

## Holidays in Kazan: City Duma, Public Opinion and Theological Politics among Muslims after 1905

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O ye who believe! When the call is proclaimed to prayer on the Day of Assembly, hasten earnestly to the Remembrance of Allah, and leave off business: That is best for you if ye but knew! And when the Prayer is finished, then may ye disperse through the land, and seek of the Bounty of Allah. And celebrate the Praises of Allah often: that ye may prosper.

*Qur'ān* 62: 9-10.

The 1905 Revolution witnessed the reinforcement of religious consciousness among the Volga-Ural Muslims as well as their active participation in the Russian political arena. The controversy over holidays for commercial workers, which loomed large in the wake of the workers' revolutionary movements, is a good example showing the entanglement between religious consciousness and political activity. Since the controversy arose not only in the streets but in the city duma, or urban self-government assembly, it also reveals an intriguing relationship between the urban autonomy, which had been curtailed by the counter-reform of the local self-government since 1892, on the one hand, and religious tolerance, which was reassured in the 1905 Revolution, on the other.

The nature of the controversy over holidays also changed both before and after the revolution. While Muslims had considered it as a dispute of labor-management relations even during the revolution, they began to see it increasingly as a religious question between the Orthodox and Muslims; just as Russian workers complained to Muslims of their trading on Sundays, so did Muslims, saying that Russians were profiting from their trade on Fridays. Muslims strove to protect their own religious

holidays through political channels, namely, with the assistance of Muslim representatives of both the city and state dumas. Parallel to political activities oriented towards the outer Russian society, Muslims inside their community tried to strictly observe their own religious holidays even at the expense of commercial profits; they condemned Muslim traders who opened their shops on Islamic holidays for scarifying religious and communal, *dīnī wa millī*, interests. Moreover, they tried to have an “accurate” lunar-system calendar standardized among the Muslim population; with considerable theological debate on the pages of the Muslim press concerning the definition for the common calendar. In the course of the holiday dispute it is possible to detect the formation of a “sacred” value, which convinced each Muslim that his or her contribution to the religion, *dīn* and the community, *millat* was no less highly praised than economic success.

In this paper I contend that the political activities and the formation of the sacred value were two sides of the same coin in Muslim politics after the 1905 Revolution<sup>1</sup>. While Muslims tried to make use of the Muslim faction in the state дума in order to protect their confessional life in a political manner, they increasingly began to count on the Spiritual Assembly, the religious authority located in Ufa<sup>2</sup>, for its active arbitration of disputes in *mahallas*, communities around Friday mosques<sup>3</sup>. To depict

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<sup>1</sup> Political aspects of the holiday question have attracted Kazan historians' interest. Diliara Usmanova shows us a whole picture of the holiday question, combining discussions in the state дума and in other cities. But she does not pay attention to the formation of the sacred value within the Muslim community which forced believers to observe scriptural imperatives even with recourse to regulations by the city and state dumas. D.M. Usmanova, *Musul'manskie predstaviteli v rossiiskom parlamente. 1906-1916* (Kazan', 2005), pp.352-373.

<sup>2</sup> On this institution see D.D. Azamatov, *Orenburgskoe Magometanskoe Dukhovnoe Sobranie v kontse XVIII-XIX vv.* (Ufa, 1999).

<sup>3</sup> James Meyer examines competitive aspects in relationship between emerging Muslim leaders and the Spiritual Assembly in terms of “leadership politics” over the right to speak in the name of Muslims after 1905. J. Meyer, *Turkic Worlds:*

the political aspects, I focus my illustration on minute events in the city of Kazan in 1914, when the dispute over holidays developed more dramatically than ever after the 1905 Revolution. The political process in that year clearly demonstrated difficulties in reconciling the defense of the urban autonomy before the central and provincial governments with tolerant measures that the Kazan city дума could have taken in order for Muslims to maintain their confessional life<sup>4</sup>.

The year of 1914 was also important for the theological aspects of the question. That year witnessed fiercely competitive disputes on the Muslim press concerning the definition of the first day of a month for a standardized calendar, which was particularly exacerbated by the convergence of the end of the Ramadan month and the solar eclipse in that year. According to scriptural principle, the first day of a month in the Hegira calendar shall be based on the observation of a thin crescent through naked eyes in the west sky in the evening<sup>5</sup>. In practice however, this often provoked quarrels over when to celebrate obligatory holidays, even between mahallas in the same village or city. To eliminate ambiguity in the naked-eye observation, some '*ulamā*' (the Muslim learned) tried to introduce a common calendar, using data from astronomical observatories, although others stuck to scriptural words. As a result the controversy deteriorated; although observatories

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*Community Representation and Collective Identity in the Russian and Ottoman Empires, 1870-1914* (PhD diss., Brown University, 2007), Chapter 4. In this paper I rather pay an attention to the fact that the Muslim populace saw the Muslim representatives of the state дума and the Spiritual Assembly equally as useful means to modify the everyday confessional life.

<sup>4</sup> Radik Salikhov takes compatibility between the urban autonomy and religious tolerance for granted. He transfers all responsibility to the state unfamiliar to local conditions, and underestimates motivations held by Muslims, Russians and the city дума, which led to conflicts. R. Salikhov, *Tatarskaia burzhuaziia Kazani i natsional'nye reformy vtoroi poloviny XIX-nachala XX v.* (Kazan', 2001), pp.46-48.

<sup>5</sup> In the Hegira calendar a day begins in the evening, that is, it is counted from sunset to sunset.

provided the timing of the moon's conjunction accurately, their data could be in serious contradiction to scriptural imperatives, which condition the *visibility* of the moon though naked eyes, while the moon is actually not visible at the very moment of conjunction.

It is misleading to imagine that this controversy occurred along the familiar fault line between jadids and qadims<sup>6</sup>. In Kazan, two Muslim newspapers, *Yūlduz* (Star) and *Qūyāsh* (Sun) were contending for the initiative to fix a standard for the Hegira calendar, although both have commonly been labeled jadids' organs in the historiography<sup>7</sup>. Yulduz, whose chief editor Hādī Maqşūdī was also well-known as an author of jadid textbooks, propagated social reforms in religious terms, and found favor with ulama and small and middle entrepreneurs. Quyash, in turn, attracted big merchants and leading "secular" intellectuals oriented to "scientific", *fannī*, knowledge<sup>8</sup>. In the polemic over the calendar, while Yulduz insisted on observing the moon by naked eyes, Quyash supported the application of astronomical calculation. This fact suggests that both scriptural and scientific knowledge equally underpinned the awaking of religious consciousness, alongside political ferment among the Muslim population.

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<sup>6</sup> For some revisions of this dichotomy see S. Dudoignon, "Qu'est-ce que la "Qadīmiya"? Éléments pour une sociologie du traditionalisme musulman, en Islam de Russie et en Transoxiane (au tournant des XIXe et XXe siècles)," in S. Dudoignon et al., eds., *L' Islam de Russie* (Paris, 1997), pp.207-225; A. Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform; Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1998); R. Crews, *For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006).

<sup>7</sup> A. Bennigsen and Ch. Lemerrier-Quellejey, *La presse et le Mouvement national chez les musulmans de Russie avant 1920* (Paris, 1964), pp.67-69, 92-93.

<sup>8</sup> Dzh. Validov, *Ocherk istorii obrazovannosti i literatury tatar* (Kazan', 1998; orig. Moscow, 1923), p.120; Salikhov, *Tatarskaia burzhuaziia*, pp.29, 31-32, 91-92. In general, while Yulduz called Kazan Muslims "Muslims", Quyash called them "Tatars". It indicates that Quyash was more interested in ethnic belonging of the community.

Muslims had already expressed their desire to guarantee Islamic holidays in the final decades of the nineteenth century, when they had articulated economic and social complaints in religious terms with the pressure of the Great Reforms undermining their administrative separateness<sup>9</sup>. The politics over the definition of the new moon were never a new phenomenon of the beginning of the twentieth century, either. It was the Spiritual Assembly that had been the sole authority on that matter before 1905; in 1802 the first head, *mufti* of the institution, Mukhamedzhan Khuseinov dismissed Gabdessaliam Gabdrakhimov, then imam of the Orenburg Friday mosque and the future second mufti, because of his performance of a holiday ritual earlier than the religious authority had fixed<sup>10</sup>. The Spiritual Assembly circulated instructions to force mullahs under its jurisdiction to carry out rituals and celebrate holidays on the same days. It rebutted independent judgments of mullahs, and if they made such, gave them severe reprimands through the district police administration<sup>11</sup>.

Other than holidays, the location of the Volga-Ural region on much higher latitudes than the Arabic peninsula, the cradle of Islam, had historically posed a unique theological question to indigenous Muslims: in summer when should they make the fifth prayer, *yastii*, in the lingering evening glow? Should they strictly observe the fast of Ramadan even when it meant doing so almost all day long? Actually it was efforts to interpret these regional phenomena in scriptural terms

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<sup>9</sup> Meyer, *Turkic Worlds*, Chapter 2; *Materialy po istorii Tatarii vtoroi poloviny XIX veka, chast' pervaiia, agrarnyi vopros i krest'ianskoe dvizhenie, 50-70-kh godov XIX v.* (Moscow, 1936), pp.422, 423, 425-426.

<sup>10</sup> Azamatov, *Orenburgskoe Magometanskoe Dukhovnoe Sobranie*, p.50.

<sup>11</sup> *Sbornik tsirkuliarov i inykh rukovodiashchikh rasporiazhenii po okrugu Orenburgskogo Magometanskogo Dukhovnogo Sobraniia. 1836-1903 g.* (Kazan, 2004; orig. Ufa, 1905), pp.28-29, 143-148.

that contributed to the development of Islamic reformist mind in this region<sup>12</sup>. Since the month of Ramadan came from July to August in 1914, that also served as a cause of dispute in the Muslim press.

