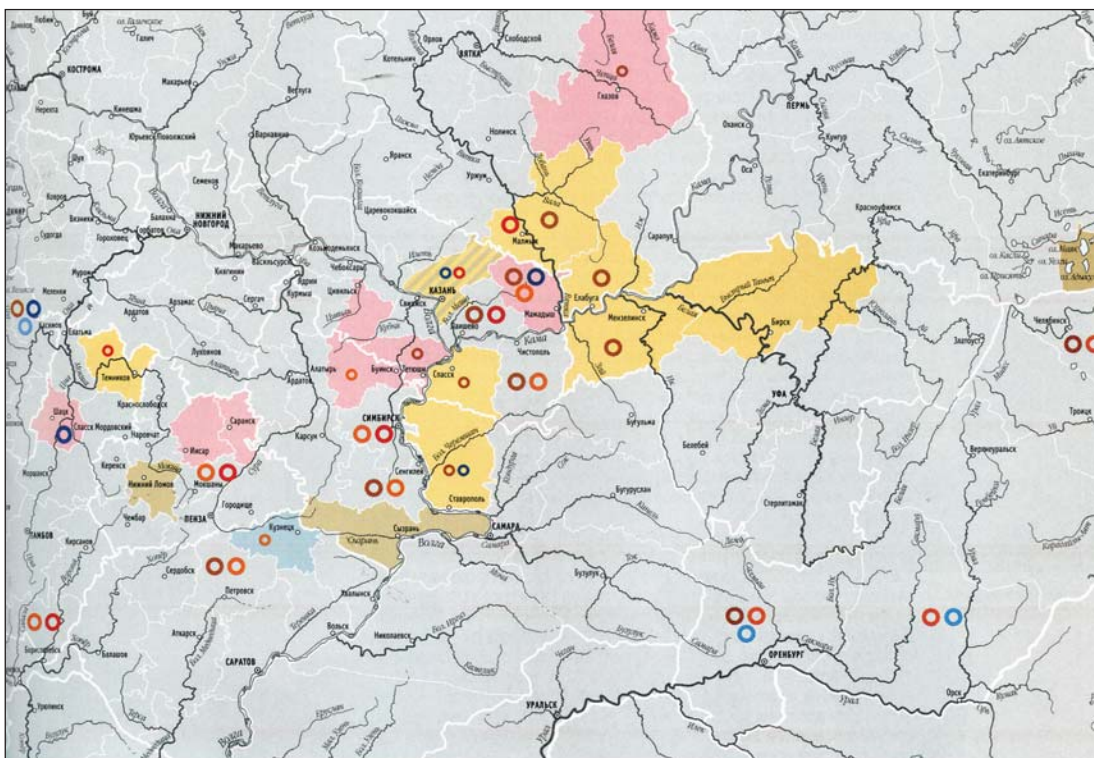
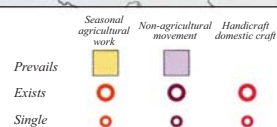
The middle of the 19th (1).

The late 19th–early 20th centuries (2).

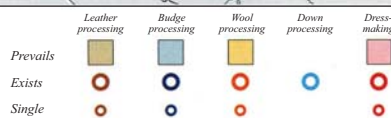
(Tartarica. Ethnography. Reference and encyclopedic edition. Kazan–Moscow, 2008. Pp. 201, 203).



Seasonal work of the Tatars. The late 19th–early 20th centuries.
(Tartarica. Ethnography. Reference and encyclopedic edition.
Kazan–Moscow, 2008. P. 203).



Leather and fibrous material processing of the Tatars.
The late 19th–early 20th centuries.
(Tartarica. Ethnography. References and encyclopedic edition.
Kazan–Moscow, 2008. P. 289).





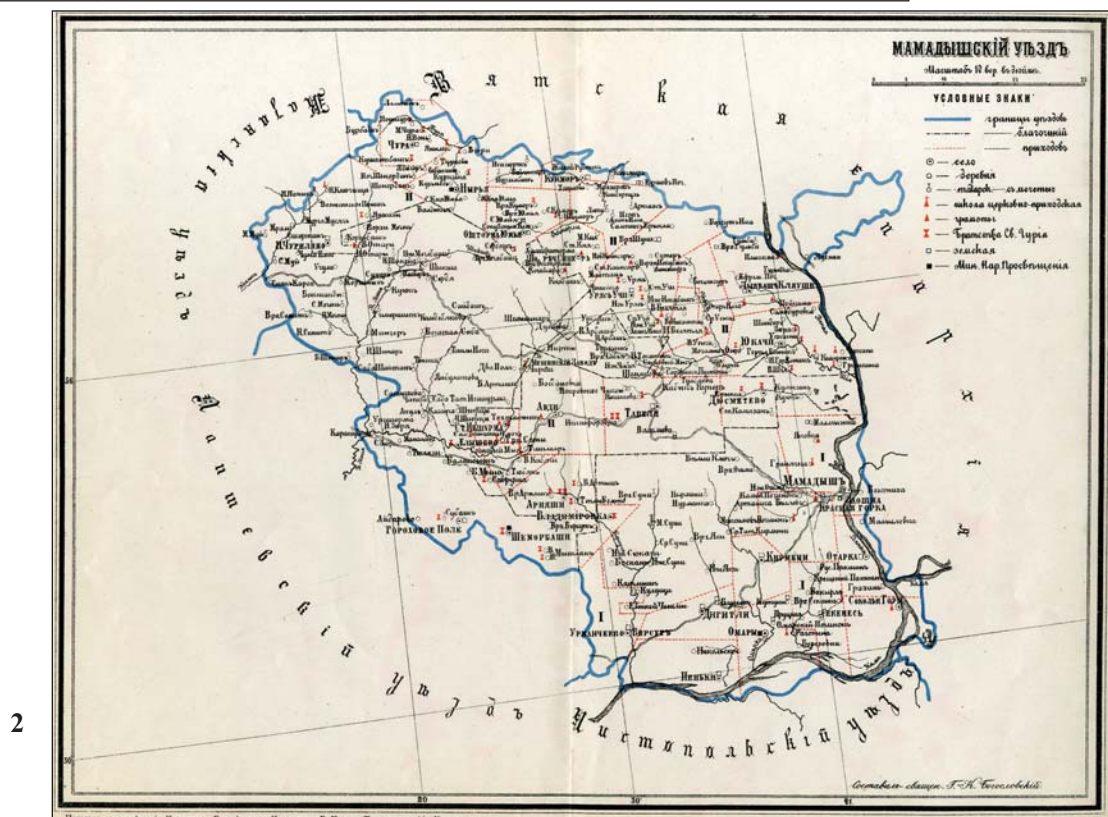
Ecclesiastical and administrative division of the Kazan Eparchy in the late 19th century.

