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## INTERACTION OF KAZAKH AND TATAR CULTURES: HISTORICAL AND SOCIOCULTURAL ANALYSIS

The events that took place in the late 19th – early 20th centuries demanded the transformation of society, the search for new horizons of human being and consciousness. Over the centuries, the culture of the Kazakh people has also become an integral part of world history. The study of the culture of the traditional Kazakh society shows many aspects of its development were studied fragmentarily, ideological distortions were observed in pre-revolutionary Russian, Soviet and partly foreign historiography. At present, the possibility of studying the Kazakh traditional society with the involvement of new tools of the methodology makes it possible to identify significant aspects of its interaction with neighboring territories. So, in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the city of Kazan became the focus of spiritual life and interaction of peoples living in the Volga region. Kazan as a scientific and cultural center has played a significant role in the history and culture of the Turkic-speaking peoples.

The purpose of this study is to consider the interaction of the Kazakh and Tatar cultures and find out the features of the socio-cultural life of the traditional Kazakh society. The authors note that even in the conditions of the loss of statehood, the Kazakhs exchanged cultural experience with neighboring countries.

**Key words:** Traditional Kazakh society, culture, cultural interaction, education, enlightenment, the city of Kazan.

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### Қазақ және татар мәдениетінің өзара әрекеттестігі: тарихи және әлеуметтік-мәдени талдау

XIX ғ. соңы мен XX ғ. басында болған оқиғалар қоғамның жаңарып, өзгеруін, адам болмысы мен санасының жаңа көзжиектерін іздестіруді талап етті.

Көптеген ғасырлар бойы қазақ халқының мәдениеті де дүниежүзі тарихының ажырамас бөлігіне айналды. Дәстүрлі қазақ қоғамының мәдениетін зерттеу оның дамуының көптеген аспектілері бөлшектеп зерделенгенін, революцияға дейінгі ресейлік, кеңестік және ішінара шетелдік тарихнамада идеологиялық бұрмаланулар орын алғанын көрсетеді. Қазіргі уақытта әдіснаманың жаңа құралдарын тарта отырып, қазақ дәстүрлі қоғамын зерделеу мүмкіндігі оның көршілес аумақтармен өзара іс-қимылының елеулі аспектілерін анықтауға мүмкіндік береді. Осылайша, Қазан қаласы XIX ғасырдың басында Еділ аймағында тұратын халықтардың рухани өмірі мен өзара әрекеттесуінің орталығы болды. Ол ғылыми және мәдени орталық ретінде түркітілдес халықтардың тарихы мен мәдениетінде маңызды рөл атқарды.

Бұл зерттеудің мақсаты – қазақ және татар мәдениеттерінің өзара іс-қимылын қарастыру және дәстүрлі қазақ қоғамының әлеуметтік-мәдени өмірінің ерекшеліктерін анықтау. Авторлар қазақтардың өз мемлекеттілігін жоғалтқан кезде де шектес елдермен мәдени тәжірибе алмасқанын атап өтеді.

**Түйін сөздер:** дәстүрлі қазақ қоғамы, мәдениет, мәдени өзара іс-қимыл, білім, ағарту, Қазан қаласы.

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### **Взаимодействие казахской и татарской культур: исторический и социокультурный анализ**

События, происходившие в конце XIX – начале XX вв., требовали трансформации социума, поиска новых горизонтов бытия и сознания человека. На протяжении многих веков культура казахского народа также стала неотъемлемой частью всемирной истории. Исследование культуры традиционного казахского общества показывает, что многие аспекты ее развития изучались фрагментарно, наблюдались идеологические искажения в дореволюционной российской, советской и отчасти зарубежной историографии. В настоящее время возможность изучения казахского традиционного общества с привлечением новых инструментов методологии позволяют выявить существенные аспекты ее взаимодействия с соседними территориями. Так, в XIX – начале XX веков средоточием духовной жизни и взаимодействия народов, проживающих в Приволжье, стал город Казань. Казань как научный и культурный центр сыграл значительную роль в истории и культуре тюркоязычных народов.