The post-1905 polemics were distinguished from the preceding era in that the public opinion, *afkār-i ‘umūmīya*, forged by the Muslim press could compete with the authority of the Spiritual Assembly in solving disputes in the community. It is true that the interpenetrating relationship between the state and Muslim communities through the religious authority and the police power remained effective or even intensified after 1905<sup>13</sup>. However, it should not be ignored that the Muslim press was creating an independent sacred value which obliged believers to live in accord with God’s commands. It boosted the renewal of Islamic ethics, *akhlaq*, which met the strong need of newly emerging Muslim wealth for public respectability and honorability<sup>14</sup>. Being a Muslim now demanded active identification with and individual sacrifice for the sake of the community<sup>15</sup>. Such roles of the Muslim press typically manifested its full power inside the city of Kazan,

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<sup>12</sup> Validov, *Ocherk istorii obrazovannosti*, pp.57-59; M. Kemper, “Mezhdu Bukharoi i Srednei Volgoi: Stolknovenie Abd an-Nasra al-Kursavi s ulemami traditsionalistami,” *Mir Islama* 1/2 (Kazan, 1999), p.163.

<sup>13</sup> R. Crews, *For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006), pp.343-346. See also my “Molding the Muslim Community through the Tsarist Administration: *Maḥalla* under the Jurisdiction of the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly after 1905,” *Acta Slavica Iaponica* 23 (2006), pp.101-123.

<sup>14</sup> S. A. Dudoignon, “Echoes to *al-Manār* among the Muslims of the Russian Empire: A preliminary research note on Riza al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din and the *Sūrā* (1908-1918),” in S.A. Dudoignon et al., eds., *Intellectuals in the Modern Islamic World: Transmission, transformation, communication* (London and New York, 2006), p.91.

<sup>15</sup> Christian Noak confines such an account only to the period 1905-1907. This paper shows it was valid even on the eve of the First World War Ch. Noack, “State Policy and its Impact on the Formation of a Muslim Identity in the Volga-Urals,” in S.A. Dudoignon and H. Komatsu, eds., *Islam in Politics in Russia and Central Asia (Early Eighteenth to Late Twentieth Centuries)* (London, 2001), pp.14, 19.

the center of education, publication and Muslims' political activities. This newly created sacred space of discourse gradually undermined the historical monopoly of the Spiritual Assembly in its representation of "Islamic orthodoxy"; while ulama under its authority had usually declared the Russian Empire as the "Abode of Islam," *Dār al-Islām*, some began to suspect of Russia's being the "Abode of War," *Dār al-Ḥarb* due to the inability to observe Islamic holidays without the sanction of a "governor from infidels", *kuffārdan wāh*<sup>16</sup>.

### Backdrop of the Dispute: from Economic issue to Confessional Question

According to the 1897 census, there were 129,959 residents in the city of Kazan, of whom 74% were Russians and 21.9% Tatars. While Russians comprised 78.3% and Tatars 15% within the merchant estate numbering 2308, 68.5% out of 7976 commercial workers were Russian and 30.2% Tatars<sup>17</sup>. About 300 business houses and joint-stock companies were counted during the period 1872-1916, and the share of Tatar merchants and entrepreneurs amounted to 28% of the total. Most of the Tatar merchants had been rich peasants who moved to Kazan in 1870-1880s and immediately tried to register themselves to suitable merchant classes, *gi'dii* to gain privileges; the first class Tatar merchants were 15 and the second class merchants 71 in 1870, 14 and 94 accordingly in 1881. It was these merchants, originally from villages, that would conjure up an atmosphere making urban Muslims esteem Islamic values in their leading of political activities<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> *Dīn wa Ma'īshat* 11 (1912), 164-165. On the dispute over the "Abode" in the historical and geographical perspective, see H. Komatsu, "Dār al-Islām under Russian Rule As Understood by Turkistani Muslim Intellectuals," in T. Uyama, ed., *Empire, Islam and Politics in Central Eurasia* (Sapporo, 2007), pp.3-21.

<sup>17</sup> *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii 1897 goda, vol. 14, Kazanskaia guberniia* (St. Petersburg, 1904), pp.VI, 178-179, 204-205, 260.

<sup>18</sup> Salikhov, *Tatarskaia burzhuaziia*, pp.16-17, 24.

The canal of Bulak divided the city into two parts: the left bank was the Tatar part and the right bank the Russian part. The Tatar part consisted of the Old *Sloboda* along the canal and the New *Sloboda* to the southwest of the Tatar part. Its trade center called Hay Bazaar, *pachān bazārī*, was the second largest market in the city and located to the north of the Old Sloboda. The Russian part had two main commercial streets: *Bol'shaia Prolomnaia* with high-class boutiques, exclusive hotels, insurance companies, and banks and *Voskresenskaia*, whose view was likened to Nevskii Street of the capital, with Kazan University, the cathedral after which the street was named, the city library, courts and other official buildings<sup>19</sup>. At the beginning of the twentieth century Tatars' shops were also penetrating the Russian streets, which rendered the controversy over holidays increasingly strained.

The city дума was introduced to Kazan by the City Regulation in 1870. Eligibility for the election was limited to persons of property and those who paid business taxes; of the 72 councilors, *glasnye*, those belonging to the merchant estate, numbered 44 in 1879-83, 50 in 1883-86, and 53 in 1887-91. Article 35 of the Regulation restricted non-Christian representation to one third of the total seats; there were eight Tatar councilors in 1872-74, twelve in 1875-78, sixteen in 1879-82, and twenty in 1883-86. Nevertheless, a local newspaper in 1886 remarked that one Tatar councilor's ability was equal to that of three Russians, and that it was incredible that in many cases Tatar councilors managed to receive solutions favorable to them, despite the majority's desires<sup>20</sup>. Tatar councilors would not exceed sixteen following the counter-reform against urban autonomy in 1892, which

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<sup>19</sup> L.M. Sverdlova, *Na perekrestke torgovykh putei* (Kazan', 1991), pp.83-85, 88, 109.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p.37.

narrowed non-Christian representation up to one fifth of the whole seats. It is worth mentioning that the Muslim minority held undeniable powers in local trades and politics, and that there was a tolerant atmosphere in Kazan to accept the minority's opinions.

The question concerning whether to provide commercial servants with a day off on religious holidays became an issue that would be solved in the city *duma* only in 1902, although it had been repeatedly discussed in 1880-90s. At the time, Muslim traders still viewed the question in economic terms; in a petition to the city *uprava*, or executive board of the self-government, four representatives of 118 Muslim traders did not demand a complete day off on Fridays but a rest until two o'clock for the sake of the Friday prayer. They argued that unnecessarily halting business would not only adversely affect employers, but also employees, who would waste money on holidays. They also complained that imposing Sundays and other Christian holidays on Muslims, in addition to Islamic ones, would lead to commercial losses as well as an infringement on their "freedom of conscience"<sup>21</sup>. However, the city *duma* could not accept the Muslim traders' demand, as the Orthodox holidays' outnumbering those of Islam could be disadvantageous to Orthodox traders. In January 1903 the city *duma* approved an ordinance which forced traders, irrespective of their religious belief, to stop their operation completely for two days on Easter and Christmas and for one day on the Annunciation, and to limit working hours to four on Sundays and other Christian holidays. Although the *duma* tried to secure its right to take special measures for Muslims, the Ministry of the Interior did not approve it. The *duma* was compelled to

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<sup>21</sup> *Zhurnaly i protokoly zasedanii Kazanskoi gorodskoi dumy za 1902* (Kazan'), pp.492-505; *Zhurnaly i protokoly zasedanii Kazanskoi gorodskoi dumy za 1903* (Kazan', 1906), pp.39-42.

issue a further ordinance obliging commercial activity for only thirty minutes after noon on Sundays, which took effect with the governor's sanction on April 11, 1905. However, the ordinance still carefully excluded the New Sloboda of the Tatar part of the city from the general rule<sup>22</sup>.

Workers' revolutionary movements in 1905 forced the government to issue a regulation on "guaranteeing the normal rest" for commercial servants on November 15, 1906, which also obliged the Kazan city дума to elaborate another ordinance in tune with the new law. In principle, article five of the regulation prohibited any trading on Sundays and the Twelve Orthodox holidays, but the sixth point of article nine allowed the local self-government to choose other holidays in those residential areas with the distinct dominance of non-Slavic and non-Christian population<sup>23</sup>. On November 12, 1908, the Kazan city assembly resolved to provide both Christians and Muslims with religious holidays; based on the suggestion of one Muslim councilor B. K. Apanaev, and Christians and Muslims gained 26 and 23 holidays for each respectively, excluding Sunday and Friday. Christian employees under Muslim employers were to be freed on Christian holidays, and likewise Muslim employees under Christians on Islamic holidays<sup>24</sup>.

At that time the city assembly saw no contradiction between the actions of the urban autonomy and the guarantee of religious tolerance. It seemed to Russian traders that the local self-government even forced them to endure a commercial

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<sup>22</sup> *Zhurnaly za 1903*, pp.47-50; *Zhurnaly Kazanskoi gorodskoi dumy i doklady Upravy za 1914* (Kazan, 1914), p.6.

<sup>23</sup> *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii*, vol.26, 1906 g. (St. Petersburg, 1909), no.28548.

<sup>24</sup> *Zhurnaly i protokoly zasedanii Kazanskoi gorodskoi dumy za 1908* (Kazan', 1910), pp.290, 304-305. Therefore Muslim representatives seem to have "invented" new Islamic holidays other than traditional ones, i.e. the festival after the Ramadan, *'Īd al-Fīr* and the one of the month of the Pilgrimage, *'Īd al-Adhā* or *Qurbān bayrāmī*.

disadvantage; they complained to the Kazan governor that all industrial workers and craftsmen freed from labors on Sundays and the Twelve Holidays went to Muslims' shops, and that their halting of trading on Sundays had a devastating effect in terms of promoting the penetration of Muslim shops into the Russian streets<sup>25</sup>. This may account for the unwillingness of the provincial and central authorities either to guarantee Islamic holidays or exclude Muslims from the general prohibition of trading on Christian holidays; by 1911 the provincial office of the zemstvo and city affairs twice declined the city дума's amendment of the ordinance; the дума's appeal to the Senate against the office's decisions was in vain. By January, 1914 the city assembly had reached an impasse with its possible action restricted to the limits of the ordinance of April 11, 1905<sup>26</sup>. Moreover, the persistence of deliberation on religious holidays had impeded the realization of "a normal rest" for servants in general. The dilemma between the pressures of the Muslim community and the upper authorities obliged the city assembly to preserve the urban autonomy by listening to the Russian majority's voice, but at the expense of religious tolerance towards Muslims.