Map of Laishevsky Uyezd (1).

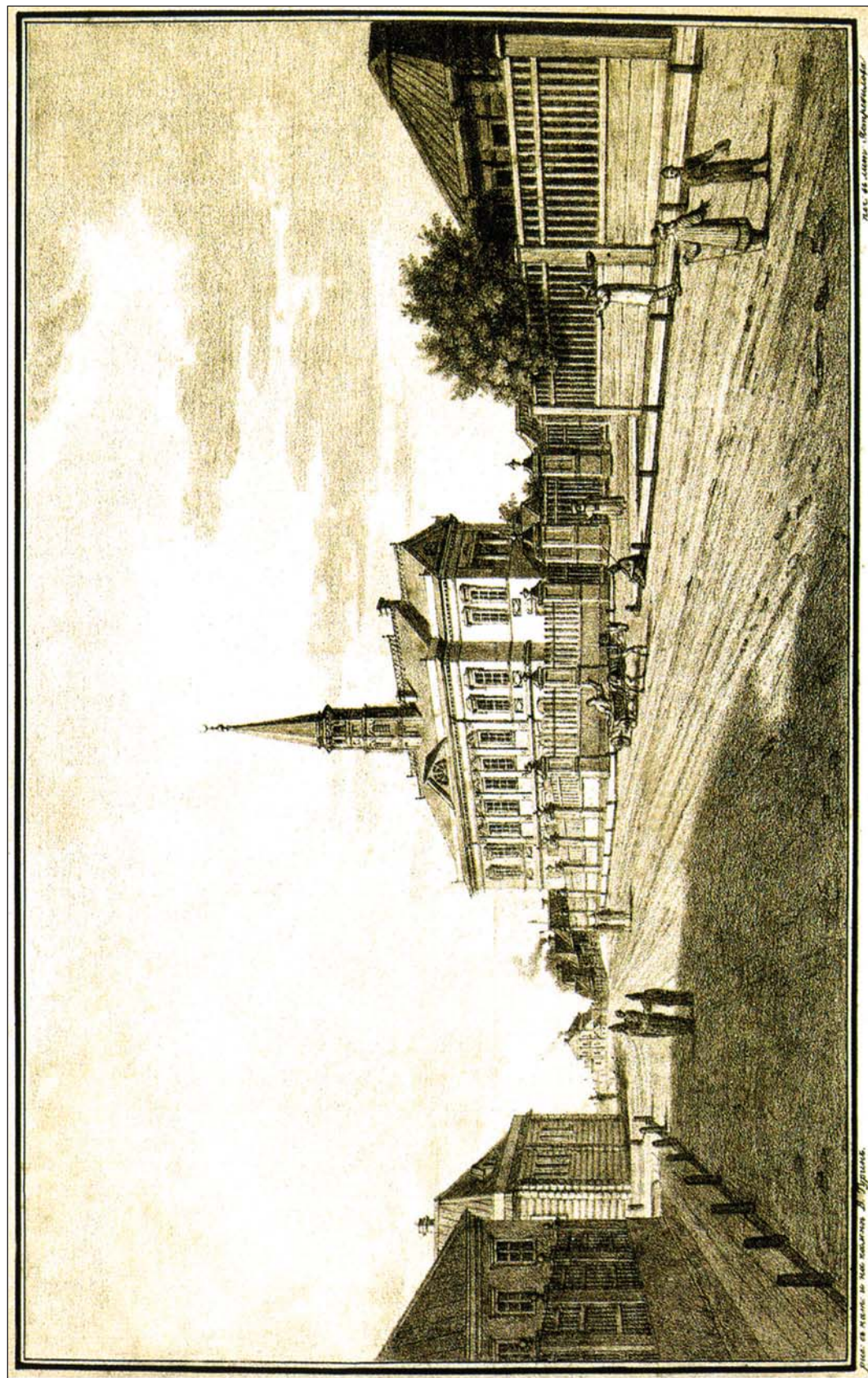
Map of Mamadysh Uyezd (2).

(G. Bogoslovsky, Atlas of the Kazan Eparchy by Uyezds (with the map of the Kazan Guberniya population by tribes). Kazan, 1895).

