

TATAR MUSLIM JOURNALISM OF THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY: LINGUISTIC ASPECTS

JORNALISMO MUÇULMANO TATAR DO INÍCIO DO SÉCULO XX: ASPECTOS LINGÜÍSTICOS

PERIODISMO MUSULMAN TATAR DE PRINCIPIOS DEL SIGLO XX: ASPECTOS LINGÜÍSTICOS

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ABSTRACT: The article seeks to inspect the linguistic aspects of Tatar Muslim print media of the pre-October period and the specifics of certain types of publications in its structure. Significant time and geographic coverage of the Muslim press's emergence and development made it possible to identify patterns and the crucial moments of its functioning, linguistic aspects, traditions, and innovation. On the example of the topics of publications, it is demonstrated that first newspapers and magazines in the Tatar language they began to play an essential role in discussing the linguistic and sociological aspects of the Ummah. Thematic classification of publications is given, the periodization of its linguistic and typological development is substantiated, the leading types of publications are identified and characterized. This article reflects the last two principles of classification: based on the ideological orientation of publications and their professional and targeted direction.

Keywords: Tatar press. Linguistic aspects. Typology. Twentieth century.

RESUMO: *O artigo busca inspecionar os aspectos linguísticos da mídia impressa muçulmana tártara do período anterior a outubro e as especificidades de certos tipos de publicações em sua estrutura. O tempo significativo e a cobertura geográfica do surgimento e desenvolvimento da imprensa muçulmana possibilitaram identificar padrões e os momentos cruciais de seu funcionamento, aspectos linguísticos, tradições e inovação. A exemplo dos tópicos das publicações, fica demonstrado que os primeiros jornais e revistas na língua tártara passaram a desempenhar um papel*

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essencial na discussão dos aspectos linguísticos e sociológicos da Ummah. É dada a classificação temática das publicações, fundamentada a periodização do seu desenvolvimento linguístico e tipológico, identificados e caracterizados os principais tipos de publicações. Este artigo reflete os dois últimos princípios de classificação: com base na orientação ideológica das publicações e sua orientação profissional e direcionada.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Imprensa tártara. Aspectos linguísticos. Tipologia. Século XX.*

RESUMEN: *El artículo busca inspeccionar los aspectos lingüísticos de los medios impresos musulmanes tártaros del período anterior a octubre y los detalles de ciertos tipos de publicaciones en su estructura. La significativa cobertura temporal y geográfica del surgimiento y desarrollo de la prensa musulmana hizo posible identificar patrones y momentos cruciales de su funcionamiento, aspectos lingüísticos, tradiciones e innovación. Sobre el ejemplo de los temas de las publicaciones, se demuestra que los primeros periódicos y revistas en lengua tártara comenzaron a jugar un papel fundamental en la discusión de los aspectos lingüísticos y sociológicos de la Ummah. Se da una clasificación temática de las publicaciones, se fundamenta la periodización de su desarrollo lingüístico y tipológico, se identifican y caracterizan los principales tipos de publicaciones. Este artículo refleja los dos últimos principios de clasificación: basado en la orientación ideológica de las publicaciones y su dirección profesional y específica.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Prensa tártara. Aspectos lingüísticos. Tipología. Siglo XX.*

Introduction

Having one of the wealthiest periodical press systems among all the former Soviet Union peoples, in the information space and in the public consciousness, this phenomenon has not yet entirely found its comprehension and proper appreciation. Moreover, many facts concerning the rich history of the Muslim press among the Tatars were forgotten, and even there were attempts to falsify history. A refutation of this is the very history of the Tatar Muslim press – newspapers and magazines, which are an integral part of the socio-economic, political, legal, historical, and cultural process (Akhmetkarimov, 2019).

Along with the local, targeted study of individual newspapers and magazines and the development of the Muslim press in Russia, it is extremely important to develop a holistic view of the system of Tatar

Muslim print media of the pre-October period and the specifics of certain types of publications in its structure (Safiullina-Al Annecy, 2016). The creation of a generalized work in this area implies the presence of a significant amount of specific historical and journalistic material and a certain completeness of the scientific program of 'fragmentation' of the history of Tatar journalism (Gabdrafikova, 2016).