The state дума's refusal to provide either Muslims with their own holidays or local self-government with the right to regulate indigenous holidays also had a negative effect on the Kazan political process. During the 1910 deliberation, Muslim representatives in the state дума even had to walk out of their seats, although they could collaborate with two Russians from Kazan province<sup>27</sup>. In Kazan Akhmetzian

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<sup>25</sup> NART, f.419(Kazanskoe gubernskoe po zemskim i gorodskim delam prisutstvie). op.1, d.474, l.19; *Zhurnaly Kazanskoi gorodskoi dumy i doklady Upravy za 1909* (Kazan', 1911), pp.368-369.

<sup>26</sup> NART, f.419, op.1, d.474, ll.25-27; *Zhurnaly za 1909*, p.309; *Zhurnaly za 1914*, pp.15-17, 24-30.

<sup>27</sup> *Gosudarstvennaia дума, tretii sozyv, Stenograficheskie otchety 1910 g. Sessia*

Saidashev, a first-class merchant, Hadi Maqsudi, editor of the Muslim paper Yulduz, Galimjan Barudi, a distinguished reformist scholar and others organized a protest rally which saw two thousand people assemble. The meeting resolved to send Guchkov, chairman of the state дума, a telegraph claiming that while Muslims had enjoyed the freedom to celebrate their own holidays, even before the October Manifesto, the дума's decision would be "the first dark page" in the history of the relationship between the Russian state and "Muslim citizens"<sup>28</sup>.

The cleavage in the city дума over holidays for commercial workers shifted from an economic one to a confessional one, before and after the 1905 Revolution. Such a change in interest also occurred among Muslim servants, who had once organized a union together with Russian comrades. A former leader of the union Aḥmadī Īshmuḥammadūf confessed to discomfort about the socialist form of mobilization under the banner of "irrespective of religion and nation, *dīn wa millat āyūrmāyinchā*"; he said that if the union's general meeting took place on Christian holidays, Muslims could not leave their work place, and worse still, most of them did not understand Russian. He proposed organizing a separate union based on "nation and Islam". Īshmuḥammadūf on one hand criticized the Muslim Union, *Ittifāq*, organized in the All Russian Muslim congresses during the 1905 Revolution, for not meeting workers' and peasants' needs. However, on the other hand, he called for their efforts to amend the Union's platform by joining it<sup>29</sup>. Reporting the holiday controversy in Kazan at the beginning of 1914, an Orenburg newspaper *Waqt*

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*tret'ia, chast' IV* (St. Petersburg, 1910), 547-556, 574; *Sessii chetvertaia, chast' I* (St. Petersburg, 1910), 2974-2979, 2996.

<sup>28</sup> *Bayān al-Ḥaqq*, June 1, 1910, 2.

<sup>29</sup> A. Īshmuḥammadūf, *Saudā khidmatkārларining ma'ishatī wa ānларining istiqbālī* (Kazan', 1907), 2, 15-18, 22-23; G. Ibragimov, *Tatary v revoliutsii 1905 goda* (Kazan', 1926), pp.194-202.

(Time) was of the high opinion that all Muslims had now reached unanimity, although the young had prioritized economic interests and persuaded employees to clash with employers up until several years ago<sup>30</sup>.

Russian traders, in turn, always saw the question as an economic issue. They petitioned the city assembly to oblige Muslims to strictly follow the city ordinance of April 11, 1905. According to the petitioners, the police hesitated to implement punishing measures, as another ordinance based on the state law of November 15, 1906 had not come out yet and because the city дума had once approved Islamic holidays on November 12, 1908. The Russian traders complained of their significant loss, since many people, now aware that Muslim shops were open on Christian holidays, were accustomed to shop there. Russian neighbors also noticed the change which occurred in Muslims' behavior after 1905. In a petition to the city дума on December 16, 1913 Russian representatives from 113 firms said;

As everybody is well aware, several years ago Tatar traders did not manifest pretensions to halt trading on Sundays and holidays. They closed shops together with Russians, and very peacefully worked on Fridays. Only recently have Tatar traders begun to strive for the demarcation of trading days between Russians and Tatars under the guise of "freedom of conscience"<sup>31</sup>.

#### Political Actions, 1914

An article in a local Russian newspaper on the final day of 1913 exasperated

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<sup>30</sup> *Waqt*, January 15, 1914, 1.

<sup>31</sup> *Zhurnaly Kazanskoi gorodskoi dumy i doklady Upravy za 1914* (Kazan, 1914), pp.21-24, 26-27. The citation is from pp.23-24. One Orthodox missionary Koblov also observed that it was due to the discussion over the city ordinance that Muslims began to keep some holidays recently. Ia.D. Koblov, *O tatarskikh musul'manskikh prazdnikakh* (Kazan, 1907), p.5.

the urban Muslims, who were awaiting the deliberation in the city дума the coming January. The contributors, naming themselves “a group of Tatar commercial-industrial workers” condemned Tatar employers for pretending to discuss the question of holidays in confessional terms, but in reality, only being interested in economic profits. Criticizing the newspaper “Quyash” for exclusively supporting Tatar merchants, they demanded common holidays, irrespective of confessional differences, on the grounds that Tatar workers had held general meetings of the labor union with Russian comrades. They pointed out that coinciding interests between Tatars and Russians enabled Tatar servants in Cheliabinsk and Troisk to agree to share Russian holidays<sup>32</sup>. Quyash, in turn, denounced the group of Tatar workers as “dust, *chūblar*” which remained after the 1905 Revolution and as “half-cooked, *pishūb yitmagān*” socialists. These socialists, said the Tatar newspaper, denounced national and religious liberty, which could prevent proletariats’ unification; they tried to deprive the entire Tatar community, *butūn Tātār millatī* of religious holidays with a view to keeping their voices heard in the union meetings held on Russian holidays<sup>33</sup>.

Since the question of holidays was expected to be on the agenda in the city дума on January 8, Muslim servants in the city swiftly took action. On January 3, one Samī‘ Allāh Šāliḥuf, sanctioned by the city police chief, chaired a meeting in the “Oriental Club” in the Old Sloboda, which brought together 300 Muslim commercial workers to discuss the issue. Another Muslim newspaper in Kazan, Yulduz, reported that the participants’ confessional and national emotion never permitted them to content themselves with replacing Islamic holidays with Christian ones. In

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<sup>32</sup> *Kamsko-volzhskaia rech*, December 31, 1913.

<sup>33</sup> *Qūyāsh*, January 2, 1914, 2.

the petition produced during the meeting to address Muslim councilors and the city head, Muslim servants argued that the state law of November 15, 1906, which took regional particularities into account, could provide them with their own holidays, which they thought coincided with the spirit of the Manifest of October 17, 1905. Those present suggested the educational effects brought by the legalization of Muslim holidays; most of the confessional and national customs were inseparable from their holidays, and were passed down to the following generations through the holidays. Moreover, it was during collective prayers on Fridays that people prayed for the Tsar, his family and the peace and welfare of the homeland<sup>34</sup>.

Quyash highly acclaimed the fact that the Tatar people, *Tātār khalqī*, had achieved their own duty during the servants' meeting, and called for the cooperation of Muslim employers to move the Muslims' day off to Friday. At the same time Quyash believed that observing Muslim holidays required a solution to the question of how to fix the first day of a month for the Hegira calendar. Regarding it as "one of the most urgent issues for the community today", the newspaper expected the responsible intervention of the Spiritual Assembly to find the solution<sup>35</sup>. These words clearly show that for Muslims, the holiday controversy involved inspection of their confessional life itself as well as political efforts to gain rights through meetings and the city assembly.

Muslim merchants and Muslim city councilors supported the servants' action<sup>36</sup>. Two days after the servants' meeting, Muslim employers also held a meeting at one

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<sup>34</sup> *Yılduz*, January 5, 1914, 1,4; January 7, 1914, 3; *Qūyāsh*, January 9, 1914, 2.

<sup>35</sup> *Qūyāsh*, January 5, 1914, 2.

<sup>36</sup> The local security police also paid an attention to the collaboration of "the two usually conflicting groups of merchants and servants". It also observed that when two Tatars saw, they always talked about the holiday dispute. NART, f.1, op.6, d.949, ll.71-72; f.199, op.1, d.948, ll.17-18.

Nūr ‘Azīz Ḥusainuf’s tea house in the Hay Bazaar, featuring the participation of 300 people with Ibrāhīm Yahyīn, a city councilor as chairman and Samī‘ Allāh Ṣālihuf, chairman of the servants’ meeting as secretary. Two other councilors, Badr al-Dīn Āpānāyīf and Ṣadr al-Dīn Maqṣūdī, also joined the meeting. Those present unanimously resolved to close all shops on Fridays and other Islamic holidays and not to restrict business hours in both banks of Bulak during Russian holidays. The meeting elected a commission to work with the servants’ counterpart to implement the resolution and to persuade fellow believers to observe their own holidays with the assistance of the city imams’ confessional sanction<sup>37</sup>.