1



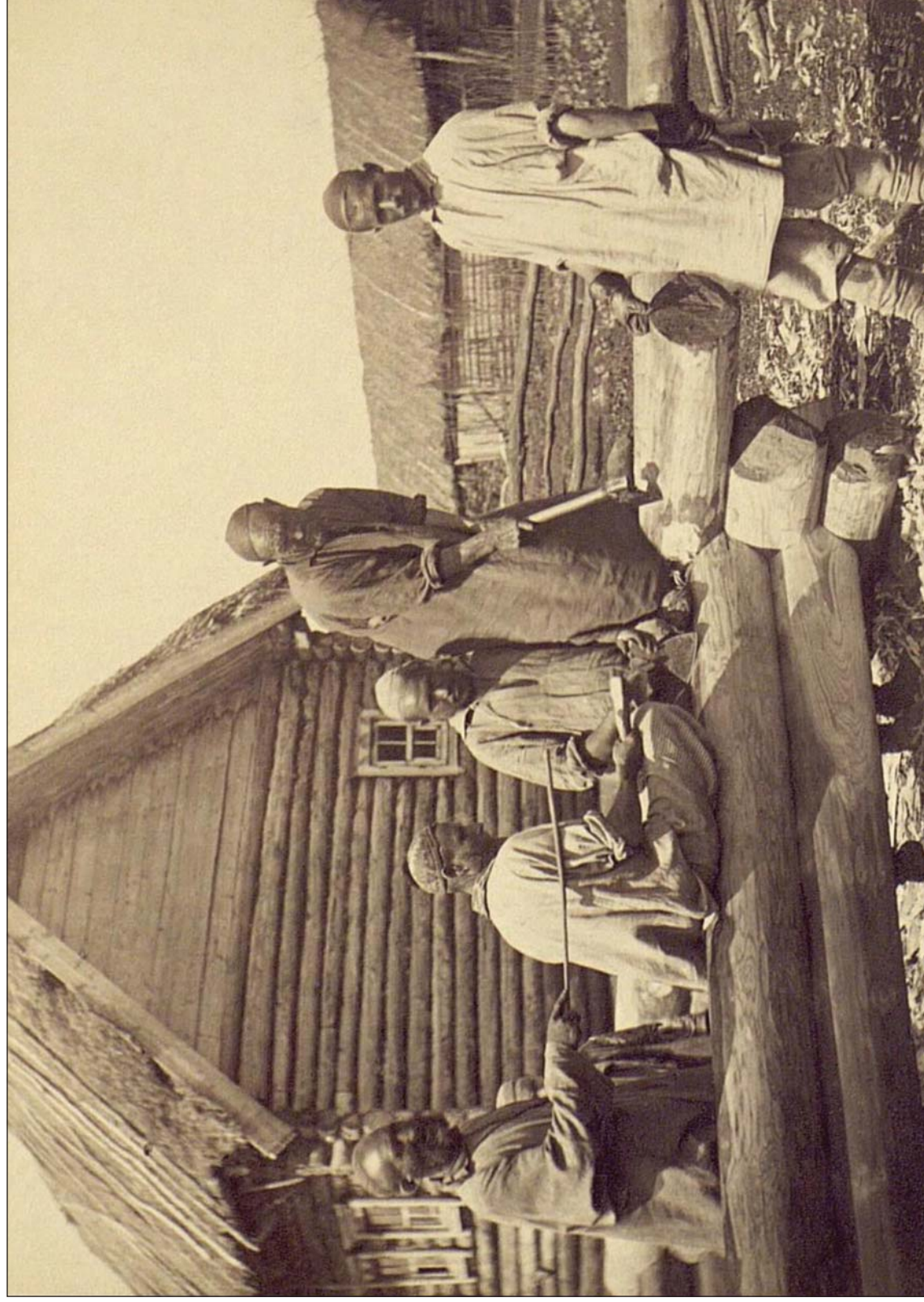
2



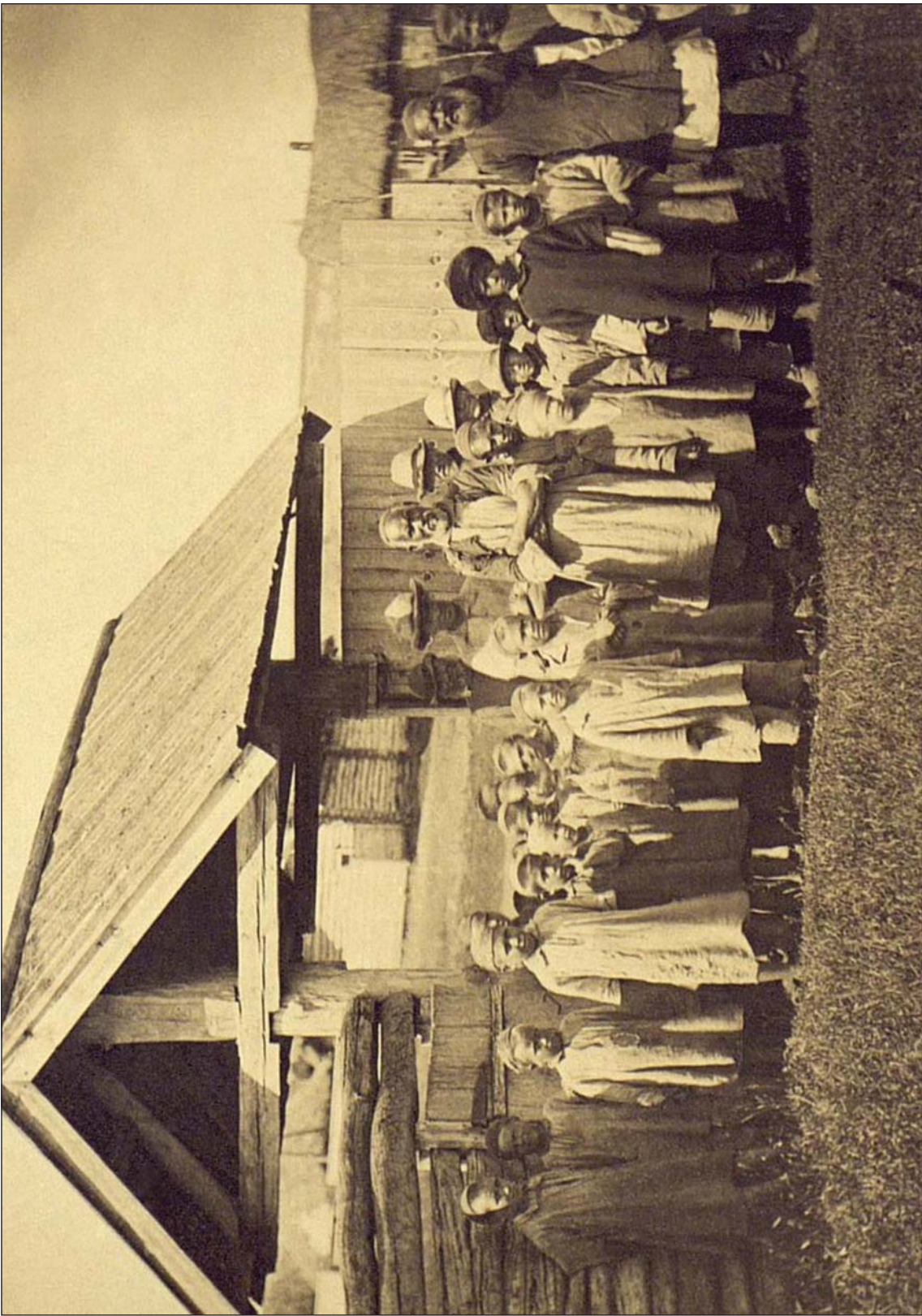
The main Tatar mosque, Kazan. Lithograph by V. Turin. 1834.



Tatar cathedral mosque. Kazan. Lithograph by E. Turnerelli. 1839.



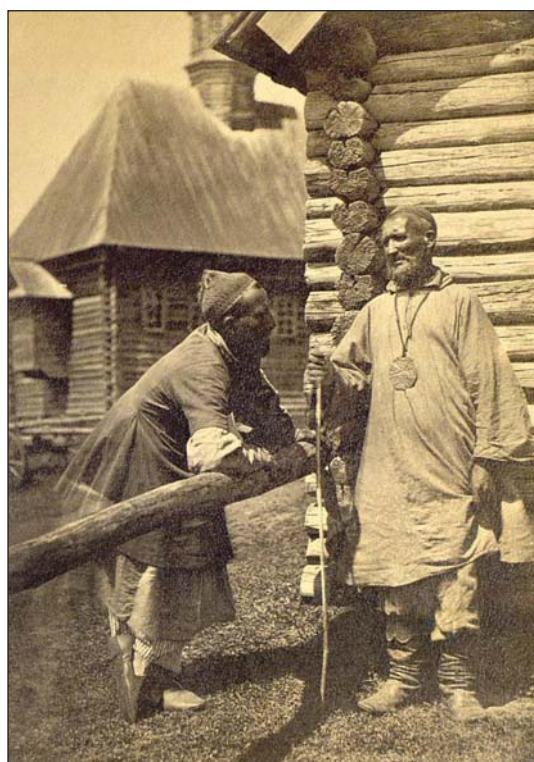
Construction of a log cabin. Kazan Guberniya. Photo by W. Carrick.
The latter half of the 19th century (Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 160–240).