Overall, the study's main aim is to attempt to develop a holistic perspective of Tatar Muslim print media of the pre-October period and the specifics of certain types of publications in their structure.

Methods

Despite the fact that recent decades in this area have been marked by certain successes, in general, the history of the Tatar Muslim press requires a systematic, comprehensive study, which inevitably requires the use of research methods and techniques from an interdisciplinary arsenal, which involves a combination of general scientific and specific methods of historical and philological research: historical- typological analysis, cultural-historical and structural-functional. It is based on a systematic approach that made it possible to identify the interconnection and interdependence of the components of the typological structure of the Muslim press, which were formed under the influence of socio-political processes that took place in Russia and in the Muslim community of the country during the study period. The use of the historical-dialectical method led to the use of the research capabilities of diachronic and synchronistic analysis methods. Diachronic analysis allowed us to consider the historical fact in the genesis, to determine the continuity and innovations in relation to the phenomena of the same type. Synchronistic analysis made it possible to conduct a 'horizontal' study of the relationship of a particular historical phenomenon with other phenomena and processes occurring simultaneously with it. In addition, in the study of periodicals such a specific sociological procedure was used as a secondary analysis of the data obtained as a result of studies by other authors

with the aim of clarifying them. When working with sources, special methods of source study were used. The main source of research was the texts of Muslim periodicals in the Old Tatar language, published in Arabic script.

It should be noted that almost all Tatar newspapers and magazines published before the 1917 revolution were Muslim publications. Until the late 1910s – early 1920s the concepts of 'Tatars' and 'Muslims' (at least in relation to the Muslim population of the Kazan province) were almost identical. In the national press all the most important political and social phenomena were covered taking into account national religious traditions. Even socio-political, economic and literary newspapers could not be newspapers of a purely secular direction.

In the beginning of the 20th century, Muslim periodicals of the Turkic peoples existed in addition to Turkish in Tatar, Azerbaijan, Bashkir, Kazakh, Crimean Tatar, Uzbek, and other Turkic languages. Also, publications were published in Farsi (the language of the educated part of the settled, urban population of Turkestan). In this article we will primarily talk about the Tatar-language press, which appeared in the European part of Russia and focused on that (large) part of the Tatar population who professed Islam. In this regard outside the scope of this study is another Turkic- language Muslim press, as well as periodicals focused on baptized Tatars.

Results and Discussion

Classification of Publications

The classification based on four criteria is applicable to the Tatar Muslim periodicals of the early twentieth century: chronological, geographical, ideological, as well as a professional and targeted orientation. In this article we will focus on ideological criteria and based on the targeted orientation of printed materials.

In the Soviet period the evaluative approach prevailed in relation to publications of the beginning of the twentieth century, which did not escape the subjectivity of evaluations of publications as 'progressive'

or, conversely, 'reactionary', when some print organs were labeled 'bourgeois', 'clerical', and exclusively 'democratic', that is, 'righteousness' (Usmanov, 2000). At the same time, the fact that the pages of the same publication printed materials of different ideological orientation, often nearby, in the same issue, was completely ignored.

In pre-revolutionary historiography, both Russian and Tatar, the national press was mainly considered on the principle of a 'single stream', i.e. without trying to make any kind of differentiation according to a social or ideological principle. In Soviet historiography, Tatar newspapers and magazines, which included a wide range of views, it was customary to evaluate only from two positions, the opposite poles of which, as a rule, indicated Kadimism and Jadidism. At the same time, it was customary for the Kadimists (conservatives) to characterize them as opponents of all innovations, often obsessed with a feeling of religious fanaticism, supporters of scholasticism and dogmatism. Jadidists, on the other hand, were characterized as representatives of the liberal cultural and reform movement, adhering to progressive, secular beliefs. One of the most conservative journals of the Kadimist style was considered the journal 'Ad-Din val-Magyyshat' ('Religion and Life'). Opposing views were held by the weekly Jadidist newspaper 'Al-Islah (Reform). But, speaking of these two movements, it should be remembered that the terms 'Jadid' and 'Kadimist' are rather relative. As noted by Valiulla Yakupov at the conference 'Kadimism in the religious and socio-political life of the Tatars of the Russian Empire' (May 11, 2012), the same Tatar public figure could adhere to the Kadimist point of view on some issues, and on the other, the point of view peculiar to Jadidist (Ordynsky, 2012). In this regard, a number of researchers divide the Jadid movement into two areas: conservatives (traditionalists, 'soil workers') and liberal reformers, and Kadimism is classified as "religious conservatism."

