

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL MOVEMENT OF THE SIBERIAN TATARS IN THE EARLY 20th CENTURY

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The article discusses the evolution of the Siberian Tatars' socio-political movement in the period between two revolutions of the early 20th century - the revolution of 1905–1907 and the February Revolution of 1917. The article shows that until 1917, the movement predominantly took shape of charitable societies, whose purpose was primarily cultural and educational activities. However, the Muslims of Siberia had already taken part in the All-Russian Muslim Congresses of 1906 and 1914. The peak of the socio-political movement occurred in 1917 - early 1918 when Muslim committees and bureaus were organized in cities, and provincial Muslim congresses, Muslim Shuros (National Councils) and provincial branches of the Milli Idare (The National Administration) were held. The article pays special attention to the discussions of 1917 – early 1918, which raised the issues of creating separate autonomous structures of Siberian Muslims. We have found that the Tatars of Asian Russia eventually abandoned the idea of forming parallel bodies of religious and national-cultural autonomy, retaining parishes as part of a single Spiritual Assembly and becoming part of the Milli Idare with its center in Ufa.

Key words: Tatars of Siberia, Muslim socio-political movement, Milli Idare, Tobolsk Province, Tomsk Province

Introduction

Recently, a discussion has been in progress about the relationship between the Tatars themselves and the Siberian Tatars. In one case, they are considered to be a whole and a part, in another case - two separate peoples. This is a multifaceted issue, which goes beyond ethnic processes. Due to living together within the Russian Empire, the self-identification and self-determination of the Tatar population in Siberia was largely influenced by the general processes occurring in the country. In this article, we will look at the situation in the early 20th century, a period of the highest rise in the socio-political movement of the Russian Muslims. The territorial scope of the study is the Tobolsk and Tomsk Provinces. The main part of the Tobolsk Province generally coincides with the administrative boundaries of the modern Tyumen Region (except for the areas of Kurgan and Tara). The Tomsk Province along with the lands of the region of the same name included the territories of

the Kemerovo and Novosibirsk Regions, the Altai Territory and the Altai Republic.

In the post-reform period and in the early twentieth century, a large number of Tatars, immigrants from the Volga-Ural Region, settled in Siberia as a result of Stolypin's reforms. They occupied a significant place in the socio-political life of the Muslim population in the region. At the same time, in the Tobolsk Province, the key role in the socio-political movement was clearly played by the natives of Siberia, while in the Tomsk Province of great importance was the role played by the recent immigrants from the Volga-Ural Region.

Unlike the previous article by one of the co-authors, "Tatar Structures of Siberia" [1], which was of introductory nature and described all types of social structures of the Tatar population in Siberia, this article will focus primarily on the socio-political movement. It had two upsurges: the period of revolution in 1905–1907 and the period from the February Revolution of 1917 to the stable establishment of the Soviet regime and the dissolu-

tion of national socio-political structures (primarily the Milli Idare) in the spring of 1918.

Representatives of Siberia took part in the All-Russian Muslim Congresses of 1906 and 1914. We should note that the “father” of the socio-political movement of the Muslims in Russia, (Gabder) Rashid qadi Ibrahim(ov), was a native of the city of Tara, the Tobolsk Province. After the revolution of 1905–1907, charitable societies were formed as the first organizations of the Russian Muslims of the New Age in Siberia. Moreover, as early as in 1906, the Muslims of the Tobolsk Province raised the question of their representation in the all-Russian parliament.

The chronological framework covers the period from the revolutions of 1905–1907 and 1917 and up to the consolidation of the Soviet regime in Siberia in the spring of 1918. In addition, the article will focus on the period of the spring of 1917 – the spring of 1918.

The period of late 1917 - early 1918 was distinguished by the presence of both the socio-political movement of the Russian Muslims and the Siberian autonomist movement, which first advocated territorial autonomy in the region, and after the October Revolution, it fought for the complete independence of Siberia. Let's try to understand the attitude of the Siberian Muslims to the activities of Siberian regionalists. As a result, we can make conclusions about the position of Muslims in Siberia both in relation to the structures of the all-Tatar religious and national-cultural autonomy and to the activities and bodies of Siberian Russian autonomists.