On January 8, the very day of the deliberation of the holiday question in the city дума, large articles on that theme came out on the pages of the local Russian paper *Kamsko-volzhskaia rech’*. They showed anxiety about the Tatars’ penetration into the Russian part of the city and their trading on Sundays since 1908, when the city assembly had tried to provide Muslims and Russians with almost the same number of holidays. A further article appeared, again sent by the “group of Tatar commercial-industrial workers”, who repeatedly claimed that they could not give up common interests with Russian comrades, and that Tatar merchants were undoubtedly profiting from trading on Sundays<sup>38</sup>. The next day the Muslim newspaper *Quyash* harshly criticized the fact that the article in question served as a powerful weapon for Russian merchants, and that these Tatars were talking in the manner of Russian nationalists who were against giving Tatar servants

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<sup>37</sup> *Yūlduz*, January 7, 1914, 4; *Qūyāsh*, January 7, 1914, 3. The Muslim intellectual at the beginning of the twentieth century and the today’s Kazan researchers alike regard the Hay Bazaar as a hotbed of “religious fanaticism”. Validov, *Ocherk istorii obrazovannosti*, p.120; Sverdlova, *Na perekrestke*, p.110; Salikhov, *Tatarskaia burzhuaziia*, p.30. It may be necessary to reevaluate it as a center of political movements with confessional motivation.

<sup>38</sup> *Kamsko-volzhskaia rech’*, January 8, 1914.

national and religious liberty<sup>39</sup>.

On January 8 the city дума was at the center of city dwellers' interest; and so many people, most of whom Muslim, gathered at the building that the gallery was forced to limit capacity to 75 seats<sup>40</sup>. After the city head announced petitions from Muslims and Russians, Şadr al-Dīn Maqşūdī insisted that Muslims could not agree on the denial of their own holidays, which was equivalent to a denial of their faith itself. He demanded that Friday be set as a day off for Muslims in the name of the "historical friendship between Russians and Tatars", and supported turning the question to the juridical commission<sup>41</sup>.

The Russian councilors' attitude towards the Muslims' demand was cool as the discussion in city assembly had reached an impasse, following repeated rejections from the Kazan governor and the Senate. Councilor S. A. Ushakov said that only the State Duma could find a solution to the question. P. P. Shmelev considered it impossible to ignore the growth of Tatar commercial activity at the expense of Russian traders. E. E. Sofronov complained that Tatars were now saying that trading on Fridays was not compatible with their religion, although they had not seen any contradiction there until 1905. Sympathetic N. N. Iushkov proposed that a rule within the city ordinance of April 11, 1905, which gave exclusion to the New Sloboda, remain effective even on the basis of the law of November 15, 1906. However, I. I. Stepanov did not consider that exclusion possible.

The Russian councilors' attitude irritated Muslim colleagues; councilor Badr al-Dīn Āpānāyif and Şadr al-Dīn Maqşūdī firmly protested that Russians were

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<sup>39</sup> *Qūyāsh*, January 9, 1914, 1-2.

<sup>40</sup> *Yūlduz*, January 10, 1914, 3.

<sup>41</sup> Hereafter for discussion of January 8 in the city council, *Yūlduz*, January 10, 1914, 3-4; *Zhurnaly za 1914*, pp.31-34.

offending Muslims' faith, and that Russians also profited from trading on Fridays. Having received petitions on holidays from Muslims nationwide as former deputy of the second and third state дума, Maqşūdī added that the question had acquired nationwide importance. Hādī Maqşūdī, who was Şadr al-Dīn's elder brother and chief editor of *Yulduz* emphasized that the question was not one of commercial profits but confessional and national interest. He asked for Russian colleagues' justice to take Muslims' voice into serious consideration as they stood at the inferiority for the vote. Finally, the city дума resolved to transfer the question to the juridical commission.

On the whole, while the city дума insisted on the effectiveness of the ordinance of April 11, 1905, the Muslim newspapers and councilors tried to justify their demand on the basis of the law of November 15, 1906. Moreover, these representatives of Muslim public opinion claimed that infringement of Islamic holidays violated the decree of December 12, 1904; promising to reconsider restrictive measures and laws against non-Orthodox believers on the one hand, and the Manifesto of October 17, declaring freedom of conscience, on the other. Aware of the deadlock affecting the city assembly, Muslims tried to solve the question with recourse to the laws and decrees gifted by the Tsar and the state principle of religious tolerance. Muslims also argued that they had to obey God's commands first and then human laws. Thus, Muslim representatives forged their discursive strategy in a broader context; they contended that the Russian government historically had never introduced measures to damage Muslims' faith, and that the holiday question be understood in terms of the provision of civil rights, *ghrāzhdānliq* for the twenty-million Muslim community, *millat* of the empire. The Orenburg newspaper *Waqt* also propagated the question as an issue of the all Russian Muslims. That discourse enhanced people's expectation as to the activity of the

Muslim fraction in the state дума<sup>42</sup>.

Russian newspapers did not alter their stance that Muslims' trading on Sundays was severely damaging Russians' business. Noticing Muslims' shift in the attitude towards holidays, another Russian newspaper, "Kazanskii telegraf", wrote that it was the propagation of "the Young Tatars", in association with separatism in 1905, that had broken the normal course of commercial life in Kazan<sup>43</sup>. The newspaper also challenged Muslims' theological arguments; citing the verse on Friday rituals (see an epigraph of this paper) from G. S. Sablukov's Russian translation of the Qur'ān<sup>44</sup>, one article proved that there were no words in that verse either prohibiting trade before and after the collective prayer or setting Friday as a day off. It said that only recently, when "Pan-Islamism" had emerged, did Muslims first start adhering to Friday as a day off. The article concluded that Muslims' desire to have an advantage over Russians was the reason for their demand to trade on Sundays, when labourers freely went shopping<sup>45</sup>.

A contributor named "Imam, khatīb, mudarris" to the local Muslim paper *Yulduz* counterattacked that challenge, criticizing Sablukov's interpretation of the verse on Friday; while Sablukov had interpreted "the Bounty of Allah, *faḍl*" as God's munificence, *shchedroty*, "our learned commentators" understood it as mercy, *raḥmat*, and the Qur'ān exegesis, *tafsīr*, never told people to engage in trade on Fridays. The author of the article also cited a verse of *Ḥadīth*, the tradition of the

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<sup>42</sup> *Yulduz*, January 12, 1914, 1; February 23, 1914, 1-2; *Qūyāsh*, January 12, 1914, 3-4; January 13, 1914, 2; *Waqt*, January 15, 1914, 2.

<sup>43</sup> *Kazanskii telegraf*, January 12, 1914.

<sup>44</sup> G.S. Sablukov worked out a systematic curriculum for polemics against Islam in the Kazan Theological Academy during his tenure (1856-1863). His translation of the Qur'ān published in 1878 was the first to be produced directly from the Arabic text into Russian. R. Geraci, *Window on the East: National and Imperial Identities in Late Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca and London, 2001), pp.86-87.

<sup>45</sup> *Kazanskii telegraf*, January 17, 1914.

Prophet and his Companions: “Friday is the master of days. Friday holds an infinitely sacred hour. Prayers and acts of devotion during that hour are more acceptable to God than at any other.” He said that there was no time for trade as Muslims had to “celebrate the Praises of Allah often” according to the scripture. Moreover, the Muslim community had for a long time reached consensus, *ijmā‘* (one of the four foundations of Islamic jurisprudence) concerning the prohibition of trading on Fridays. In reaction to Russians’ complaints against Muslims’ commercial advantage, the author of the article pointed out that there were no Russian shoppers in the Hay Bazaar of the Old Sloboda on Sundays, although Russian streets were filled with Muslim shoppers on Fridays<sup>46</sup>.

Despite the efforts of the Kazan Muslim press to sway Muslim public opinion towards the sacred aim of retaining communal and religious values, those Muslims trading in the Russian streets were actually not ready to have a day off on Fridays, let alone other Islamic holidays; it was obviously disadvantageous for them to close their shops on those days in addition to Sundays and other Christian ones as Russians did. However, Quyash condemned them of being void of national consciousness and any confessional sense. For instance, one Muslim entrepreneur Qurbān‘al ī Kāshāif opened his shop in the Bol’shaia Prolomnaia on the day of *Ghār*, the first day of *Rabī‘ al-awwal* (the third month of Hegira calendar). On the Prophet’s birthday, *Maulid al-nabīy*, other Muslims’ celebration in the Hay Bazaar and the Bol’shaia Prolomnaia notwithstanding, four Muslim entrepreneurs supporting Kāshāif continued their trade on that day. According to Quyash, Kāshāif always dismissed Islamic holidays. Muslim entrepreneurs in the Bol’shaia Prolomnaia whispered that Kāshāif asked the city executive board to provide

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<sup>46</sup> *Yūlduz*, January 21, 1914, 1.

Muslims with Orthodox holidays<sup>47</sup>.

On February 3, a discussion on the holiday question took place in the juridical commission within the city дума<sup>48</sup>. Participating were one entrepreneur and two members of the labor union from the Russian side, while the Muslims' position was represented by councilors Şadr al-Dīn Maqşūdī and Ibrāhīm Yaḥyīn, and a Muslim servant Samī' Allāh Şāliḥuf. Although the deliberation started from the city ordinance of November 12, 1908, which had given approval for Christians and Muslims to take a day off on their respective holidays, it ended up with the elimination of articles concerning Muslim holidays and the implementation of Christian ones as a common day off. That decision satisfied Russian servants, who were demanding ordinance to guarantee their day off as well as Russian entrepreneurs who were interested in preventing Muslims' trading on Sundays. Muslim representatives' protests notwithstanding, the juridical commission only permitted them to petition the government for the exclusion of Tatar streets on the left bank of the Bulak from general rule.

Two Muslim newspapers in Kazan did not conceal their disappointment at that result. *Qūyāsh* regarded the decision as an attack on those Muslims with national and religious sense, saying that "deprivation of national holidays is equal to the loss of half of one's nationality, *milḥyat*". It strongly criticized the fact that it was those merchants trading through back doors on Muslim holidays for trivial profits that had had a brutal effect on the issue. Taking the permission for petitions positively, *Qūyāsh* called for Muslims' unified movement<sup>49</sup>. *Yulduz*, in turn, considered it a practical solution for the Tatar part of the city to become an exception on the basis

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<sup>47</sup> *Qūyāsh* January 17, 1914, 5; February 10, 1914, 1.