A group of peasant children. Kazan Guberniya. Photo by W. Carrick.
The latter half of the 19th century (Museum of Ethnography and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 160–241).



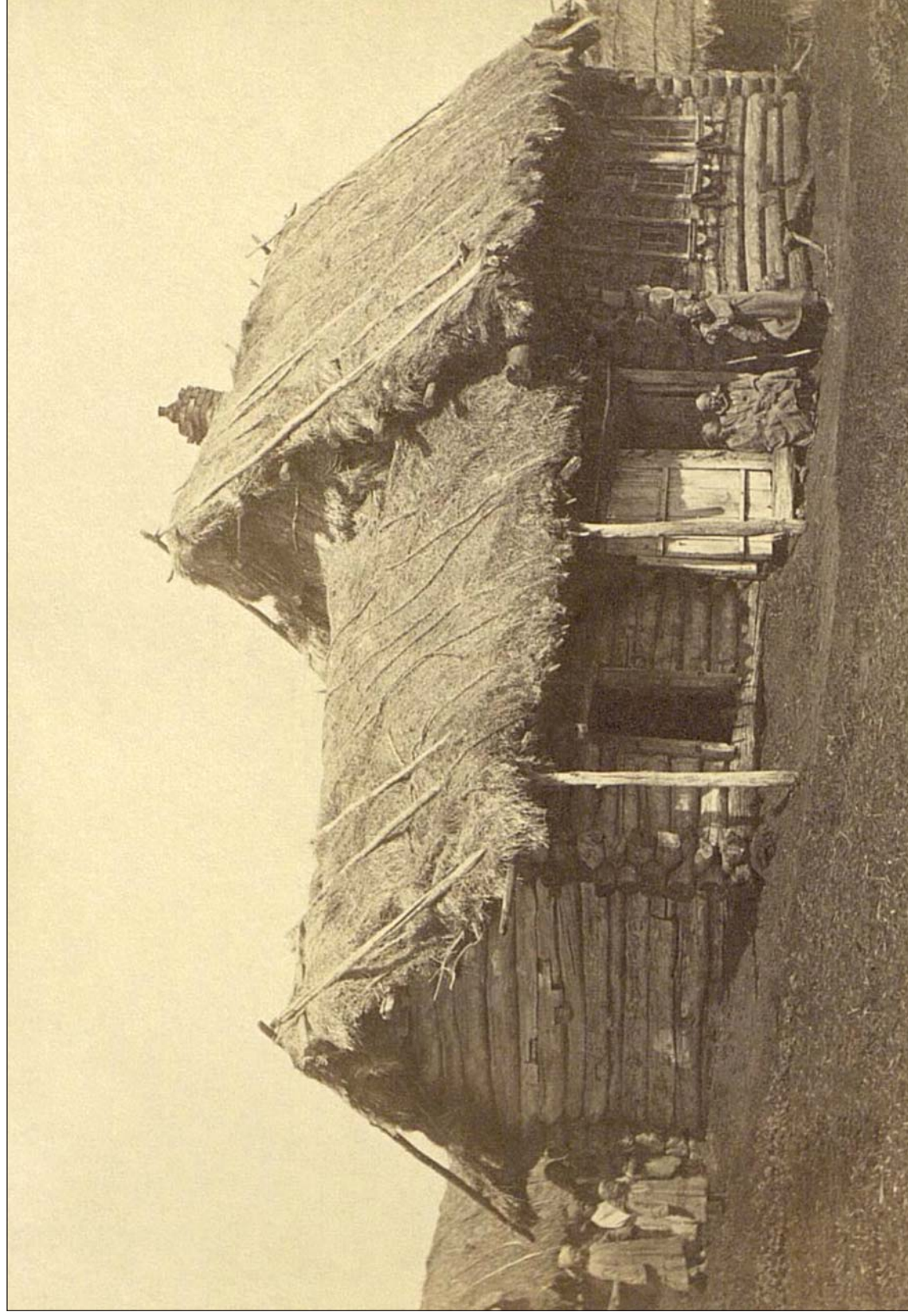
By a haystack. Kazan Guberniya.
Photo by W. Carrick. The latter half of the 19th century (Museum of Ethnography and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 160–248).



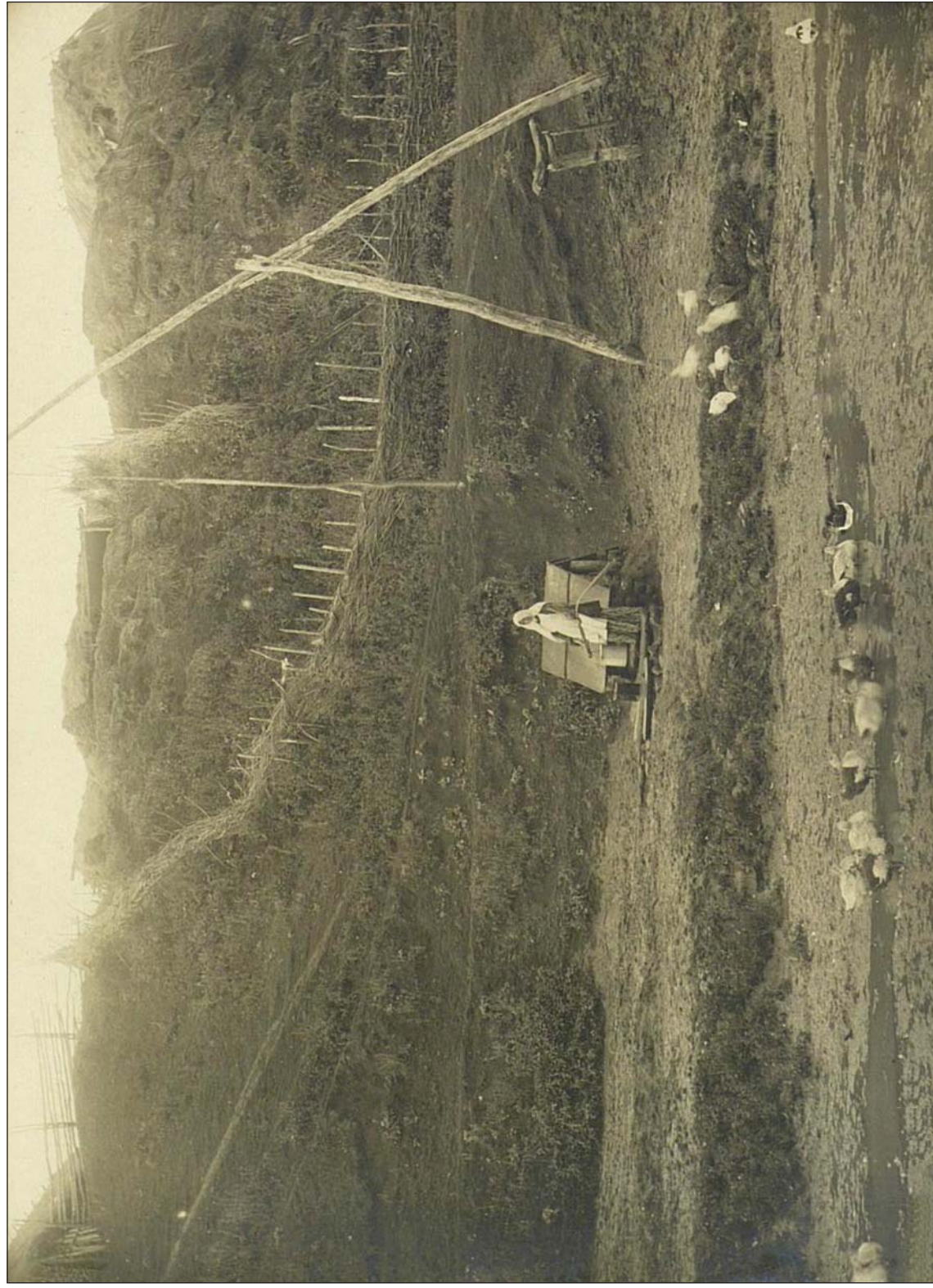
Village headman and peasant. Simbirsk Guberniya. Photo by W. Carrick. The latter half of the 19th century (Museum of Ethnography and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 160–250).