Methods and Sources

The main problem we faced, when analyzing the socio-political movement of the Siberian Tatars in the early 20th century, was the insufficient source base. When studying the situation in the European part of Russia, we usually rely on two main groups of sources. First of all, these are materials from the provincial gendarmerie departments, which aimed to assess the socio-political movement of the Russian Muslims, starting with the revolution of 1905–1907. However, these sources characterize the situation only in the European part of Russia. Siberia as a whole remained out of the gendarmerie departments' sight, since the Muslims of the region did not take part in all-Russian political processes and parties in mass. Moreover, the next period of the gendarmes' activity was associated with the fight against the so-called pan-Islamism, however in the case of Siberia, the main

problem discussed there concerned the help rendered to Turkish prisoners of war during the First World War (and this applies only to the Muslims of Irkutsk).

The second most important source is the Tatar press itself. Regarding Siberia, we can talk about several periodicals. This is the newspaper “The Ulfat” (85 issues in total), which was published in St. Petersburg in 1905–1907 by (Gabder) Rashid qadi Ibrahim(ov). It gives limited but unique information about the socio-political movement of the Muslims in Siberia.

The newspaper “The Siberia” was published in Tomsk in February 1912 - August 1913 and was edited by the Navruzovs couple. In 145 issues of the newspaper, it gives a broad picture of the social life in Siberia and, above all, the Muslims of Tomsk; however, without touching upon the political movement, it focuses on the development of charity and education. This is largely due to the time when the newspaper was published, as the format of the social movement was aimed mainly at cultural and educational purposes.

The newspaper “The Tormysh”, which was published in Ufa in October 1913 - April 1918 (832 issues in total), was created by the Navruzovs (who actively worked in it until February 1914). Throughout the entire period of its existence, it published information under the heading “In Siberia”. Thanks to “The Tormysh” publications, we can observe a fairly complete picture of Muslim social life, mainly in Tomsk and partly in Irkutsk. This is especially true for the period of spring 1917 - spring 1918, when national socio-political organizations emerged and began to operate, primarily, they were local Muslim committees and bureaus, the Milli Shuro, the Kharbi Shuro and provincial branches of the Milli Idare. A very important source are articles in the newspaper “The Tormysh” in 1917, revealing the positions of various groups of the Mili Shuro and the Milli Idare in the Tobolsk Province, as well as the publication of the resolutions they adopted.

Despite the short time of its existence, an important source is the newspaper “The Chulpan” (“The Morning Star”), the body of the Central Siberian Muslim Council (CSMC, Siberian Central Milli Shuro), which was published in Tomsk in January–March 1918 in the Tatar language. The newspaper focused on the socio-political and cultural life of the Muslims in Siberia, including the issues of the Central Siberian Muslim Council (the Milli Shuro) activities, the Muslim religious structure of Siberia, the activities of Muslim military

units and interactions of Siberian cities and regions with the Milli Shuro.

Another important source is the materials in the collection of documents "The 100th anniversary of the formation of the Tatar ASSR", which contains reports and resolutions of the First Siberian Muslim Congress - the only all-Siberian Muslim Forum in the history, held on October 4–12, 1917 in Tomsk [2, pp. 392–407]. The congress was timed to coincide with the Siberian Regional Congress that opened on October 8, 1917 in Tomsk (October 8–17, 1917).

The article is based on the use of comparative historical and problem-chronological methods, the method of synchronous analysis, periodization, classification, etc.

Discussion

One of the most important achievements of the first Russian revolution was the establishment of an all-Russian parliament. The Muslims of Siberia were not represented in the State Duma of the Russian Empire during the revolution of 1905–1907, although the Muslims of the Tobolsk Province raised the question of their representation in the parliament as early as in 1906. Before the elections to the 1st State Duma in February 1906, they advocated the election of their own deputy. On January 13–15, 1906, a meeting of 23 representatives was held in Tobolsk under the leadership of Kulmukhamedov (Kulmametyev¹). At the meeting, it was stated that 64 thousand Muslims of the Tobolsk Province had the right to elect their representative to the State Duma [3]. Although the deputy was not elected, the Muslims of the region showed their readiness to take part in the parliamentary elections.