<sup>48</sup> *Yulduz*, February 5, 1914, 1-2; *Zhurnaly za 1914*, p.112.

<sup>49</sup> *Qūyāsh*, February 6, 1914, 1.

of the city ordinance of April 11, 1905, which excluded the New Sloboda. It assured that Muslims would never give up, hoping for deliberations in the State Duma and the State Council<sup>50</sup>.

Some Muslim traders continued to open their shops on Sundays, taking advantage of the ambiguity in the solution to the question. However, since the city ordinance of April 11 still remained effective in practice, the police investigated and imposed fines on these Muslim traders. For example, following their trading on Sunday, March 9, the police put sixty Muslim traders and five Russian counterparts under investigation<sup>51</sup>. When indicted to the Justice of the Peace (*Mirovoi sud'ia*), the Muslims entrusted their defense to lawyer Bukhov. He argued that the question about trading on holidays remained open as the city duma had not yet issued an ordinance based on the law of November 15, 1906. While the Justice of the Peace often agreed with Bukhov concerning the suspension of judgments, the Congress of the Justice of the Peace issued verdicts imposing fines on the accused<sup>52</sup>.

On May 20 the city duma unanimously but except Muslim councilors approved the decision of the juridical commission of February 3<sup>53</sup>. In marked contrast with the deliberation on January 8, no Muslims were seen in the audience. Russian councilors maintained their stance that Muslims had deliberately manufactured a connection between the day-off question and confessional obligations. Muslims, in turn, walked out of their seats in protest. Thus, the city assembly transferred to the governor a plan of ordinance to impose Orthodox holidays on the Muslim population, which was brought into effect by the governor's sanction on July 14. The local

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<sup>50</sup> *Yūlduz*, February 12, 1914, 1-2.

<sup>51</sup> *Yūlduz*, February 6, 1914, 1; March 11, 1914, 4.

<sup>52</sup> *Kamsko-volzhskaia rech'*, February 19, 1914; March 16, 1914; *Yūlduz*, March 16, 1914, 4.

<sup>53</sup> *Yūlduz*, May 22, 1914, 1-2; *Zhurnaly za 1914*, pp.123-127.

Muslim papers demonstrated their regret. Quyash pointed out that the decision of the city assembly would permit Muslim entrepreneurs in the Russian streets to open their shops freely on Fridays and thereby to exchange the future of their religion and community with 15-20 rubles in daily profits<sup>54</sup>. Yulduz was deeply apprehensive that the decision of the city дума would oblige urban Muslims, whose lives depended exclusively on trading, to abandon their business and holidays alike<sup>55</sup>.

However, the implementation of the new ordinance did not succeed in halting the controversy, but served instead as incitement for Muslims to take further action. One ‘Abd al-Raḥman Qūshāif, merchant of the second class in the Hay Bazaar, petitioned the Interior Ministry against the measure of the city дума, and at the same time persuaded Muslim state deputy Gaisa Enikeev and a representative from the Muslim community of the capital to hold meetings with the bureaucrats concerned. On August 11 Qūshāif received a telegraph from the two negotiators, who reported that the Interior Minister had instructed the Kazan governor to suspend the new ordinance pending close scrutiny, and that it would take considerable time as they were planning to consult with the Mercantile-Industrial Minister as well on that matter<sup>56</sup>. Muslim entrepreneurs opened their shops on August 17, namely, the first Sunday after the information had appeared on a page of Yulduz<sup>57</sup>. On September 5 another state deputy, Ibniiamin Akhtiamov, informed Yulduz by telegraph that the Interior Ministry had given the Kazan governor instructions to amend the ordinance on the basis of local conditions. He provided the information

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<sup>54</sup> *Qūyāsh*, May 23, 1914, 2; May 27, 1914, 4; June 3, 1914, 2.

<sup>55</sup> *Yūlduz*, May 23, 1914, 4-5.

<sup>56</sup> *Yūlduz*, August 13, 1914, 4; *Kazanskii telegraf*, September 4, 1914.

<sup>57</sup> *Yūlduz*, August 19, 1914, 4.

for lawyer Bukhov as well, who defended Muslim traders' interests before the courts<sup>58</sup>. 'Abd al-Raḥman Qūshāif even declared in the Russian paper *Kazanskii telegraf* that Muslims would continue to protect their interests with recourse to legal methods<sup>59</sup>. Reacting to the Muslims' actions, another local Russian paper, *Kamsko-volzhskaia rech'*, complained that Muslims, based only on rumors, had begun opening their shops on Sundays. It proposed that the city executive board take serious measures against the violation of the ordinance in order to maintain "the authority of the urban self-government"<sup>60</sup>.

The Kazan governor, in turn, issued a provisional ordinance without any consultation with the city assembly; allowing all those who wished to trade to do so for five hours, from twelve noon to five o'clock in the afternoon, on holidays. Quyash, while on the one hand welcoming the governor's ordinance, realized on the other that it would not work in Muslims' favor, since they had to close their shops on Fridays and for a half day on Sundays each week. Nevertheless, Quyash demanded effort from Muslims to respect their own holidays, despite the material damages involved. It said that such behaviors would convince Russians of the link between the holiday question and confessional concern. Quyash especially warned Muslim traders in the Russian streets that they would be "traitors of the community and religion, *khā'in-i millat wa dīn*" if their reluctance to join Muslims' unified actions led to the loss of their own holidays<sup>61</sup>.

On September 23 the city assembly confronted the infringement of the Interior

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<sup>58</sup> *Yūlduz*, September 9, 1914, 3.

<sup>59</sup> *Kazanskii telegraf*, September 4, 1914. The article had a signature "G.K." An Arabic letter "ain" with which the name 'Abd al-Raḥman begins is often transcribed in Russian texts by a Russian letter "g". Moreover, the translation of this article came out in *Yūlduz* in the next day. *Yūlduz*, September 5, 1914, 3.

<sup>60</sup> *Kamsko-volzhskaia rech'*, September 2, 1914.

<sup>61</sup> *Qūyāsh*, September 8, 1914, 1-2; September 19, 1914, 1-2.

Minister and the Kazan governor upon the urban autonomy; Muslim councilors' disagreement notwithstanding, the assembly resolved to petition the Interior Minister against his instruction and the governor's measure<sup>62</sup>. Kazan Muslims, in turn, tried to counter it by justifying their position in theological terms; Muslim representatives intended to submit to the Senate an Islamic legal opinion, *fatwā* demonstrating that Friday was an obligatory holiday according to the Qur'ān and other religious books. Before submission they successfully received from the Spiritual Assembly a certification on the fatwa's correctness according to the Islamic legal tradition, *sharī'a*<sup>63</sup>.

The controversy over holidays in the city дума clearly showed intricate relations between the urban autonomy and religious tolerance. The city assembly and the local Muslim community could agree to create rules taking the local particularity into consideration. After all it was impossible to ignore the important presence of Muslims in the city economy. This situation sometimes required Russians' patience with the economic disadvantage. However, the repeated postponement of implementation of the city ordinance, due to the vetoes of the governor and Senate, aggravated Russian traders' discontent with not having either their day off guaranteed or Muslims' trading restricted. In order to protect the urban autonomy against interference from above, the city дума was obliged to listen to the Russian majority's voice and to enforce the ordinance it had once approved. Muslim representatives, in turn, took advantage of their deputies in the state дума to suspend the ordinance. That compelled the city assembly to concentrate on guarding its authority and playing down the negotiation with Muslims. Protection

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<sup>62</sup> *Yūlduz*, September 25, 1914, 3-4; *Zhurnaly za 1914*, pp.29-31.

<sup>63</sup> TsGIARB, f.I-295, op.6, d.3734, ll.1, 6, 7.

of the urban autonomy was not always compatible with religious tolerance.

### Theological Politics

Kazan Muslims' political acts in the streets and city duma as well as discourses on the local Muslim papers demonstrated the formation of a sacred value, obliging each Muslim to be a servant of the community and religion after the 1905 Revolution. It was the Muslim press that played a crucial role in the sacralization of the community. Although Yulduz and Quyash agreed to defend Muslims' confessional interests against Russians by manifesting the unity of their community, the two papers had a different understanding as to the means to sacralize the community. Parallel to their cooperative political efforts to obtain the right for Islamic holidays in the city and state dumas, they contended for the authority to define the first day of a month in the Hegira calendar. The fiercest controversy initially emerged over the date of Maulid, the Prophet's birthday (the twelfth day of the month of *Rabi' al-awwal*) and secondly, over the end of the Ramadan month. In particular, the coincidence of the end of the Ramadan month and solar eclipse in 1914 rendered the dispute highly competitive. Moreover, the Maulid and the Ramadan month themselves involved controversial questions; the Maulid was an "invented" Islamic tradition in the Volga-Ural region; since the Ramadan month in 1914 came to long summer days, it was quite disputable whether the obligatory fast should be strictly observed or not.

Although arguments of both Yulduz and Quyash relied on scriptures, Yulduz insisted on rigidly following scriptural words, namely, the observation of a thin crescent moon by naked eyes, *ru'ya*, while Quyash thought it rational to use astronomical calculations for making a common calendar. The two methods saw the

beginning of a month differently; according to Yulduz, a new moon, *hilāl* was a slightly visible crescent in the west in the evening after a moonless, *maḥāq* night, but the Quyash's method could infringe scriptural rules as a moon was not visible at the moment of conjunction, *ijtimā'* as accurately calculated by observatories. Those ulama supporting the observation by naked eyes often cited a passage from Bukhali's hadith: "When you see the crescent, start fasting, and when you see the crescent, stop fasting <sup>64</sup>." Every year, the Spiritual Assembly provided the Department of Religious Affairs within the Interior Ministry with calendars based on astronomical calculation, in order to inform the army and other institutions of Muslim holidays<sup>65</sup>. However, its calculation sometimes did not coincide with that of Quyash. On the one hand, when supporters of either naked-eye observation or calculation agreed with the religious authority, they tried to appropriate its decision to exhibit the authenticity of their position. On the other hand, when any discrepancy occurred, the Muslim press criticized the religious authority in either scriptural or scientific terms.