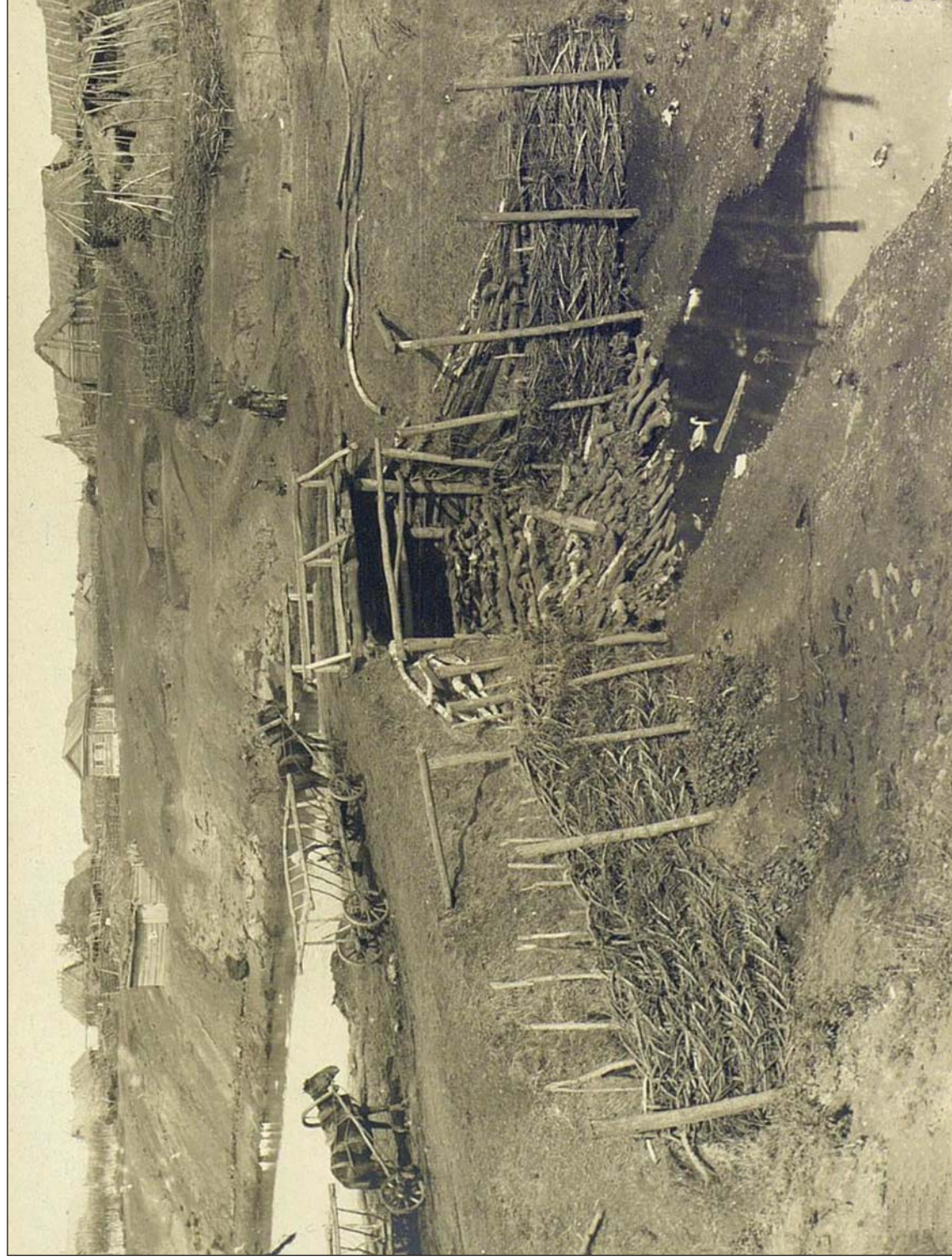
View of a Tatar village. Kazan Guberniya. Photo by W. Carrick. The latter half of the 19th century (Museum of Ethnography and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 160–253).



A peasant izba. Kazan Guberniya. Photo by W. Carrick.
The latter half of the 19th century (Museum of Ethnography and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 160–255).



A rural water well. Ufa Guberniya. Photo by M. Krukovsky.
The early 20th century (Museum of Ethnography and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1919–233).



Mill-dam. Ufa Guberniya. Photo by M. Krukovsky.
The early 20th century (Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1919–238).



A horse-drawn sweep on the thrashing floor and a winnow. Ufa Guberniya. Photo by M. Krukovsky.
The early 20th century (Museum of Ethnography and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1919-254).



Mishar women. Shadrinsky Uyezd of the Perm Guberniya. Photo by S. Rudenko.
The early 20th century (Russian Museum of Ethnography, 1023–7).



Peasant women resting in the field. Ufa Guberniya.
Photo by M. Krukovsky. The early 20th century (Russian Museum of Ethnography, 2577–28).



At mullah's. Chishma village, Ufa Guberniya. Photo by M. Krukovsky. The early 20th century (Russian Museum of Ethnography, 2577-1).