During the revolution of 1905–1907, representatives of Siberia took part in the 2nd and 3rd All-Russian Muslim Congresses, held in 1906 in St. Petersburg. At the first of them, Irkutsk was represented by Shafigullin Zakhidulla. He advocated the participation of M. Sultanov, the OMDS mufti, in the congress, which led to an open conflict with the latter. At the Congress, it was decided to create 16 branches of the Ittifaq al-Muslimin

party. Irkutsk was declared the center of the Siberian branch. Branches were also created covering the territories of Siberia and modern Kazakhstan: Omsk (Omsk), Semipalatinsk (Semipalatinsk), Semirechenskoe (Alma-Ata) and Akmola (Petro-pavlovsk). At the 3rd All-Russian Muslim Congress, held in August 1906, Shafigullin Shaikhulla, representing the city of Irkutsk, and Akhmad-Sharaf Salikhov, a delegate from the Tobolsk Province, were elected members of the spiritual commission, and Suleimanov Niyaz-Mukhammed (Irkutsk) was elected a member of the education commission (the city of Petropavlovsk) [4, pp. 144–150].

Between the revolutions of 1905–1907 and 1917, in Siberia, like in other regions of Russia, the main organizational form of the social movement was charitable Muslim societies. In Asian Russia, they worked in Achinsk, Irkutsk, Krasnoyarsk, Omsk, Tobolsk and Tomsk. In Achinsk, Krasnoyarsk and Omsk they were mainly involved in helping shakirds, while in Tobolsk, Irkutsk and Tomsk charitable Muslim societies became a form of self-organization of the most active part of the community and were closely connected with the social movement of the Russian Muslims in the late 19th – early 20th centuries - with Jadidism.

In May 1907, the Tobolsk Society of Muslim Progressists (1907–1914) was created. Its founders were representatives of three groups of the Muslim elite, whose families were historically associated with the region. They belonged to the nobility associated with the civil service: the hereditary nobleman Kulmametyev Basir Shayakhmetovich and Temirov Sultan Abdulla, a Kazakh by nationality who served in the district court. There were also the representatives of the bourgeoisie: the 2nd guild merchant Aitmukhametov Tukhtasyn, his son Aitmukhametov

Mukhamet-Karym Takhtasynovich and the merchant Chenbaev Muhammed-Safar. Among the imams there were: the decree appointed imam of the Karba mosque V. Khalilov, the brother of Sheikh Khalil-ishan Khaliullin, and Kh. Bakiev, the decree appointed imam of the Aremzyan yurt. In 1913, the society united 53 people [5, p. 650]. Along with educational ones, it also performed social functions. Thus, in April 1912, the society collected 15 rubles to help the starving people in the village of Satylgan [6].

The largest charitable Muslim society in Siberia was the Tomsk Society of Muslim Progressists (1909–1915). In its membership we see a predominance of the bourgeoisie representatives: Shakhi

¹ In the document written in Tatar, the name is given as Kulmukhamedov, which when translated into Russian can be found in both versions: Kulmukhamedov, Kulmametyev. Considering that during the period under review, one of the most famous leaders of the socio-political movement in Tobolsk was B. Sh. Kulmametyev, we assume that this particular historical character is meant here.

Saidashev, Fakhretdin Saidashev, Sadrutdin Fakhrutdinov and Samirkhan Yunusov. Among the founders of the society was Akhun Khamza Khamitov who served as imam in Tomsk in 1876–1933 and was known for his generally Kadimist position. The first chairman of the society was Karpov Nurulla, a native of the Penza Province. Ishak Kamaletdinov became the second chairman, in 1911 he was replaced by Samirkhan Yunusov. From 1912 until the closure of the company in 1915, Nurulla Karpov held the position of the chairman again. As we can see, for the most part of its activity (1909–1910, 1912–1915), the society was headed by Nurulla Karpov, one of the few Muslim figures in Siberia who actually became a professional politician, being a member of the Siberian Regional Duma in 1917. The activities of the Tomsk Society of Muslim Progressists were associated with the opening of a Russian-Tatar two-year school, two women's maktab and a library [7, pp. 46–56]. So, for example, on January 1, 1915, the general meeting of the society decided to open a two-year girls' school. The society's estimate for 1915 amounted to 6,355 rubles, of which 2,755 rubles were allocated for a two-class men's school, 1,350 rubles for a two-class women's school and the Shahi-Haji Saidashev School (a men's maktab at the "White" Cathedral Mosque in Tomsk) got 800 rubles, the library – 1000 rubles, office expenses amounted to 250 rubles and 200 rubles were for students. However, as early as in March 1915, the inspector of public schools suspended classes at the two-year school, and a decision was made to close the library and the society itself until March 15, 1915 (extended until March 29). In April 1915, a committee began to operate with the aim to liquidate the society [8]. It was the Tomsk Society in Siberia that was closest to the charitable Muslim societies of the Ural cities (Ufa, Orenburg), since it controlled the network of educational institutions [9, pp. 144–157].