Цель данного исследования – рассмотреть взаимодействие казахской и татарской культур и выявить особенности социокультурной жизни традиционного казахского общества. Авторы отмечают, что даже в условиях потери государственности казахи обменивались культурным опытом с сопредельными странами.

**Ключевые слова:** традиционное казахское общество, культура, культурное взаимодействие, образование, просвещение, город Казань.

#### **Introduction**

A unique steppe civilization had formed on the territory of Kazakhstan. Over the centuries, the culture of the Kazakhs has evolved on the basis of the development of the language, the use of Runic writing, Arabic graphics, as well as Cyrillic and Latin. There is a wide range of religious beliefs, traditions and customs that have been transferred from generation to generation and enriched under the influence of various external processes, such as migration, resettlement of entire peoples, trade relations on the vast expanse of the Great Silk Road and wars and other factors. The processes of mutual influence of cultures and civilizations, due to the syncretism of certain phenomena, require careful consideration.

The expansion of ideological positions is the driving force of cultural development. Cultural systems are undergoing changes, their transition to a higher quality level, characterized by complexity and diversity, is taking place. The observed changes in the global world show that the level of development of international relations depends on the positive interaction of cultures. At the same time, there are certain trends related to the problems of understanding the uniqueness of a particular culture, possible conservation processes, and stagnation in development. Thus, these issues require careful study and analysis.

In the first half of the XV century The Kazan Khanate was at approximately the same level of economic, socio-political and cultural development with the Russian state. The proof is the functioning of the institution of the khan's power, there were all the main social classes, Islam fulfilled the status of the state religion. Long before the conquest of the Kazan Khanate, the Tatar people had their own writing, literature, carefully preserved their religion and school. So at the beginning of the XX century, Ya. D. Koblov wrote: "In Russia, it is difficult to specify a nationality among which literacy would be as widespread as among the Tatars. An illiterate Tatar can be found very rarely" (Koblov, 1916: 3).

A major Russian turkologist and arabist N.I. Ilminsky noted that "Kazan is an important, one might say, central point for the Muslims, Turkic inhabitants of Russia due to the numerous schools in the city and the surrounding area, by the numerous scholarships from the local mullahs, and the commercial enterprise of the local Tatars, and finally by the book industry exclusively from Kazan, which is spreading everywhere" (Ilminskiy, 1861: 14).

It should be noted that N. I. Ilminsky taught at the Kazan Theological Academy from 1846 to 1858 and was the first publisher of the oriental selection of manuscripts entitled "Babur-name" (1857), and also made a great contribution to the study of the cultural anthropology of the Kazakh people.

## Materials and methods

One of the main factors influencing the development of society is culture. The spiritual principles of culture, such as philosophy, religion and art, as well as culture recorded in material monuments, constitutes the very history of the country. The politics and economy of the country are closely related to the level of perception of the culture of intellectual development of the people. The expansion of knowledge in the field of science, philosophy, history, literature are closely interrelated and provide a new impetus to the transformation of culture.

In the 60-70s of the XIX century, the reforms carried out by the Russian Empire brought significant changes in the socio-economic and political situation of the traditional society, which entailed new cultural demands. The abolition of serfdom launched the mechanisms of democratization of culture; there was a spiritual emancipation, the desire not only to meet social requirements, but also to understand the human dimension of existence, the opportunity to find new horizons of human existence.

For centuries, the Kazakh people have preserved the identity of their culture, not being locked in historical isolation. Unfortunately, in the established historiography on the history and culture of Kazakhstan as well in the pre-revolutionary Russian, Soviet and foreign historiography, a stable opinion had been formed on the age-old backwardness of the outskirts of the Russian Empire, the mission of which had been expressed in an exclusively civilizing way.

The study of the culture of a traditional society requires applying various aspects of understanding the phenomenon, due to its heterogeneity and inconsistency. The processes of modernization in society have led to an increasing interest in the study of traditional cultures. There are two concepts of traditional culture: linear and discrete. The linear approach has various variants of periodization. The discrete concept suggests considering traditional cultures as autonomous and disparate formations (Timoshchuk, 2018: 432).