A group of mullahs during the Sabantuy festival. Shadrinsky Uyezd of the Perm Guberniya.
Photo S. Rudenko. The early 20th century (Russian Museum of Ethnography, 1023-2).



The Shigayevs. Simbirsk. The early 20th century
(National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan,
f. 74, inv. 1, file 18, photo 8).



The Tennishevs. Penza, 1896
(National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan,
f. 74, inv. 1, file 18, photo 21).



A rich Tatar family. Tea party outside. Kasimov Uyezd of the Ryazan Guberniya.
The early 20th century (Millennium Museum of Kazan, Kazan National Cultural Centre, 11786–1).



The Ajigitovs. Penza. The late 19th century
(National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan,
f. 74, inv. 1, file 18, photo 30).



The Kajbyshevs. Birsk. The early 20th century
(Millennium Museum of Kazan, Kazan National
Cultural Centre, 12735).



The family of Yakub Kulakhmetov. Penza, 1902
(National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 74, inv. 1, file 19, photo 57).



A group of Tatars in traditional garment. Kazan Guberniya. Photo by I. Polyakov, 1880
(Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 106–95).



A Tatar family
at home
drinking tea.
The late 19th century
(Russian Museum
of Ethnography,
10110-1).

A Tatar woman in folk costume with children. Safarovo village, Ufa Guberniya. Photo by M. Krukovsky. The early 20th century (Russian Museum of Ethnography, 2577–18).



A Mishar man with a hunting falcon. Shadrinsk Uyezd of the Perm Guberniya. Photo by S. Rudenko. The early 20th century (Russian Museum of Ethnography, 1023–8).



Kryashen Tatar women in traditional costumes. Yaltan village, Chistopol Uyezd of the Kazan Guberniya, 1902. (Russian Museum of Ethnography, 207–2b).



Nagaibaks in folk costumes. Orenburg Guberniya. Photo by M. Krukovsky. The early 20th century (Russian Museum of Ethnography, 5471–20).



A group of Kryashen Tatar women in traditional costumes. Grishkino village, Yelabuga Uyezd of the Vyatka Guberniya. The late 19th–early 20th centuries (Russian Museum of Ethnography, 1173–1).



С.О.Р.М.И.А.Л.И.1913

A group of Mishar Tatar women. Shadrinsk Uyezd of the Perm Guberniya. Photo by S. Rudenko.
The early 20th century (Russian Museum of Ethnography, 1023–11).



A Tatar family on the doorstep. Tyumen Uyezd.
(From the collections of Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum Reserve).



A group of Tatars. Tobolsk Uyezd of the Tobolsk Guberniya.
(From the collections of Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum Reserve).



Winners racing each other for the prize — a towel, during the Sabantuy festival.
Shadrinsk Uyezd of the Perm Guberniya. Photo by S. Rudenko. The early 20th century (Russian Museum of Ethnography, 1023-3).



1



2



Kasimov Tatars (1).
Kasimov Uyezd of the Ryazan Guberniya.
The early 20th century
(Millennium Museum of Kazan,
Kazan National Cultural Centre, 11279–3).

A married couple (2).
Kasimov Uyezd of the Ryazan Guberniya.
The early 20th century
(Millennium Museum of Kazan,
Kazan National Cultural Centre, 11786–13).

**Tatar women with a child
in national garment.**
The early 20th century
(Millennium Museum of Kazan,
Kazan National Cultural Centre,
12734–12).



1

Tatars in folk costumes (1).
Davlekanovo village, Ufa Guberniya.
(From the collections of the Millennium
Museum of Kazan, Kazan National Cultural
Centre).



2

**Ginayatulla kzy Kapkayev
and his wife Madina with children (2).**
Ufa. The end of the 19th century
(Millennium Museum of Kazan,
Kazan National Cultural Centre, 12737).



**Gumer Arslangareevich Chanyshiev
and his second wife.** Ufa Guberniya.
The beginning of the 20th century
(Millennium Museum of Kazan, Kazan
National Cultural Centre, 12745).



Prominent Muslim benefactor of the Kasimov city Ahmed Hajrulloovich Kastrov with his son Hasan and wife Hadicha, 1897 (From the family archive of R. Kastrova, 1911, Moscow).



Scholar, teacher I. Teregulov with his wife, writer, translator B. Teregulova, 1880 (From the collections of the Millennium Museum of Kazan, Kazan National Cultural Centre).



Students of the Kazan Tatar Teachers School, 1894 (From the collections of the Millennium Museum of Kazan, Kazan National Cultural Centre).



Exam at the Fellowship of St. Gurias school in a baptised Tatar village. Dyusmetyevo village, Mamadysh Uyezd of the Kazan Guberniya. The early 20th century (Russian State Historical Archive, f. 835, inv. 3, file 173, s. 16).



School of the Fellowship of St. Gurias (baptised Tatar). Eryksy village, Mamadysh Uyezd of the Kazan Guberniya.
The early 20th century (Russian State Historical Archive, f. 835, inv. 3, file 173, s. 7 reverse).



Mullah Abdrahman Gimadetdinov.
Komorguzi village, Kazan Uyezd of the Kazan
Guberniya, 1904 (National Archives of the Republic
of Tatarstan, f. 2, inv. 2, file 7044, s. 17).



Mullah Muhamet Salih Mirhajrutdinov.
Bolshiye Meteski village, Laishevo Uyezd
of the Kazan Guberniya, 1902 (National Archives
of the Republic of Tatarstan, f. 2, inv. 2, file 6631, s. 5).