The years of the First World War was the period of a new version of the social movement development. Unlike most other Muslim peoples of the Russian Empire, the Tatars were subject to conscription for military service, so there appeared an organizational form of assistance to soldiers and their families. From December 6 to December 11, 1914, the All-Russian Congress of Muslim Charitable Societies was held in Petrograd. Invitations were sent to 87 organizations, but only 35 representatives from 20 organizations took part in the congress. The secretary of the Muslim faction in the 4th State Duma, Ibn. Akhtyamov, was elected

chairman of the Congress. At the Congress, the Central Committee headed by N. Karpov was created. In accordance with the decisions of the congress in Petrograd, the "Provisional Muslim Committee for Assistance to Wounded Soldiers and Their Families" was founded headed by Major General A.-A. Davletshin. On February 16, 1915, he received a permission to create a central body and local branches [10, p. 49].

On the initiative of the Tomsk Jadids, a committee was opened in Tomsk in 1915 to render help to sick and wounded soldiers. The committee continued the work started by the Society of Muslim Progressists, which was closed in 1915. The executive committee of the new organization included N. Karpov, F. Saidashev, S. Fakhrutdinov, K. Khamitov, Yunusov, Izmailov and Latypov, that is, the same key figures of the charitable society. All affairs of the Tomsk Society of Muslim Progressists were liquidated, and the Society's funds were transferred to the "Temporary Muslim Committee for Assistance to Wounded Warriors and Their Families" with its center in Petrograd in order to organize an advanced Muslim detachment. Tomsk Muslims expressed their loyalty and solidarity with the wave of patriotism that swept the Russian Empire. In support of the Russian army, Tomsk Muslims arranged charity evenings and fundraisers [11, p. 78].

During the First World War, Muslims of Irkutsk also provided assistance to soldiers and their families. In January 1915, a committee was created in Irkutsk to help the families of reserve soldiers; of the 12 board members, one was a Muslim (the 2nd imam of the mosque, Gubaidulla Gabdrashitov, who participated in the 4th All-Russian Muslim Congress in June, 1914). The Muslims of Irkutsk raised 200 rubles. On March 22, 1915, with the permission of the chairman, Major General Abdulgaziz Davletshin, a meeting of the Irkutsk branch of the "Provisional Muslim Committee for Assistance to Wounded Soldiers and Their Families" was held in Irkutsk. The meeting was chaired by Yusuf Syrtlanov. In the alternative elections, teacher Vafa Valishev was elected chairman, Akhmet Syrtlanov was elected his deputy and Gabdurrahman Kanzafarov became a treasurer. The Irkutsk branch of the Committee sent a telegram to the Committee in Petrograd and forwarded information about itself to all the imams of the province. On April 19, 1915, a meeting of the Irkutsk branch was held, it raised 102 rubles, which were transferred to the chairman Vafa Valishev. It was also planned to transfer all proceeds from the

Sabantuy of that year to the benefit of the wounded [12].

Immediately after the February Revolution, the Muslims held meetings expressing support for the new authorities. They created Muslim committees and bureaus - socio-political organizations of Muslims of the Turkic-Tatars from Inner Russia and Siberia. On March 6, 1917, the Tomsk Muslim Charitable Society (a new society registered in 1916) hosted a meeting of local Muslims who decided to send greetings to the Provisional Government, Prime Minister Prince G. Lvov and the Petrograd Council of Workers' Deputies. N. Karpov and S. Ishukov were elected to the City Public Security Committee. On March 19, a meeting was held in the Cathedral Mosque, attended by 600–700 Muslims from the city and the province. Those gathered decided to appeal to the Muslim faction of the State Duma with a request to promptly develop a program for the All-Russian Muslim Congress, setting a date and place for its convention. The Muslim Bureau was elected, headed by N. Karpov [13].