About the first day of the month of Rabī' al-awwal, the twelfth day of which was expected to be the Maulid, the opinions of Yulduz and the Spiritual Assembly coincided on Wednesday January 15<sup>66</sup>. However, Quyash's calculation proved that

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<sup>64</sup> *Sahih Bukhari*, vol 3, Book 31, Number 124.

<sup>65</sup> The civil state institutions which admitted Islamic holidays were the Spiritual Assembly, Tatar and Kazakh teachers' schools and jails. The administrative and judicial institutions including the local self-government did not take Islamic holidays into account. I. K. Zagidullin, *Musul'manskoe bogosluzhenie v uchrezhdeniakh Rossiiskoi imperii (Evropeiskaia chast' Rossii i Sibir')* (Kazan, 2006), p.268. In the case of the army, for example, the Department of the Religious Affairs on August 14 in 1914 asked the Spiritual Assembly for the date of Islamic holidays in the Julian calendar of 1915 to free Muslim soldiers of service, according to the instruction of the General Staff of November 11 in 1913. TsGIARB, f.I-295, op.11, d.922, n.n.

<sup>66</sup> *Yulduz*, January 19, 1914, 2.

the first day of the month was on January 14; Quyash had appealed to Muslim merchants to close their shops on that day, which was also a holiday of *Ghār*<sup>67</sup>. While the local Muslims generally followed the Quyash's instruction, Yulduz published an open letter to ulama in protest, leaning on its agreement with the Spiritual Assembly. The letter suggested that the ulama make an agreement, *ittifaq* in conformity with the judgement of the Spiritual Assembly, if the holidays were not to be at the mercy of individual arbitrariness. The letter suspected that the Muslim clergy, *rūhānīlar* began to live in opposition to the religious authority. Referring to the acceptance of its decision by the ulama of Orenburg and Astrakhan, the letter proved that it was impossible to see a crescent at six o'clock in the evening on January 13, as the moon had completely disappeared at ten in the morning on the same day, meaning that January 15 was the first day of the Rabi' al-awwal, since the thin crescent had appeared on January 14. It assured that the ulama were servants of religion, but not of false calendars<sup>68</sup>.

Recognizing that the question on the unification of Islamic holidays was one completely ripe for solving, Quyash insisted that the solution be compatible with the age of knowledge and enlightenment, but not contrary to the texts of the Islamic legal tradition, *nuṣūṣ-i shar'īya*. Accusing Yulduz of persuading the imams to be the mere followers of the Spiritual Assembly, Quyash elaborated upon its justification of utilizing astronomical knowledge for the calendar. One contributor named "a believer, *mu'min*" pointed out that Kazan Muslim publishers "according to the Islamic legal tradition and intelligence, 'aql' created a common calendar based on the data of the local observatory, and that Yulduz did not admit its fault, but even

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<sup>67</sup> *Qūyāsh*, January 13, 1914, 4.

<sup>68</sup> *Yūlduz*, January 23, 1914, 3.

praised the religious authority, which had also made a mistake. He justified his position by citing an article from a local journal *al-Dīn wa al-Adab* (Religion and Propriety), edited by Galimjan Barudi, a well-known reformist imam of the fifth mosque in Kazan. The contributor to *Qūyāsh* argued that although the Prophet had instructed believers to see a crescent as the easiest way to know a new month, the difficulty of naked-eye observation in contemporary European cities obliged the Muslim populace in general and imams in particular to follow the calculation of reliable scientists<sup>69</sup>.

#### The Maulid

The dispute between *Qūyāsh* and *Yulduz* reflected competition among the Muslim learned in the city of Kazan. The cleavage within the ulama was not simple enough to be interpreted as running along the rigid dichotomy of jadids supporting the practical use of scientific knowledge on the one hand, and qadims persisting in scriptural words on the other. The move toward the pristine texts of the Quran, the Hadith and the sharia was also profoundly subversive of the classical religious traditions<sup>70</sup>. Muslims' activities to guard their own holidays in the Russian political arena were accompanied by reappraisal of their confessional life within their community. The ulama contended for ascendancy to guide their fellow believers, not because the scriptural knowledge was incompatible with that of the scientific variety, but because both represented an equally indispensable means to bring order to Muslims' confessional life in general and the Hegira calendar in particular.

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<sup>69</sup> *Qūyāsh*, January 7, 1914, 2; January 23, 1914, 2-3; January 28, 1914, 1-2.

<sup>70</sup> Clifford Geertz called such phenomenon "scripturalism". C. Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (Chicago, 1968), pp.60, 65. For a comparison with the Central Asian case, see Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, pp.174-175.

In practice the dispute between the two camps brought confusion to the confessional life in Kazan, since two different calendars worked in the same city. Agreeing with Yulduz and the Spiritual Assembly, Şādiq Īmānqūlī, the mullah of the ninth parish, which was the largest in the city, declared that the first day of the Rabī‘ al-awwal had been January 15, therefore that the Maulid would be January 26. However, in the eleventh mosque in the New Sloboda, headed by Kashshāf al-Dīn Tarjumānī, the recital of verses dedicated to the Prophet Muhammad would take place at 9:30 in the evening on January 24, namely, the Maulid was expected to be January 25 as Quyash and other local Muslim publishers insisted<sup>71</sup>. Likewise, the Orenburg newspaper, *Waqt*, waded into the controversy in Kazan; it expressed its disappointment that Quyash should have followed the judgment of the Spiritual Assembly as did Muslims of Astrakhan, Orenburg, Caucasus and Crimea<sup>72</sup>.

Just as representatives of the Muslim public opinion in Kazan were engaged in political activities in the name of the Russian Muslim community, so Yulduz associated itself with the Islamic world to justify its position on the calendar question. One contributor named “Muslim” made sure that the Islamic world, *diyār-i Islām* reached consensus, *ijtimā‘* in that the visibility of a crescent by naked eyes after sunset signified the “birth of the moon, *āyning tūūyu‘*”. He added that calculation based on naked-eye observation, *ru‘ya hisābi* was implemented in Istanbul despite the existence of observatories. He argued that counting a month from the complete moonless night, *maḥāq* would make believers distort the Hegira calendar by moving all dates one day before<sup>73</sup>. A week later Yulduz proudly

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<sup>71</sup> *Yūlduz*, January 21, 1914, 4; January 23, 1914, 3.

<sup>72</sup> *Waqt*, January 29, 1914, 2.

<sup>73</sup> *Yūlduz*, January 24, 1914, 1-2.

announced that the Maulid had been on January 26 in Istanbul<sup>74</sup>.

Quyash pointed out that Kazan Muslims' general celebration of the Maulid on January 25 demonstrated the growth of national consciousness, *milli āng*. It also said that neither Şādiq mullah of the ninth mosque nor "anti-scientific" Yulduz could lead people into error. Yulduz, in turn, published Şādiq's rebuttal relying on texts of the Islamic astronomy. Referring to an exegesis of *al-Mulakhkhaş fī al-Hai'a* (The Extract of the Astronomy), written by one Chaghmīnī in the thirteenth century, he showed the degree to which the moon had to pass conjunction, *ijtimā'* to become visible to people. According to the text, the moon's passing by six degrees permits those with very acute eyes to see 1/28 of the full moon, namely, 12 hours have to pass after the conjunction as the moon runs 12 degrees in 24 hours. If nine degrees, i.e. 18 hours, pass then sound eyes can observe 1/21 of the full moon. It takes 12 degrees, i.e. a day for everyone to see a crescent, which reaches 1/14 of the full moon<sup>75</sup>.

The heated dispute over the date of the Maulid was connected to contemporary Muslims' attempts to forge the festival as a "national" one alongside the two largest ones, namely, the festival after the Ramadan, *Īd al-Fīr* and that of the month of the Pilgrimage, *Īd al-Adhā* or *Qurbān bayrāmī*. In marked contrast to the Middle East, the Maulid had not been a widely recognized holiday in the Volga-Urals, at least in the nineteenth century<sup>76</sup>. This may be partly explained by the fact that many ulama

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<sup>74</sup> *Yūlduz*, January 31, 1914, 2.

<sup>75</sup> *Yūlduz*, January 30, 1914, 1. One of two known Persian exegeses, "The Exegesis of the Extract, *Sharḥ-i Mulakhkhaş*" was dedicated to Ulugh Bek (1394-1449), the fourth sovereign of the Timurid Dynasty and famous astronomer. C.A. Storey, *Persian Literature: a Bio-bibliographical Survey*, vol.2, part 1 (London, 1972), p.50.

<sup>76</sup> According to Karl Fuks, physician and professor of the Kazan University, the Kazan Tatars had four holidays in the first half of the nineteenth century: two religious holidays, Ramadan and Qurban; and two folk ones, Saban and Jien. I

in this region used to study around Bukhara, where the local learned and common people regarded holidays other than the two largest as heresy, *bid'at* until the beginning of the twentieth century<sup>77</sup>. In the mid-nineteenth century when Zayn Allāh Rasūlif, a well-known Sufi leader in Urals, brought home the Maulid festival after his ascetic training in Istanbul, surrounding ulama did not accept the innovation, and the Spiritual Assembly accused him of heresy, which served as a reason for his exile<sup>78</sup>. While Shihāb al-Dīn al-Marjānī, a well-known reformist scholar in the same period, had labeled the Maulid as a superstition, *khurāfa*, Galimjan Barudi, a leading scholar at the beginning of the twentieth century, contributed to the spread of the festival<sup>79</sup>.

Three conditions seem to account for this “invention of tradition” among the Volga-Ural Muslims in that period. First of all, Muslims could accept the festival as being comparable to Christmas<sup>80</sup>. It was the circulation of the calendar that allowed Muslims to recognize their own holidays<sup>81</sup>; Kaium Nasyri’s series of the calendar from 1871-1897 served as a periodical for Muslims. The Spiritual Assembly provided the army with the Muslim calendar. It is worth remembering that the post-1905 political ferment made people more aware than ever of their own holidays.