Thus, any attempt to classify the Muslim periodical press of the early twentieth century on the basis of supporting certain socio-political views is conditional to a certain extent. But, at the same time,

the sharp rejection by the Tatar ('Muslim') conservatives of liberal and socialist teachings and the struggle to preserve the foundations of the traditional world order spiritually and partially politically brought them closer to the Russian right-wing monarchists (Black Hundreds). An important circumstance here was dissatisfaction with the strengthening of Jewish influence on socio-political, economic and cultural life, observed during the period of growing liberal-revolutionary sentiments, which was largely due to traditional Muslim and Christian-Jewish contradictions, as well as competitive economic considerations. In such cases even the most fundamental differences often faded into the background (Alekseev, 2012).

According to the Ideological Diversity the Muslim Press can be Divided into Four Types

1) *Tatar Muslim periodicals of a conservative orientation.* To the publications of this plan, first of all, it is customary to include the newspaper 'Bayanelhak' ('Herald of Truth') (Kazan, 1906– 1914), and also published from 1905 to 1914 in St. Petersburg, the first in the Russian Empire periodical in the Tatar language – the weekly socio-political, literary newspaper 'Nur' ('Light') and published from 1906 to 1918 in the Tatar language in Orenburg, the political, religious, and literary weekly journal 'Ad-Din val-Magyyshat' (Religion and Life) (in 1910–1911 – 'Donya va Magyyshat') is the main printed mouthpiece of the 'Kadimists'. From Kadimist publications it is also necessary to pay attention to the short period of time published in 1906–1907 in Ufa in the Tatar language the newspaper 'Al-Galyam Al-Islami' (Islamic World), as well as those published there in 1908–1910, 1916–1918 the magazine 'Maglumate Mahkamai Sharga of Orenburg' ('News of the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly') and in 1911–1912 – 'Maglumate Jadida' ('New News').

Today many researchers have already stated that the very concept of 'Tatar conservatism' is so vague and unstructured that it

does not allow judging it as a separate 'identified' phenomenon. This was a rather specific and very heterogeneous phenomenon, markedly different from the 'borderline' Russian (Orthodox) conservatism, which, as you know, was based on the triad' Orthodoxy. Autocracy.

Nationality'. For some Tatar ('Muslim') religious conservatives, which is understandable, a clear or latent anti-Orthodox position was characteristic (mainly regarding the rejection of the missionary activity of the Russian Orthodox Church), as well as sympathy for pan-Islamism, which, along with pan-Turkism (which developed among Tatars and Bashkirs in the context of pan-Islamism), was rightly considered by the official authorities of the Russian Empire as a threat to the state security of the country (Alekseev, 2012; Akhmetkarimov, 2019; Akhmetkarimov, 2019).

'Protection of universal conservative values, preservation of the traditional social system and social foundations, defense of a unified and indivisible Russia as a common Fatherland, rejection of liberalism and secularism, which reduced religious institutions from a priority position to the rank of ordinary 'public entities', anti-Semitism as opposition to Jews for the conquest of a dominant position, notes historian Razmolodin M. L.

- have become a solid basis for the unity of Russian and non-Russian conservative circles, who were treated like the upper class and the lower classes. The revolution threatened not only the primacy of the ROC, but also the religious tradition of the non-Russian people, which served as the Foundation of the social order in the suburbs. The slogan of defending the current state of affairs, thrown by the black hundreds to the masses, resonated with a certain part of Russian Muslims, among whom the Tatars and Bashkirs were particularly prominent' (Razmolodin, 2010).

2) *Bourgeois-liberal publications* are among the most numerous in this period. Their characteristic feature in different periods of existence was the rejection of class differences and the movement for national unity, accelerated modernization of public life.

Defending the interests of the Turkic peoples, being in opposition to both radicals and kadimists, the liberal press unanimously saw the future of the Tatar people as part of a free, renewed Russia.