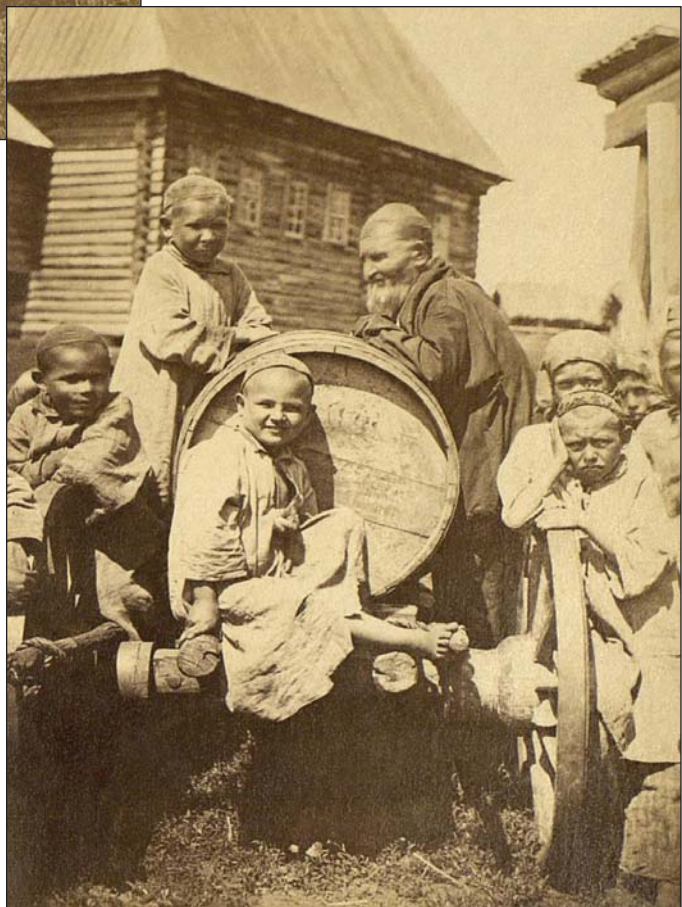
Mullah Ahmmedkarim Ismahilov.
Bikeevo village, Tetyushy Uyezd of the Kazan
Guberniya, 1903 (National Archive of the Republic
of Tatarstan, f. 2, inv. 2, file 6836, s. 3).



Mullah Sabirzyan Muhametshin.
Akbulatovo village, Chistopol Uyezd of the Kazan
Guberniya, 1901 (National Archives of the Republic
of Tatarstan, f. 2, inv. 2, file 6441, s. 7).



A girl in holiday attire.
Simbirsk Guberniya.
Photo by W. Carrick.
The latter half of the 19th century.
(Museum of Anthropology
and Ethnography of the Russian
Academy of Sciences, 160–252).



**A group of peasant children
around a telega.** Kazan Guberniya.
Photo by W. Carrick.
The latter half of the 19th century
(Museum of Anthropology and
Ethnography of the Russian Academy
of Sciences, 160–243).



A village store. Ufa Guberniya. Photo by M. Krukovsky. The early 20th century
(Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1919–261).



Manual crop processing.
Ufa Guberniya.
Photo by M. Krukovsky.
The early 20th century
(Museum of Anthropology
and Ethnography of the Russian
Academy of Sciences, 1919–255).



1



2

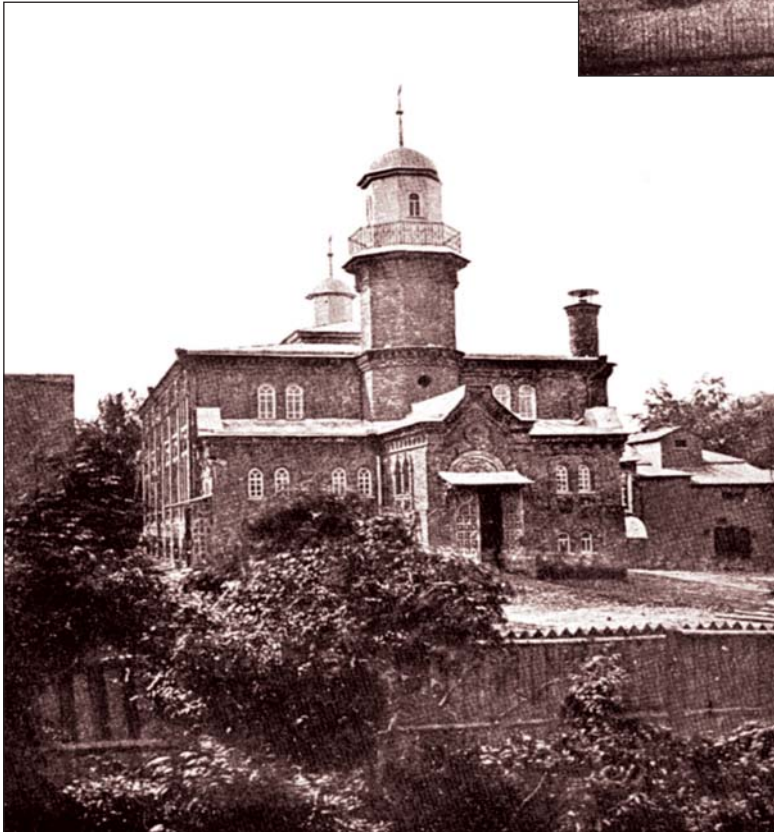
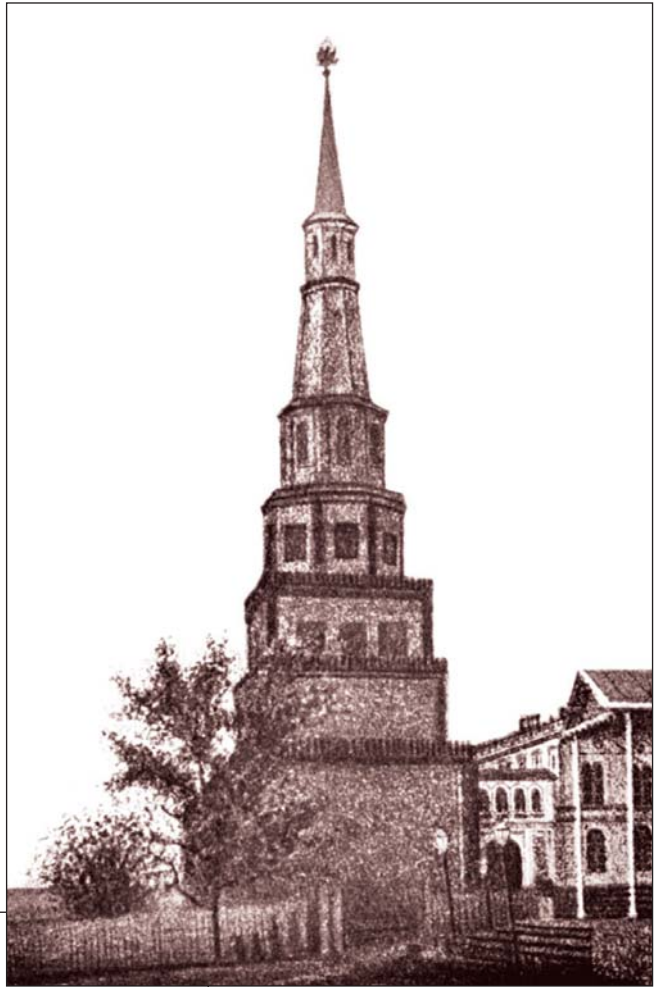


A group of Tatars in traditional costumes (1).
Kazan Guberniya. Photo by I. Polyakov, 1880.
(Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography
of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 106–96).