In March 1917, Muslim committees and bureaus were created in Tobolsk, Tyumen and Kurgan. The chairman of the Muslim Bureau in Tyumen was Akhmed Urmancheev. The representatives of the Tyumen Muslim Bureau advocated the idea of organizing a congress of the Siberian Muslims and convening a congress in Ufa [14].

The Muslims of Siberia were elected to the 1st and 2nd All-Russian Muslim Congresses in 1917. At the end of April, N. Karpov left for the 1st All-Russian Muslim Congress in Moscow, he was replaced by his deputy Galim Sagitov. Zarif Gaisin went to a meeting of Muslim warriors in Moscow [15]. In May 1917, Y. Vagapov took part in the First All-Russian Muslim Congress representing the Tobolsk Province. In July 1917, Tobolsk was represented by Salih Sagitov at the 2nd All-Russian Muslim Congress. Four representatives of the Tomsk Province (N. Karpov, M. Shaekhov, the imam of Barnaul M. Galiev and M. Saidov) also took part in the 2nd All-Russian Muslim Congress [2, p. 255].

Therefore, the fact that provincial congresses were convened and local provincial bodies were created was not accidental. The Congress of Muslims of the Tomsk Province was held on June 28 – July 2, 1917, in Tomsk. Socially, among the delegates, nineteen people represented clergy and thirty one - peasants and teachers. The second meeting discussed two reports by Nurulla Karpov: the first one was on the First All-Russian Muslim Congress

(the resolution was adopted to join its decisions) and the second one concerned the cultural and educational activities of the Muslims in the Tomsk Province. At the congress, a provincial Muslim Council (Milli Shuro) was elected; the Executive Committee on resolving national and cultural issues was headed by N. Karpov. The Executive Committee included four people: Chairman N. Karpov, the mukhtasib - Muhammad-Nadzhib Galeev (the Imam of Barnaul), the head of secular education (magarif) - G(a)bdelkhay Yunyaev (a teacher from Novonikolaevsk), the secretary of Milli Shuro - Zarif Gaisin. Delegates to the 2nd All-Russian Muslim Congress in Kazan were also elected here: N. Karpov, M.-N. Galiev and G. Sagitov (see above) [16]. In Tomsk, at the beginning of 1918, it was the provincial Milli Shuro that remained the body of its autonomy.

Unfortunately, there are no detailed reports on the congresses of the Muslims in the Tobolsk Province. According to the information known to us, on May 2–5, 1917, on the basis of the local Muslim Comitees, a provincial congress of Muslims was held in the Tobolsk Province, where the Tobolsk Provincial Muslim Committee was created. On September 2–5, 1917, the 2nd Provincial Congress of Muslims of the Tobolsk Province took place in Tyumen.

The agenda included the following items:

1. On the platform of the Muslim Party.
2. On the preparation of the population for the elections to the Constituent Assembly.
3. Election of candidates to the Constituent Assembly.

The speakers were S.-G. Gabitov and A. Urmancheev. At the congress, the same people as at the previous congress were named as candidates to the Constituent Assembly: Marasalimov Abdul Gady Mukhamet Garifovich, Kulmametyev Basyr and Aleev Mukhamet Ali [17].

In the Tobolsk Province, the formation of autonomy bodies was carried out in a slightly different way than in Tomsk. It should be noted that as early as at the end of August 1917, the Vakitley Milli Idare (the Provisional National Administration) began to operate in Ufa, and the session of the Millet Majlise (the National Assembly) was held on November 20, 1917. In connection with the general process of creating states on the territory of Russia after the October Revolution and the unilateral proclamation of the Bashkir Territorial Autonomy on November 15, 1917, it became clear that the territorial issue would be raised at the session of the Millet Majlise. On November 29, 1917,

the first provincial meeting of the Tobolsk Province Muslims was held in Tyumen, in which 17 people participated. Akhmet Urmancheev presented his report on national trends. After hearing his report, a resolution was adopted, according to which the Muslims of the Tobolsk Province would join the national-cultural autonomy of the Turkic-Tatar Muslims of Inner Russia and Siberia with its center in Ufa if the Tatars of Inner Russia created their local (that is, territorial) autonomy. But there were also opponents to this opinion (Abubekr Sharipov, Vafa Zainetdinov and Shigabetdin Gabidullin) who advocated joining the autonomy of the Muslims of Siberia, proclaimed at the First Siberian Muslim Congress, which took place on October 4–12, 1917, in Tomsk.