Supporters of the liberal wing of the Jadid movement were Yu.

Akchura, S. Djanturin, S. Maksudi, A.-H. Maksudi *et al.*

The liberal direction includes the publications 'Tarjeman', 'Kazan Mohbire', 'Vakyt', 'Ulfat', 'Yoldyz', 'Shura', 'Iktisad', 'Nur', 'Ad-Din Val-Adab'.

Bourgeois-liberal publications formed the basis of political activity after the downturn in 1905, among them the new newspapers 'Mizan' (Astrakhan, 1908-09), 'Hak' (Astrakhan, 1911), 'Iglanat' (Kazan, 1909-10), 'Sibiriya' (Tomsk, Ufa, 1912-13), 'Tormysh' (Ufa, 1913-18), 'Koyash' (Kazan, 1912-18), 'Millyat' (Petrograd, 1913-15) and others.

Among the Muslim press of the beginning of the XX century the centrist position of Muslim liberalism was held by the Ufa newspaper 'Al-Galam al-Islami' ('Muslim world') and 'Tormysh' ('Life').

Liberal-democratic newspapers and magazines made up the largest part of Tatar pre-October periodicals. It included all the major pre-February press organs and most of the new publications that appeared after the overthrow of the autocracy, which declared their non-class, national character.

3) *The Democratic press* that arose and functioned during the first Russian revolution, according to the characteristics of R. U. Amirkhanov, could not ignore 'the interests of the Bolshevik people' and promoted the destruction of 'everything that survived, reactionary'. The researcher refers to the democratic press 12 printed bodies: the newspaper 'Fiker' ('Thought'), 'Azat' ('Free'), 'Tan Yoldyzy' ('Morning star'), 'Azat Halyk' ('Free People'), 'Duma', 'Tan Majmugasy' ('Morning Almanac'), 'Tavysh' ('Voice') "Al-Islah" ("Reform"), the magazine 'Al-Gasr al-Jadid'

It should be noted that almost all (with the exception of the newspaper 'Nur') publications, from moderate- progressive to left-wing, from the point of view of officials, were considered to be publications in

opposition to the government, and therefore required vigilant control and supervision.

4) *Based on the professional and targeted orientation*, the classification proposed by professor D. M. Usmanova is applicable to Tatar periodicals of the early twentieth century: socio- political, religious, satirical (in total, from 1905 to 1917, 10 satirical and humorous magazines in the Volga and Ural regions were published in Tatar, the first of which were published as appendices to Russian magazines, such as, for example, 'Chikertka' ('Grasshopper'), published in 1906 in Orenburg as an Appendix to the Russian magazine 'Sarancha' 'Locust', but there were also independent magazines in the Tatar language: 'Chukech' ('Hammer') was published in Orenburg from June 1906 to March 1910; 'Tup' ('Canon') was published in Astrakhan from March to April in 1907; 'Karchyga' ('Hawk') was published in Orenburg; 'Uklar' ('Arrows') – in Uralsk; 'Yashen' ('Lightning') and 'Yalt-yolt' ('Summer Lightning') in Kazan), literary, educational (magazines 'Tarbiya' ('Education'), 'Maktab' ('School'), 'Muallim' ('Teacher'), 'Tarbiyatel Atfal' ('The Upbringing of Children')), children's and economic-commercial (magazine 'Iktisad' ('Economy'), 'Rusiya Saudase' ('Russian Trade'), newspaper 'Iglanat' ('Russian-Muslim Herald') etc.), judicial ('Hokuk wa Hayat' ('Law and Life')), women's ('Galyame Nisvan' ('World of Women')), 'Soembika', 'Sharyk Kyzy' ('Daughter of the East') and others. Unlike newspapers, almost all magazines were specialized to one degree or another.

Issues of Publications

Among the many issues discussed in the press, for the Muslims were the most important issues of public education, immigration policy, economic and legal situation of national border regions, the question of public holidays, and, of course, purely religious problems. As he wrote Fouad Tuktarov: 'In most cases, our public debate revolve around three issues: secular and religious schools, the Mufti and clergy and the deputies from the faction (Usmanova, 2013). Also, questions of

theology, women's issues did not leave the press.