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mention the latter two holidays later. K. Fuks, *Kazanskie tatory v statisticheskoy i etnograficheskoy otnosheniakh* (Kazan, 1991, orig. 1844), p.102.

<sup>77</sup> See a report from Samarkand by Nūshīrwān Yāwshif, who traveled around Russian and Chinese Turkestan. *Qūyāsh*, February 2, 1914, 2.

<sup>78</sup> M.N. Farkhshatov, “Zainulla Rasulev,” in *Islam na territorii byvshei Rossiiskoi imperii: Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* part 1 (Moscow, 1998), p.85; Crews, *For Prophet and Tsar*, p.324.

<sup>79</sup> M. Shāmsetdinova, *Tatarlarda Mäüled bäyrüme* (Kazan, 2001), 8. The author of this brochure, however, thinks that Tatars celebrated the Maulid from ages before.

<sup>80</sup> Koblov observed that Muslims also celebrated the Orthodox holidays in villages with Russians living together. That fact is likely to indicate that the city of Kazan was a space distinguished by the rigid demarcation of holidays between Muslims and the Orthodox after the 1905 Revolution. Koblov, *O tatarskikh musul'manskikh prazdnikakh*, pp.16-17.

<sup>81</sup> See also Meyer, *Turkic Worlds*, pp.66-67.

Secondly, Muslims tried to replace the folk, but “pagan” and extravagant festivals of Saban and Jien with more “Islamic” and cheaper events, such as the Maulid. The Saban took place in spring before field works, and the Jien in summer, before harvest. These festivals were frowned upon from Islamic points of view as they accompanied the drinking of alcohol, playing with men and women, dancing and music<sup>82</sup>. The third condition for the invention of the Maulid was the influence from Istanbul. It was young intellectuals, *diyāhilar*, rather than ulama who stood at the center in forging the “national” holiday. According to an article on their coterie journal *Maktab*, “only recently did our imams and teachers begin to respect and celebrate the Maulid. They started it only after they remained for study in Istanbul and Cairo and saw good customs there”. The article proposed that young imams and intellectuals themselves create soulful poems and sermons for the Maulid by their own words as they often used the same texts as used in Istanbul and Cairo<sup>83</sup>.

Muslims in the Volga-Ural region celebrated the Maulid calmly, organizing evenings of poem recitals praising the Prophet and narration of the Prophet’s life in mosques, schools and other cultural buildings<sup>84</sup>. That may be influenced by the

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<sup>82</sup> S.A. Dudoignon, “Status, Strategies and Discourses of a Muslim “Clergy” under a Christian Law: Polemics about the Collection of the *Zakāt* in Late Imperial Russia,” in Dudoignon and Komatsu, *Islam in Politics*, p.66; Koblov, *O tatarskikh musul'manskikh prazdnikakh*, pp.40-41. But since the baptized Tatars also had these pagan festivals in common, they were great opportunities for the people inclined to Islam to find spouses from Muslims. A. Kefeli, “The Role of Tatar and Kriashen Women in the Transmission of Islamic Knowledge, 1800-1870,” in R. Geraci and M. Khodarkovsky eds., *Of Religion and Empire: Missions, Conversion, and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca and London, 2001), p.267.

<sup>83</sup> *Maktab* 2 (1914), 29-31. A famous Bukharan jadid ‘Abdurauf Fitrat also published a book on the Maulid in 1914 after his study in Istanbul. He intended to present “a true Islam” to Central Asian readers, who seemed to him to incline rather to adoration of Sufis like Bahā’ al-Dīn Naqshband. H. Komatsu, “Bukhara and Istanbul: A Consideration about the Background of the *Munāzara*,” in Dudoignon and Komatsu, *Islam in Politics*, pp.178-179.

<sup>84</sup> *Qūyāsh*, February 2, 1914, 2; *Yūlduz*, February 4, 1914, 2-3.

contemporary situation in the Middle East, which witnessed the chaotic and showy celebration of the Maulid attacked in terms of “Islamic orthodoxy” born from “modernity”<sup>85</sup>. Nevertheless, having the Maulid accompanied with music and plays remained highly controversial among the ulama<sup>86</sup>.

### The Ramadan

The formation of consensus on the first day of the Ramadan month among the Spiritual Assembly, *Quyash* and *Yulduz* did not prevent the occurrence of another dispute. The controversy over the observance of the fast in long summer days spread far beyond the streets and the press of Kazan to Ufa and Orenburg. Interestingly enough, the two rival newspapers, *Quyash* and *Yulduz*, agreed to follow the scriptural words rigidly. Emphasizing the sanctity of the fast during summer days, *Quyash* complained that thinking of fatwas and excuses to dissuade believers from the fast itself would serve as an assault on the religious duty<sup>87</sup>. Finding crowds of Muslims sitting in cafés to see relatives off to war in the summer of 1914, *Yulduz* nevertheless accused them and demanded their justice and penitence<sup>88</sup>. While that position was in tune with the religious journal of Orenburg “*Din wa Ma’ishat* (Religion and Life)”, the Ufa paper “*Türmush* (Life)” and the Orenburg paper *Waqt* supported a flexible approach to the observance of the fast, namely, its postponement until winter. That controversy also demonstrates that the cleavage between *Quyash* and *Yulduz* was not a persistent one, but easily changeable, according to the topics concerned.

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<sup>85</sup> K. Ohtsuka, *An Anthropological Approach to the Modern and Islam* (in Japanese) (Tokyo, 2000), pp.166-171.

<sup>86</sup> *Din wa Ma’ishat* 6 (1914), 94; *Shūrū* 2 (1914), 56-57.

<sup>87</sup> *Qūyāsh*, July 11, 1914, 2.

<sup>88</sup> *Yūlduz*, August 9, 1914, 4.

In the series of articles under the rubric of “Struggle against the Fast, *Rūzagha qārshī ṣūghish*”, *Dīn wa Ma‘īshat* defended the rigid observance of the fast; otherwise, it argued, permission to delay the fast would make people forget the holy month of Ramadan, just as the number of Muslims unaware of times of prayers was now increasing due to the spread of apathy to religion<sup>89</sup>. Criticizing a book “The Fast in the Long Days, *Ūzūn kūnlarda rūza*” written by a distinguished scholar Mūsā Bigī who proposed a flexible interpretation, the Orenburg journal pointed out that those “new imams, *yāngī imāmlār*” sympathetic to Bigī actually continued to force parishioners to carry out the fast in order to guard themselves against reproaches from the congregation. It insisted that it was “old imams, *īskī imāmlār*” who, without self-interest, strove to rescue believers from the punishments of the hell<sup>90</sup>. “To prevent the decay of faith”, supporters of the journal even petitioned the Orenburg governor to impose punishments by police power on those who did not fast<sup>91</sup>.

The Ufa Muslim newspaper *Turmush* claimed that the police authority should not force people to esteem and observe the religious duty as it depended on each believer’s conscience, *wijdān*. It argued that since the fast was a basis, *rukṅ* of religion, but not a constituent, *juz’* of faith, flexible observance did not represent a deviation from Islam. The paper appealed to imams to issue a fatwa allowing believers not to carry out the fast strictly in summer, but to postpone it until

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<sup>89</sup> *Dīn wa Ma‘īshat* 30 (1914), 468-471.

<sup>90</sup> *Dīn wa Ma‘īshat* 31 (1914), 483. Bigī’s book came out in Kazan in 1911. Its Russian translation is also available. *Musa Dzharullakh Bigiev: izbrannye trudy* vol.1 (Kazan’, 2005).

<sup>91</sup> *Dīn wa Ma‘īshat* 27 (1914), 428. Although supporting the rigid observance of the fast, *Quyash* also protested against those imams asking for the intervention of the police power. *Dīn wa Ma‘īshat* 29 (1914), 460-461.

winter<sup>92</sup>. Presenting the same idea, The Orenburg paper *Waqt* saw the merit of Islam in the ulama's eligibility to make decisions, *ra'y* on concrete applications of the imperatives expressed by the God in universal terms, *'āmm bir işīlāh*. *Waqt* posed a question: what if those workers who had been healthy before the fast got ill due to the fast, even when the Quran permitted the sick to postpone it?<sup>93</sup> The Muslim paper argued that it was a duty, *farḍ* not to make the healthy people sick, and that the inability to maintain the fast due to the harm to health would make Muslims only pray for God's forgiveness and lose the meaning of observance of the fast itself. It added that if Muslim peasants forced to carry out the duty could not accumulate the food through summer labors, they would have to beg from Russians<sup>94</sup>.

The dispute over the calendar resurfaced when they found that the end of Ramadan was expected to synchronize with the solar eclipse (in Arabic *kusūf*, in Turkic *qūyāsh ūtulū*) on August 8. If they were to stick to observation of the crescent by naked eyes, August 10 would be the first day of the month of *Shawwāl* as they could not see the crescent in the evening on August 8. This time, while supporters of *Quyash* could agree with the Spiritual Assembly on celebrating the first day of the festival on August 9, those in favor of the naked-eye observation of the moon had to challenge the religious authority. However, the most compelling challenge to the Spiritual Assembly came from the imams of Ufa, the very place of the mufti's residence. On August 2 the city imams complained to the mufti that the astronomical calculation would deprive them of the observance of scriptural words. On the following day, the local religious head, *ākhūnd*, from the first mosque

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<sup>92</sup> *Tūrmush*, July 16, 1914, 2.

<sup>93</sup> *Qur'ān* 2: 184.

<sup>94</sup> *Waqt*, July 3, 1914, 2-3; July 12, 1914, 1-2.

Jihāngīr Ābizgildīn convened a consultation with other four imams of the city and the three members, *qāḍīs* of the Spiritual Assembly. The negotiation ended up with the decision to follow the calendar of the religious authority<sup>95</sup>.