According to E.S. Markaryan's opinion traditional culture should be understood "as a group experience expressed in socially organized stereotypes, which is actualized and reproduced in various human collectives and this is a mechanism of social stereotyping of experience" (Markaryan, 1978: 7).

K. V. Chistov believes that "traditional culture is a system of stereotypes, symbols and representations" (Chistov, 1981: 2). According to Sh. Eisenstadt's

opinion, to understand tradition only as "custom", "endless repetition" is not accurate notion, and he makes a distinction between the value-semantic and institutional spheres in tradition interactions.

Sh. Eisenstadt argued that successful modernization can be carried out based on the elements of traditional regulation (family, community, institution). He did not agree that continuous development and modernization in various institutional spheres depend on the destruction of all traditional elements (Tradition, change, and modernity, 1973: 384).

The article applies the methodological principle of consistency, the meaning of which is to identify the studied phenomena in time and space, a logical sequence in the presentation of events. At the same time, an important condition is the ability to identify and compare the general and special in the historical process, take into account general provisions and provide specific assessments.

Applied research methods, such as problem-chronological, historical-comparative, statistical, integrative and a number of others, follow from the above mentioned methodological principles. The problem-chronological method enables to consider cultural interaction in the late XIX – early XX centuries in dynamics and to identify the components of this process. The historical and comparative method allowed us to determine the general features and specifics of the development of cultural processes in the region.

## Results and discussion

### *The role of Kazan in the spiritual life and education of the peoples in the Volga region*

After the conquest of the Kazan Khanate, the autocratic power of the Russian state tried to unify the multinational population of the Middle Volga region, since the peoples that became part of the Russian state differed in their ethnic and confessional composition. One of the instruments of integration of peoples was religion, that is, an attempt at Christianization, often violent. For example, in Kazan in 1744, 418 out of 536 mosques were destroyed (Bartold, 1964: 409).

Strengthening of economic and national oppression by the tsarist government led to the loss of statehood and the policy of forced Christianization in the second half of the XVI-XVII centuries. As a result, the Tatar population was practically absent in the cities of the region and in the territory adjacent to them. The Tatars were also driven out from the banks of the rivers. "...In general, Tatar settlements

were located 10-30 km far from large rivers. This phenomenon can be explained by the desire to push the Tatars away from the rivers, the main communication routes of that time, the desire to transfer the best lands and meadows located along the rivers to the Russian owners. Riverine lands were also distributed to monasteries" (Vorobiev, 1930: 56-57). The socio-cultural development of the region's population was deprived of the natural course of evolution. J. Validov noted that in the second half of the XVI-XVII centuries "the Tatars had no national organizations and institutions and were very poor spiritually; there could be no question of their rapprochement with Western culture, then the Russian population was also far from joining cultural Europe" (Validov, 1923: 10). Despite the anti-Muslim policy, most of the Tatars continued to practice Islam, preserving their national and religious identity. "In the absence of political independence and social, religious and national oppression, Islam played a consolidating role" (Zagidullin, 1993: 155-159). As necessary, the advance to Central Asia by the decree of Catherine II, the tsarist government develops a new eastern policy. The solution to this issue was to rely on the institute of Islamic religion, since Islam had strong roots in the region and it was not possible to ignore this religious system. The decree of 1773 was based on religious tolerance in relation to the interaction of the authorities with the Muslim clergy, the Turkic-speaking peoples, with the aim of forming a loyal attitude of the traditional elites to the ruling power.

One of the first steps in the implementation of the policy of Catherine II was the decrees by July 8, 1782 and May 2, 1784 on the construction of mosques. The next stage of the new political course of the Russian Empire was the decrees of November 25, 1785 and April 21, 1787 which allowed the Kazakh clans to be supported with Tatar mullahs (Sultangalieva, 2002: 262). In 1800, Muslim religious literature was also permitted, for this purpose an Asian printing house was opened at the Kazan Gymnasium.