1) *The system of Muslim confessional education* is the central topic of attention of the Tatar public at the beginning of the twentieth century: detailed discussions are going on in the pages of newspapers and magazines about what textbooks should be and what methods should be used in educational institutions. In the publications of Khalil Abulkhanov, Yusuf Akchura, Gabdulla Apanaev, Hadi Atlasi, Shahr Sharaf, Zakhir Bigiyev, Musa Bigiyev, G. Barudi, Iskandar Khamzavi, Muhammadkamal Muzaffarov, Rakhimdzhani Atnabafi, Fatah and Kadykh, there are other issues in the schedule, questions of the methodology of teaching religious disciplines, the repertoire of teaching aids in religious subjects. Reviews of new teaching aids appear, which often have a lot of criticism.

2) *Theological issues* occupied an important place on the pages of Muslim periodicals. Ordinary Muslims of that time faced with the need to understand various aspects of liturgical practice in the performance of certain religious traditions, including those associated with Sufism. Dedicated to these burning issues unfolding on the pages of Tatar newspapers and magazines, theological disputes left an indelible impression on ordinary Muslims and gained great popularity. These are purely theological issues related to Islamic Doctrine, Islamic Law, Exegetics (Tafsir), as well as issues of a religious-philosophical nature, as well as socio-political issues, such as, for example, the problem of the correlation of national identity and religious affiliation expressed in such topics, as the use of the native language in religious practice, when reading Hutba and much more (Safiullina-Al Annecy, 2016).

3) *The issue of the position of women in society*, the so-called women's issue, has always been and remains the subject of dispute in Muslim society. In this topic, one can distinguish certain issues: general (women's equality, the status of women in society), and private: education for women; moral theme; everyday life of a Tatar woman. First of all, these topics found expression on the pages of specialized

publications, this is the first specialized women's publication that appeared in the Turkic world – the magazine 'Galyame Nisvan' ('The World of Women'), published by I. Gasprinsky in Crimea (1906–1910), and also the magazines' Soembike' (1913–1918) and 'Sharyk Kyzy' (1918). Women's issues were given great attention on the pages of the newspapers' Ad- Din val-Adab', 'Ad-Din val-Magyyshtat', 'Tormysh'. So, in the journal 'Ad-Din val-Adab' there are about 34 articles on women's professional education, women visiting mosques, Hijab, polygamy, issues of Nikah and divorce, husband support, right to vote, etc. Some of the issues even had separate rubrics' bab an-nisa' ('female department'). The magazine advocated for the protection of women's rights, urged men to treat their wives well, which for that time was a very advanced phenomenon. However, the magazine did not lean towards emancipation and feminism, which at that time began to awaken in Europe.

4) *Religious and private issues* occupy a large place in the Muslim press of the early twentieth century. As L.R. Gabrafiikova writes: 'The emerging new bourgeois culture of the Tatars: secular literature, journalism, theatrical productions were overwhelmingly built on the opposition of the new progressive youth world to the old world, led by mullahs. But at the same time, advanced people were in no hurry to completely shut themselves off from religion' (Gabrafiikova, 2016). However, the bourgeois changes of the post-reform period and the Jadid transformations had a significant impact on the formation of the personality of young people born in the 1880s. They were the first generation of 'Europeanized' Tatars, who from childhood found themselves in the center of a new urban culture. In addition to the trade and worship services habitual for the Tatars, additional opportunities for generating income appeared. But they required special knowledge and skills. Some of them after madrassas managed to continue their studies in Russian gymnasiums, real training schools, after which they had the opportunity to go to university. In this regard, there is an outflow of representatives of the clergy to other areas. At

the same time, Tatar intellectuals could not be called people who moved away from religion. Many of them could read Quran very well and understood it as well as various comments on it. Evidence of this is the rising noise in the Tatar press after the appearance of the Quran with errors in the printing house of N. Kharitonov in Kazan in 1913. This topic was discussed in almost every newspaper ('Koyash', 'Yoldyz', 'Bayanelhak', etc.), they returned to it again and again.