Quyash attacked those imams who observed the phrases, *lafẓ* of the Islamic legal tradition rather than its spirit, *rūḥ*<sup>96</sup>. A young intellectual Fātiḥ Amīrkhān pointed out that it was simply superficial worshippers who considered it a deviation from the religion to recognize a scientific truth, *fannī ḥaqīqat* that the new moon was born immediately after its conjunction, *ijtimā'* with the sun. He added that “fanatic people, *muta‘aṣṣiblar*” and the contemporary ulama had not been able to appreciate the suggestion of the use of calculation by such distinguished reformist scholars as ‘Abd al-Naṣr al-Qursawī and Marjani. He assured that everybody could, in the name of God, witness the moment of conjunction at the observatory after five o’clock on August 8. Moreover, he appropriated the ascendancy of the religious authority, highly praising it for its “scientific” judgment and showing the right path to “all Russian Muslims”<sup>97</sup>.

In order to prevent the expected division of the festival in the same city, the Kazan ulama consulted together at the house of akhund Ḥisām al-Dīn Ghaffārī, and reached agreement about their subordination to the judgment of the Spiritual Assembly, namely, setting the first day of the festival after the fast on August 9. That decision bewildered Yulduz, which accused mullahs of unprecedented separation from the consensus, *ijmā'* of the Islamic world<sup>98</sup>. Afraid of Russians’ exploitation of the controversy among Muslims, Yulduz proposed that the mufti

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<sup>95</sup> *Dīn wa Ma‘īshat* 31 (1914), 493.

<sup>96</sup> *Qūyāsh*, August 4, 1914, 4.

<sup>97</sup> *Qūyāsh*, August 8, 1914, 1-2.

<sup>98</sup> *Yūlduz*, August 9, 1914, 5-6.

issue a fatwa by his effort of legal judgment, *ijtihād*, and that the Spiritual Assembly send out the common calendar to imams under its jurisdiction<sup>99</sup>. On the page of *Yulduz*, Muḥammad ‘Ārif Ṣāliḥī, imam of the eighth mosque and a supporter of jadid schools, harshly criticized Ṣafi Allāh ‘Abd Allāh, the imam of the first mosque and a follower of Marjani; Ṣāliḥī demanded from ‘Abd Allāh and his followers legal proof, *shar‘i dalīl* on counting the new moon from moonless night, *maḥāq*. Ṣāliḥī considered ‘Abd Allāh’s subjective opinion, *ra’y* to be in opposition to the words and behaviors of the Prophet and his companions<sup>100</sup>.

Although the Spiritual Assembly produced calendars every year for the army, it was reluctant to send them to the whole clergy under its jurisdiction as the publishing cost of register books, whose operation was one of its main tasks, already seemed huge. The religious authority had to depend on the Muslim press. However, its involvement in the highly competitive press arena served not only as a cause for the fiercer dispute within the press but also as another challenge to the religious authority itself. The mufti entrusted the production of the calendar for 1915 to one of the qadis, Ḥasan ‘Aṭā Muḥammaduf, who enjoyed popularity among the reformist ulama. Strongly urged by the local paper *Turmush*, the qadi sold the entire copyright to the paper. Unaware of that fact, one of the local imams, Muḥammad Ṣābir al-Ḥasanī, sent a calendar of the religious authority to the Orenburg paper *Waqt* as he had done for the 1914 calendar. When *Waqt* published it, *Turmush* condemned it for violating the copyright. Ḥasanī, in turn, used the page of *Waqt* to harshly criticize the fact that qadi Muḥammaduf had privatized an official document of the Spiritual Assembly. *Waqt* also blamed the authority for its

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<sup>99</sup> *Yulduz*, August 9, 1914, 4; August 14, 1914, 3-4.

<sup>100</sup> *Yulduz*, August 22, 1914, 3.

flippancy. Entangled in the web of public opinion woven by the highly competitive Muslim press, the Spiritual Assembly also became only one of the leadership contenders within the Muslim community<sup>101</sup>.

## Conclusion

After the 1905 Revolution, Muslims' efforts to acquire the right for Islamic holidays through political channels meaningfully synchronized with the reappraisal and modification of their existing confessional life. A series of documents promising deliberation and improvement of the imperial subjects' confessional life in general and Muslims' in particular, i.e. the decree of December 12, 1904, the law of April 17 and the Manifesto of October 17 served as crucial vehicles for Muslims to elaborate plans and to negotiate with the central and local authorities for the reorganization of their everyday confessional life<sup>102</sup>. Their motivation was also assisted by the decree of February 18, which allowed all subjects to articulate views on the state and themselves alike, via petitions to the government<sup>103</sup>. Alongside the activities in the political and administrative arena, Muslims also began to scrutinize theological principles organizing their community in their own press, which was also a fruit of the revolution. It was during this process that the Muslims increasingly began to

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<sup>101</sup> *Waqt*, January 14, 1914, 1-2; October 31, 1914, 2-3; December 28, 1914, 4.

<sup>102</sup> See my "Molding the Muslim Community" and "Islam and Empire Observed: Muslims in the Volga-Ural Region after the 1905 Revolution," in K. Matsuzato, ed., *Imperiology: From Empirical Knowledge to Discussing the Russian Empire* (Sapporo, 2007), pp.68-84. On general implications of the confessional policy see P. Werth, "Arbiters of the Free Conscience: Confessional Categorization and Religious Transfer in Russia, 1905-1917," in D. Arel and B. Ruble, eds., *Rebounding Identities: the Politics of Identity in Russia and Ukraine* (Baltimore, 2007), pp.181-207.

<sup>103</sup> A. Verner, "Discursive Strategies in the 1905 Revolution: Peasant Petitions from Vladimir Province," *The Russian Review* 54 (1995), pp.65-90.

rely on the Spiritual Assembly as a regulator of their confessional life<sup>104</sup>.

The local self-government was the most practical and optimum venue allowing the minority Muslims in the Volga-Ural region to negotiate with Russians to secure their communal requirements<sup>105</sup>. However, this was not always the case. The controversy over the holidays in the Kazan city дума demonstrated that the repeated use of vetoes by the central government and the local governor obliged the city assembly to abandon the tolerant attitude towards Muslims and give preference to the voice of the Russian majority in order to guard the urban autonomy itself against the upper authorities. A breakdown of negotiation between Russian and Muslim councilors became evident when the Muslims succeeded in suspending the city ordinance beyond the city assembly with recourse to their representatives in the state дума.

It was the Muslim newspapers and journals that made a dramatic contribution to the circulation of the sacred value; making people servants of religion and the community, *dīn wa millat*. However, disputes often erupted within the press over the ways and principles for the sacralization of the community. These disputes were not reducible to the fixed dichotomy of jadids and qadims. As shown by the controversy between Yulduz and Quyash, the two leading jadid newspapers tried to propose means to inspect and improve the existing confessional life; in the

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<sup>104</sup> It is possible to associate my argument with that of Dale Eickelman and James Piscatori on “objectification of Islam”: in certain “modern” contexts Islamic tradition becomes subject to conscious reflection, discussion and debate in a mass scale by means of the printed word; that makes the question of who speaks for an objectified Islam central to Muslim politics. D. Eickelman and J. Piscatori, *Muslim Politics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Princeton, 2004), pp.37-45. This paper has argued that it was a political event, like the 1905 Revolution, that enabled Muslims to “objectify” the preceding confessional life.

<sup>105</sup> I discussed Muslims’ collaboration with zemstvos elsewhere. See my “*Maktab* or School? Introduction of Universal Primary Education among the Volga-Ural Muslims,” in Uyama, *Empire, Islam and Politics*, pp.65-97.

disputes over the standard Hegira calendar, while Yulduz insisted on returning to scriptural words, Quyash spoke up for the application of “scientific truth” on the basis of the interpretation of scriptural words. Moreover, both papers tried to appropriate the ascendancy of the Spiritual Assembly to strengthen their positions in contending for a leading role in the creation of the public opinion. However, when the discrepancy emerged with the religious authority, they harshly criticized it for its deviation from the Islamic legal tradition and tried to defend their correctness. Thus, on the eve of the First World War the Muslim press could propagate alternatives to the orthodox values that the Spiritual Assembly had exclusively monopolized.

This paper has also illustrated the intricate interpenetration between the secularization and the formation of sacred values within the Muslim community. As Russian neighbors noted, Muslims after the 1905 Revolution began to observe their religious holidays more consciously than before in the name of freedom of conscience. Muslims themselves found that it was not the difference of classes but their common confessional interests that counted. However, it has to be said that their efforts to maintain their confessional life did not exclude the possibilities of negotiation with Russians; taking counterparts’ commercial interests into consideration, Muslim representatives agreed on setting almost the same number of holidays as Russians’, i.e. defining what days should be “Islamic” holidays through negotiations in the city assembly<sup>106</sup>. Interaction with Russian society may also account for the “invention” of such an “Islamic” tradition as the Maulid, in which the young intellectuals played a leading role.

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<sup>106</sup> To introduction universal primary education, zemstvos and the Muslim representatives had to negotiate about what “Islamic” and “national” subjects to be taught in the future standardized schools. See my “*Maktab* or School,” p.92.

It may be safe to say that the emergence of the values obliging believers to observe strictly Islamic rituals, even with recourse to the city ordinance, laws and the police power itself, paradoxically proved the extent to which the Muslim community in the Volga-Ural region had experienced secularization by the beginning of the century. In January 1914, when the holiday question was on the agenda of the city assembly, the Kazan police authority pointed out that if given opportunities, many Muslim servants neither went to Friday prayers nor celebrated other Islamic holidays<sup>107</sup>. It was a matter of life or death for Muslim traders in the Russian streets to close their shops on both Islamic and Russian holidays in the fierce competition with Russian counterparts. In that secularized space the Muslim press called for each believer's efforts to maintain their confessional life and even persuaded them to sacrifice economic profits for the community. It was those committed to implementing such sacred values that played a leading role in propagating a "correct" Islamic way of life to fellow believers and in politicizing the holiday question within the Russian political arena.

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<sup>107</sup> NART, f.199, op.1, d.948, l.18.