The meeting also saw the election of the provincial Milli Idare with its center in Tyumen. Imam Abubekr Sharipov became a mukhtasib, Akhmet Urmancheev became a mufattish (a controller), and Vafa Zainetdinov became a mudir (its head). Nakhyas (districts) were designated and their leadership was elected. The first Nakhya, with its center in the village of Avazbakievo, the Yalutorovsky District, included the Tyumen, Yalutorovsky, Kurgan and Turin Districts. Mukhtasib's assistant Abdurrahman Mullah Khalidi, assistant Akhmadsalikh Muslimov and mudir's assistant Safiulla Khaliullin were elected as its leaders. The second Nakhya included the Tarsky, Tyukalinsky and Ishimsky Districts. The city of Tara was identified as the center of this Nakhya. The leadership included Nurmukhammad mullah Safarmetov, the assistant of the mufattish Rakhmatulla Davletov and the assistant of the mudir Hamza Ginayatov. The third Nakhya, with its center in Tobolsk, comprised the Tobolsk, Surgut and Berezovsky Districts. The representatives from Tobolsk did not turn up, and the leadership of this Nakhya was to be elected later.

The Millet Majlise elections were also held and Salimgirey Gabitov won. The presidium of the Majlis consisted of Vafa Zainetdinov, Gabdulla Urmancheev, Shigabetdin Gabidullin and Salimgirey Gabitov. The secretaries were Abubekr Sharipov and Khadzhatulla Gabdullin [17].

The first Siberian Muslim Congress was timed to coincide with the Siberian Regional Congress that opened on October 8, 1917, in Tomsk (October 8–17, 1917). About 30 delegates were present at the Congress where urban, rural and provincial Muslim associations of the Amur, Transbaikali, Semipalatinsk Regions, Irkutsk, Tomsk, Altai, Akmola and Yenisei Provinces were represented.

The Muslims of the Primorsky Region (Vladivostok) joined the congress in writing, and the city of Tyumen and the Tobolsk Provinces participated via telegraph. E. Zakharov delivered a greeting speech on behalf of the Organizing Committee for Convening the Regional Congress. He said that the Socialist Revolutionary Party and the participants in the regional congress shared the idea of the Muslims' national-cultural autonomy. In his response speech, Yu. Saiev assured those present that the Muslim Congress would be guided by the proceedings of the Siberian Regional Congress, and its decisions would not diverge from the paths marked by the "pioneer of regionalism" G. Potanin (elected the honorary chairman of the presidium). The representative of the Tomsk Muslims, ensign Saidashev, proposed creating "national Muslim regiments" subordinate to the All-Russian Muslim Military Council (Harbi Shuro), which works "in contact with general political Muslim organizations."

The resolution "On the Cultural-National Autonomy of the Muslims of Siberia" contained information about joining the "fact of proclamation" of the national-cultural autonomy of the Muslims of Russia and Siberia, adopted by the 2nd All-Russian Muslim Congress in Kazan (07/20–30/1917), and about creating a center for contacting the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Milli Shuro (Iskomus) to resolve the issues of a "regional nature." Such a body was declared to be the Provisional Central Council of the Union of Siberian Provincial Muslim Councils (elsewhere - the National Muslim Council, Milli Shuro), which included a representative from each province/region and one Muslim female representative from the Tobolsk and Tomsk Provinces. The congress elected the Siberian Regional Council of Muslims (Siberia Markaz Milli Shuro, SMMS) and its executive committee: Yu. Saiev (the chairman), N. Karpov and G. Abdrashitov, the imam of the Irkutsk mosque. The Turkic-Tatar language was to receive official status in state institutions, voting for representative bodies was to take place according to a national proportional system, and the "Siberian Regional Government should have a State Secretary for Muslim affairs as a minister with a casting vote". The Muslim Teachers' Institute in Tomsk (Dar ul-mugallimin) should become the All-Siberian Central Institute.

A resolution was adopted on the formation of the Siberian Regional Spiritual Assembly (with its location at the central bodies of the National-Cultural Autonomy of Muslims of Siberia). It was

temporarily proposed to elect one qadi from Siberia to the Diniya Nazarati (a religious ministry) of the Milli Idare to head the Siberian department [2, p. 392–407].