However, in the minds of generations born in the 70-80s of XIX century there were changes. And the reason for this was both changes and the development of cultural life, and the fact that there was an expansion of services everywhere that contradicted the main provisions of Islam: many things previously forbidden by the Sharia because of their increased economic benefits became acceptable among the Tatars, Friday began to lose its holiday status of the day, the influence of the religious community is diminishing, young people are becoming more and more subject to the worldly temptations of bourgeois society (Gabdrafikova, 2012).

5) *Reform of religious institutions.* In a society where there was a constant debate between secular figures and traditionalists, the image of clergymen, shakirds and madrassas has seriously changed. A number of reforms carried out by the state also did not contribute to strengthening the authority of clergymen. The appearance of the Decree of December 12, 1904 initiated a review of the whole complex of legislative acts concerning the structure of the spiritual life of Muslim citizens of Russia. On the issue of reforming religious institutions, the plans of the metropolitan bureaucracy and Muslim projects were in irreconcilable confrontation, which made it almost impossible to agree on this issue in the current political system. All this determined the main topics of public discussion. Muslims wanted to consider issues such as the introduction of electivity in the filling of positions of both lower and higher clergy, the possibility of providing money to the clergy and revenues from public funds, the equation in the rights of Muslim clergy with the Orthodox, issues of recruiting

clergy, the establishment of Muslim religious administrations in the regions where they were absent, etc. On the pages of the Tatar press, the issue of reforming the organs of spiritual (religious) government was actively discussed and, it would seem, was close to resolution. After the February Revolution of 1917 conditions were created for the implementation of the transformations outlined in the pre-revolutionary period. Thanks to coverage in the Muslim press, the problem received public outcry and became well known. Its development included new legislative institutions - the State Duma as a whole and the Muslim faction in particular.

6) *The State Duma*. In imperial Russia the State Duma was the only all-Russian tribune of a political nature from which representatives of the Muslim Ummah could publicly and legally defend their corporate interests, learned to express their demands and find the right political allies, got used to the inevitable compromise and balance of interests (Usmanova, 2006).

For the entire pre-revolutionary period in the State Duma only a couple of Muslim publications had official representation - 'Ulfat' newspaper in the person of its editor G. Ibragimov in the first two Dumas and 'Nur' newspaper in the Duma of the 3rd and 4th convocations, headed by the Bayazitovs. Members of the State Duma Gaisa Enikeev, Sadri Maksudi, Sharafutdin Makhmudov, Mohammed-Kutlug Tevkelev spoke on the pages of the 'Nur' newspaper. The remaining Muslim publications were forced to be content with reprints of messages from official publications, excerpts from the verbatim records of the Duma or correspondence of the Muslim deputies themselves. This is explained by the fact that the working conditions of the Duma correspondents were subject to rather strict bureaucratic regulation (in the person of the Duma Chancellery and the Main Directorate for Press), the requirements of which not all publications could meet. In this regard Muslim publications could not compete with either the central or leading provincial Russian publications. In addition to keep a special Duma correspondent in the capital was too

expensive for small-run, often unprofitable and remote provincial publications. Many Tatar newspapers, even the largest ones, did not have the financial or other ability to constantly keep their own correspondent with the Duma. The only exceptions were the metropolitan newspapers 'Nur' and 'Ulfat'. At the same time, probably, there was not a single Turkic- language publication that did not print materials on the activities of the State Duma and especially its Muslim faction.

Members of the Muslim faction sent appeals to the public in the editorial offices of leading Tatar newspapers, and also informed about their activities. As a result, in the Duma life, the most informed were such stable and authoritative Tatar publications as the 'Yoldyz', 'Vakyt', 'Bayanelkhak', 'Qoyash', 'Il', 'Tormysh'. On the pages of the newspapers 'Tormysh', in his detailed analytical article Zakir Kadiri argues over pan-Islamism, the activities of the Muslim faction in the State Duma. The newspaper 'Azat' covered the activities of the 1st State Duma. The Astrakhan newspaper 'Islam' advocated the idea of unity of the Tatar people, prevention a split into sub-ethnic groups (Astrakhan, Siberian, Kazan and other Tatars) and opposed the dissolution of the State Duma. The Kazan newspaper 'Al-Islam' covered the foreign and domestic policies of Russia, the activities of the Duma and various parties ('Ittifak al-Muslimin', 'True Russians', etc.). The newspaper 'Vakyt' also actively covered the political situation in the country, the activities of the Muslim faction in the State Duma.