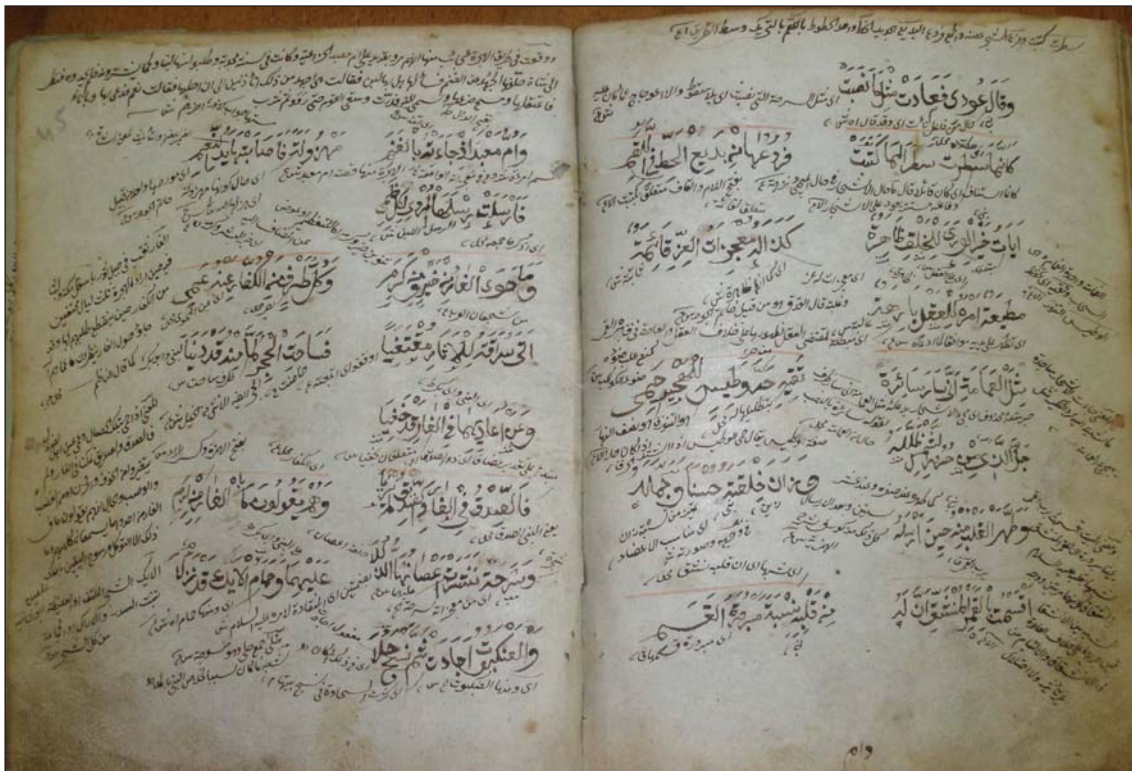
A Tatar woman in traditional garment (2).
Kazan Guberniya. Photo by I. Polyakov, 1880
(Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography
of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 106–99).

A Tatar woman in traditional garment.
Kazan Guberniya. Photo by Polyakov, 1880
(Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography
of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 106–98).

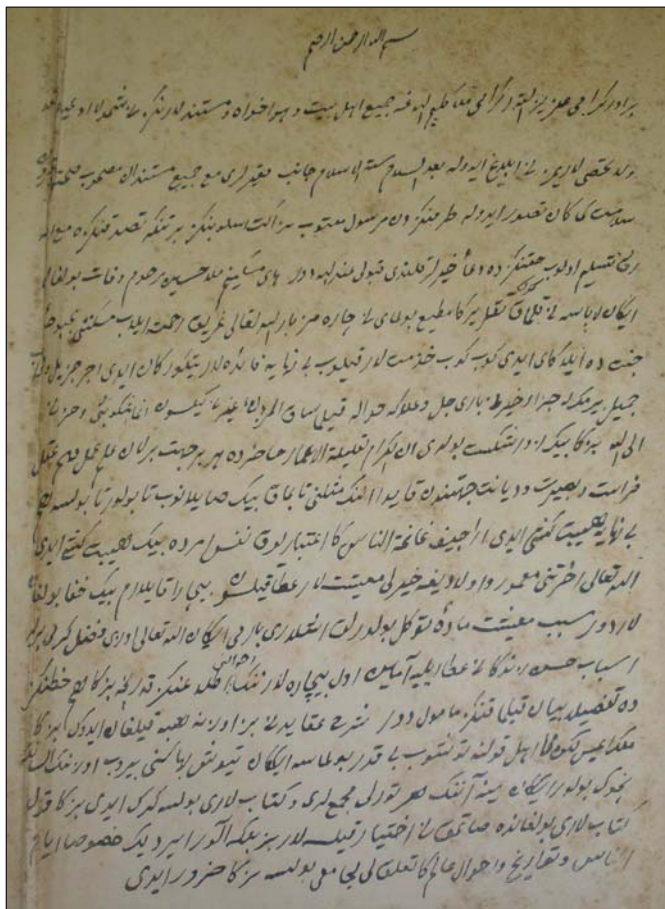
**The Minaret of
Süyümbike. Kazan.**
Photo of the early
20th century.
[Zagidullin, 2007, insert].



**The second cathedral
mosque. Moscow.**
Photo of the early
20th century.
[Zagidullin, 2007, insert].



Page spread of a shakird's notebook, 1820.
(From the private archive of M. Ahmetzyanov).



شماره	تاریخ	موضوع	ملاحظات
1	1302	تاریخ	تاریخ
2	1303	تاریخ	تاریخ
3	1304	تاریخ	تاریخ
4	1305	تاریخ	تاریخ
5	1306	تاریخ	تاریخ
6	1307	تاریخ	تاریخ
7	1308	تاریخ	تاریخ
8	1309	تاریخ	تاریخ
9	1310	تاریخ	تاریخ
10	1311	تاریخ	تاریخ
11	1312	تاریخ	تاریخ
12	1313	تاریخ	تاریخ
13	1314	تاریخ	تاریخ
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17	1318	تاریخ	تاریخ
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21	1322	تاریخ	تاریخ
22	1323	تاریخ	تاریخ
23	1324	تاریخ	تاریخ
24	1325	تاریخ	تاریخ
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26	1327	تاریخ	تاریخ
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28	1329	تاریخ	تاریخ
29	1330	تاریخ	تاریخ
30	1331	تاریخ	تاریخ
31	1332	تاریخ	تاریخ
32	1333	تاریخ	تاریخ
33	1334	تاریخ	تاریخ
34	1335	تاریخ	تاریخ
35	1336	تاریخ	تاریخ

A page of a Tatar handwritten alphabet book. (From the private archive of M. Ahmetzyanov).

A page from a manuscript by Sh. Marjani. (From the private archive of M. Ahmetzyanov).