In reality, the leaders of the congress had conflicting reactions towards this issue. On the one hand, they created their own all-Siberian Muslim structure, which was supposed to receive official status within the framework of the Siberian regional government. On the other hand, no formal break with the Milli Idare was announced, especially since the Diniya Nazarati became its part from August 1917. Yu. Saiev, as the chairman of the congress, sent a telegram to Ufa to the commission for the implementation of the national-cultural autonomy (in fact, the Vakity Milli Idare) and the Diniya Nazarati of Milli Idare, where he stated that the congress gave him the authority to collaborate with them. It was reported that Valeev Garifulla, the imam of Novonikolaevsk, was elected as the qadi to head the Siberian department instead of the Tobolsk Province native, the Diniya Nazarati qadi Makhmudov Khujat al-Hakim who refused to take the position. At the same time, the created Siberian Regional Spiritual Assembly should not “interrupt their relations” with the Diniya Nazarati “in matters other than regional” [18].

On February 18, 1918, the newspaper “The Tormysh” stated: The Diniya Nazarati decided that the issue of electing a separate qadi for Siberia should be settled by the session of the Millet Majlise [19]. On April 12, 1918, an article “Qadiyat in Siberia” was published in the “Tormysh” newspaper. It informed that the First Siberian Regional Muslim Congress in October 1917 adopted a resolution on the creation of the Siberian Spiritual Assembly (Mahkama-i-Shargiya). However, the Muslims of Akmola, Tobolsk, Irkutsk and Transbaikalian Regions elected the Millet Majlise, which did not support this decision. The Executive Committee of the Central Siberian Muslim Council (CSMS, Milli Shuro) supported Valeev Garifulla as qadi. The newspaper asked the question: what would happen if the Tobolsk Province also elected a separate qadi? [20]. In March 1918, in a letter to the newspaper “The Chulpan”, Makhmudov Khujat al-Hakim spoke out against the creation of a separate Muslim Spiritual Assembly of Siberia. He claimed that for the first time in centuries, freedom was gained in Russia a year ago; provincial Muslim congresses were held in the Tobolsk, Tomsk, Irkutsk Provinces and the Akmola Region; congresses elected deputies to the Millet Majlise. In his opinion, the

Muslims of Siberia were not ready to proclaim Siberian autonomy. Therefore, under these conditions, the unity of the nation was all important [21]. In a situation when in January 1918, the Siberian Bolsheviks thwarted the declaration of independence of Siberia, any support for autonomism actually turned into support for separatism.

As a result, in February 1918, milli vilayaty (national provinces) were set up throughout Siberia within the framework of a single national-cultural and religious autonomy, subordinate to the Milli Idare, which operated until the Soviet power won its victory in Siberia. On January 20, 1918, the Tobolsk Provincial Milli Idare was created with its center in Tyumen. In February 1918, Tomsk became the center of a milli vilayat (province), initiated by the Milli Idare, uniting the Tomsk and Yenisei Provinces. On April 25, 1918, the People’s Commissariat of Nationalities of the RSFSR decided to do away with “bourgeois-nationalist organizations,” including the central Milli Idare. In May 1918, Muslim commissariats were opened at the Tobolsk and Tyumen Soviets. On May 31, 1918, Tomsk came under the rule of the White Movement, so the provincial Milli Shuro, Muslim Bureau and CSMS continued to operate until the new arrival of the Soviet power in December 1919.

The congress of the Muslim clergy of Siberia in the city of Novonikolaevsk, held on July 17–23, 1919, spoke out for the single Milli Idare, as did the meetings of the Muslims in the cities of Siberia, which took place in the spring and autumn of 1919 [22, pp. 224–225].

The discussion of the issue on creating a separate Spiritual Assembly of Siberian Muslims continued until the end of 1919. At the turn of 1919–1920 (from August 1918 to the end of 1919), the actual obstacle to this plan was the presence in Siberia (in Omsk and Petropavlovsk) of Mufti G. Barudi, the chairman of the Diniya Nazarati, as well as the members of the Milli Idare, including two qadis who were previously imams in Siberia – Makhmudov Khujat al-Hakim and Urmanov Salihdzhan. These contacts continued into the early 1920s. In September 1920, representatives of Tobolsk and Tomsk participated in the First Congress of Ulema and Mutawallis at the Central Spiritual Assembly (the Diniya Nazarati). The Tobolsk District was represented by former members of the Tobolsk Milli Shuro Kulmametev Valika and the imam of the Tobolsk mosque Abusagit Bekshenev (the imam in 1893–1924) [23, pp. 20–22]. The son of the above-mentioned Akhun Khamitov, Khamza Muhammet represented Tomsk [24, p. 124]. Thus,

these ties between the public and religious leaders of Tobolsk and Tomsk and the leadership of the Central Spiritual Assembly continued in the first years of the Soviet power and were broken during the mass anti-religious repressions.