Identifying the causes of stagnation in society and determining ways out of it was a key problem for intellectuals in the early XX century. It became central in Tatar religious thought at the beginning of the 20th century, since both thinkers linked the causes of stagnation and the ways to overcome it directly with Islam. In this process the formation of two camps is observed: the clergy and the intelligentsia. Each side fought for influence on the masses: the first - to maintain its former influence, the second made great efforts to reduce this influence by all available means. Following the debate that began

among the Russian public, mainly in the State Duma, about the feasibility of providing money to the Orthodox clergy, similar disputes erupted in the Tatar press. 'Nur' in the person of G. Bayazitov and other authors actively discussed with the newspapers 'Vakyt', 'Yoldyz' on this issue. On the part of the intelligentsia, proposals were increasingly made to narrow the administrative potential of the clergy. A.M. Topchibashev in the draft reform proposed transferring such civil matters as marriage, divorce issues, and name giving ceremony to a district police superintendent, thereby, according to Bayazitov, 'moving the spiritual leader away from the people, depriving him of the impact of guns on the parish'.

Speaking for the progress and development of Muslims, Bayazitov was of the opinion that "progress is not necessarily associated with imitation or rapprochement with Europe" but can be possible through the "transfer of Western knowledge and Western technology without abandoning traditional values". Therefore, Bayazitov tirelessly said in each of his articles that people need education and raising the level of culture. He urged to postpone controversial issues that were tearing society apart for 7-10 years, even such as polemic about hijab, the all-inclusive mercy of Allah, not to mention the problems associated with the status of the clergy or Kadimist-Jadidist rivalry.

On the pages of leading newspapers and magazines, gradually, not without hard work, the style and genres of time-based printing words, public speaking were developed, the skills of collecting information were mastered, norms, rules of disputes, and controversy developed. The presence of diverse in positions, but independent of a single center, press organs favorably contributed to the implementation of a peculiar and free 'public' meeting.

To describe the period of formation of the local national press of the Muslim peoples of the Russian Empire in the history of journalism, the active use of the Eurocentric concept of the formation of Turkic newspapers is accepted. An alternative to it, the Eurasian concept of

the origin of the press of the Turkic Muslim peoples of Russia, presents it as a kind of bridge connecting the universally recognized values of Western and Eastern culture.

However, despite the fact that the life of the Muslim peoples of the empire – not only spiritual, but also secular – was regulated by the Koran and the Sunna, the creation and distribution of Turkic print media in Russia was hindered by the ban on propaganda of Islam in the country that existed until the beginning of the 20th century. Therefore, as F.T. Kuzbekov writes, coverage of the life of the Turkic-Muslim community was considered as ‘propaganda’ of the Koran. To create the prerequisites for the appearance of the Turkic press it was necessary, in his opinion, to form a discrete Muslim consciousness which could only be secularized which began at the beginning of the twentieth century thanks to the press (Kuzbekov, 1992).

The formation of this environment was greatly facilitated by the educational activities of national thinkers, writers and philosophers. At the origins of the journalistic word were the progressively minded Muslim enlighteners brothers Husain and Gabdulgallyam Faizkhanov, Shigabuddin Marjani, Kayum Nasyri and many others, reformist ideas of whom went beyond confessional and regional frameworks and became the forerunners of the Jadidist movement in Russia. The first journalists and publishers from this medium were ‘prepared’ already in the second half of the 19th century and it is precisely during this period that printed information perception skills are mastered.

It should be noted that the development and formation of Tatar enlightenment was promoted by the long-standing traditions of high prestige of education and literacy in Tatar society. According to the words of the rector of the Kazan Theological Academy P. Znamensky (1910): ‘Being used to reading books, the Tatar is quite easy to learn Russian literacy, as seen in the regiments: soldiers from the Tatars are more likely to become literate than Russians. It is curious that in the university printing house Tatars were considered one of the best

workers for local scholars of university journals and theological academy’.

Recall that such prominent Tatar enlighteners, public figures, historians, writers S. Marjani, K. Nasyri, H. Faizkhanov, S. Kultyasi, S. Kuklyashev, M. Akmulla, G. Makhmudov, G. Ilyasi, R. Fakhrutdinov, G. Barudi, F. Karimi, R. Ibrahimov and many other representatives of the intellectual elite graduated from the Kadimist madrasah. And it was these educators, public and religious figures who themselves came from this system, that is, graduates of the same madrassas and mektebes that existed separately from the state education system, who paid attention to the shortcomings of the existing system of religious education, religious institutions, and problems of public life. As modern scholars note, “there was simply no other layer of educated people from the Tatars who served their people, with rare exceptions” (Andreas Kappeler. Svetlana Chervonnaya, 2001).

Conclusion

In general, according to researchers, from 1905 to April 1918, 111 newspapers and 40 magazines were published in the territory of the former Russian Empire and the Soviet Union (Gaynanov *et al.*, 2000). In addition, there were manuscript and illegal publications on the hectograph.

Newspapers and magazines that covered issues related to Islam: ‘Vakyt’, ‘Shura’, ‘Ad-Din val- Magyyshat’ (Orenburg), ‘Koyash’, ‘Yoldyz’, ‘Kazan Mohbire’ (Kazan), ‘Ad-Din val-Adab’, ‘Maglyumet’(Ufa), ‘Al-Gasr al-Jadid’ (Uralsk), ‘Tarbiyat al-Atfal’ (Moscow).

Three magazines can be attributed directly to religious publications: ‘Ad-Din val-Adab’ (1906-1908 / 1913-1917), ‘Maglumate Makhkamai Shargiyya Orenburgia’ (1908-1911 / 1916-1917) and ‘Din wa Magyyshat’ (1906-1918). This does not mean that other time-based publications considered themselves outside of religion, but these three magazines specialized in religious subjects. At the same time these publications were radically different from each other in their content. ‘Maglumate Makhkamai Shargiy Orenburg’ was the official

publication of the Spiritual Assembly. 'Ad-Din val-Maggyshat' was the mouthpiece of the Kadimists and waged a tireless struggle with the Jadids. And the journal 'Ad-Din val-Adab' advocated reforms, including in the religious sphere, and at the same time was not anti-clerical in content.

Along with this, we single out the first Muslim publication in Russia – the newspaper 'Nur' ('Svet'), as well as the famous magazine 'Shura' ('Collection'), the newspapers 'Tormysh' ('Life'), 'Ittifak' ('Soyuz') and 'Idel' ('Volga') the publishers of which were religious figures.

At the same time, we can see that the Russian Muslims participating in the political modernization of the country experienced the process of internal modernization, were at the stage of formation of a new society, a society of a modern type. It should be noted that until the end of the 1910s – the beginning of the 1920s the concepts of 'Tatars' and 'Muslims' (at least in relation to the Muslim population of the Kazan province) were almost identical. In the national press all the most important political and social phenomena were covered taking into account national religious traditions. Even socio-political, economic and literary newspapers could not be newspapers of a purely secular direction. Thus, almost all Tatar newspapers and magazines published before the 1917 revolution can be considered as Muslim publications. Changes in the social structure of society, socio-economic and political spheres directly affected the spiritual sphere, as evidenced by lively discussions in the Muslim press about the principles and forms of self-identification (religious, ethnic, linguistic), which periodically spilled over into public debates. More often than others, the problems of the formation and dissemination of the 'new method', the activities of the Spiritual Assembly and the position of the Muslim clergy, the activities of the Muslim faction of the State Duma, and theological issues were highlighted. The discussion on the reform of the state, the mission of the national intelligentsia, the spiritual revival of society, etc., launched on the pages of the Muslim press, then determined the

ideology of representatives of the national intellectual elite abroad (Garifullin & Zayni, 2013).

The reconsideration of the source base and methodological foundations of the research work that has taken place in recent years opens Muslim journalism of this period from new perspectives. It appears as a field of ideas, sometimes relevant to society to this day. Like more than a hundred years ago, today the Muslim community of our region is at an important stage in the transformation of public life: high social mobility, rapid religious revival, a kaleidoscope of ideas and concepts – all this makes people look for answers to questions and find adequate ways to adapt in a rapidly changing world.

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