Results

Based on our analysis primarily of the press of 1906–1918 and the resolutions of local congresses of 1917–1919, we have proved that the Muslim Tatars of Siberia formed the structures of the socio-political movement and took part in all-Russian forums represented by the All-Russian Muslim Congresses of 1906, 1914 and 1917. Before the revolution of 1917, the main form of this movement was charitable societies, later in 1917 - early 1918, the most representative forms were Muslim committees and bureaus, provincial Muslim congresses, provincial Muslim Shuros (National Councils) and provincial branches of the Milli Idare (National Administration). As a result of discussions on the creation of separate autonomous structures of the Siberian Muslims, the option was chosen in favour of participating in national bodies of religious and national-cultural autonomy as part of the Central Muslim Spiritual Assembly (CMSA) and the Milli Idare. It was the CMSA (which retained both the name and structure of the Diniy Nazarata in the 1920s) that turned out to be the most stable national structure, since the representatives of Tobolsk and Tomsk participated in the First Congress of Ulema and Mutawallis at the CMSA in September 1920.

Conclusions

Thus, the development of the Siberian Muslims' socio-political movement had two periods. The first one was the period of the revolution of 1905–1907 and the second - the period from the February Revolution of 1917 to the stable establishment of the Soviet power and the dissolution of national socio-political structures (primarily the Milli Idare) in the spring of 1918.

At the first stage, the main goals of the movement were cultural and educational. The main forms of organization were charitable societies. Gradually, the movement included political issues on its agenda, such as the issue of Muslims' representation in the State Duma.

By February 1917, the Turkic Muslims of Siberia had formed their political platform. The active centers of the movement were provincial centers, Tomsk and Tobolsk, at the second stage of its development it was Tyumen.

Moreover, while in the Tobolsk Province the key role in the socio-political movement was played mainly by natives of Siberia, in the Tomsk Province they were recent immigrants from the Volga-Ural region who played a great role.

By the autumn of 1917, provincial bodies of religious and national-cultural autonomy had been created in the Tomsk and Tobolsk Provinces.

A feature of the period of late 1917 - early 1918 in the region was the presence not only of the socio-political movement of the Russian Muslims, but also of the Siberian autonomism movement, which advocated territorial autonomy and complete independence of Siberia. We see that within the Muslim movement of Siberia there were various trends, which were especially clearly visible at the First Provincial Meeting of the Tobolsk Province Muslims in November 1917. As a result, in January–February 1918, milli vilayatylyar (national provinces) were created throughout Siberia within the framework of a single national-cultural and religious autonomy, subordinate to the Milli Idare, which operated until the victory of the Soviet power in Siberia.

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ОБЩЕСТВЕННО-ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЕ ДВИЖЕНИЕ ТАТАР СИБИРИ НАЧАЛА XX ВЕКА

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Статья посвящена эволюции общественно-политического движения татар Сибири в период между двумя революциями начала XX века – революцией 1905–1907 гг. и Февральской революцией 1917 г. Показано, что до 1917 г. в качестве основной формы движения выступали благотворительные общества, целью которых была преимущественно культурно-просветительская деятельность. Однако мусульмане Сибири приняли участие уже во Всероссийских мусульманских съездах 1906 г. и 1914 г. Пик общественно-политического движения приходится на 1917 – начало 1918 г., когда формируются Мусульманские комитеты и бюро в городах, проводятся губернские мусульманские съезды, оформляются Мусульманские Шуро (Национальные Советы), губернские отделения Милли Идарэ (Национального Управления). Особое внимание в статье уделяется дискуссиям 1917 – начала 1918 г., когда поднимались вопросы создания отдельных автономных структур мусульман Сибири. Выявлено, что татары Азиатской России в итоге отказались от формирования параллельных органов религиозной и национально-культурной