The city of Kazan had become a center of culture, education, and enlightenment. The development of book printing was also facilitated by the fact that the Turkic-speaking peoples, having a single linguistic basis, had common traditions, kinship of cultures. "After the fall of serfdom, Kazan strengthened its importance as a major cultural center of the Volga region and the Urals. The process was facilitated not only by the rapid development of industry in the city, the activities of the university, but also by the fact that Kazan headed significant districts in its territory: educational, military, postal

and telegraph, judicial, and waterways. In addition to the university, there were 6 gymnasiums, including 3 for women. In 1874, the veterinary Institute was opened. In 1876, the teachers' institute and higher women's courses began to function. In 1872, a real school was opened. There were also "a vocational school, a teacher's seminary for non-Russian peoples, primary schools and other educational institutions where representatives of different ranks of the Russian Empire worked. Kazan was turning into a major scientific center in the east of European Russia. In the 60-80es a number of scientific schools and directions were established at Kazan University, founded by talented scientists" (History of the Tatar ASSR. Kazan, 1980: 82).

The Tatar national enlightenment, which was of a confessional nature, played an important role in strengthening of religious identity. The tsarist government did not allocate money for functioning of religious educational institutions; all expenses were borne by representatives of the Tatar people. According to L. I. Klimovich "Tsarism was not interested in the developed enlightenment of the peoples oppressed by it" (Klimovich, 1993: 98-121).

Madrassas (secondary and higher religious educational institutions for the training of Muslim clergy) and mektebe (primary Muslim schools for teaching the basics of Arabic writing, faith and Sharia norms) existed in different counties. These educational institutions, as a rule, covered almost all school-age children (Tairov, 2008: 50-56). A. I. Anastasiev, analyzing the reports of public education officials of the Simbirsk province in the 1890s, stated that the number of Muslim schools was quite significant: "Mohammedan theological schools... they exist at almost all mosques, and the Tatars had many more mosques than the Russians have temples.

Almost all the boys of the parish were usually taught in these schools. The education and upbringing of girls was carried out in the mullah's house by his wife, who enjoyed very great respect among the female half of the Tatar population, no less than what the best wives of priests acquire in our villages" (Anastasiev, 1893: 7).

It was only in the late 60-s of the XIX century that local peoples were able to enroll representatives of the indigenous peoples of the region in secondary educational institutions through preparatory classes. "The autocracy, in order to train loyal staff, imposed a class-representative "Standard character of the education system, and restricted access to the university for people of non-noble origin as much as possible, especially from the lower classes and non-Russian peoples" (Mikhailova, 1991: 114).

At Kazan University, a recognized center of education and science in the Volga region, the Urals and Siberia, in the second half of the nineteenth century, immigrants from peasant and Cossack families comprised of 5-8% students. The number of students from Muslims was insignificant, so the students of Kazan University from Muslims, who represented Tatars, Bashkirs and Kazakhs by their nationalities, did not exceed 2 – 8 people annually during the post-reform period, which was no more than 1.5% of students (Mikhailova, 1991: 333-335). It should also be noted here that Muslims studying in higher educational institutions were deprived of the right to receive scholarships and allowances, which also largely blocked the Tatars to access to higher education (Zagidullin, 1993: 155-159).

Russian legislation regulated a closed system of higher education for Muslim Tatars. Russian teachers' school graduates, considered as secondary educational institutions leavers, after mandatory working in a Russian-Tatar school or a Russian class at a madrasa for 6 years, if they wanted to enter a higher educational institution were first required to get an education in a gymnasium (Collection of resolutions on the Ministry of Public Education, 1877: 753-768).

Muslims in Russia who graduated from higher and secondary primary educational institutions and had the right to teach by their education were actually deprived of the opportunity to engage in pedagogical activity solely because they were forbidden to teach anyone other than their co-religionists (Turzheman, 1905: 28).

Educational institutions, where teachers for Tatar schools were trained, were conditionally divided into 3 types: secondary schools, madrassas belonging to urban or rural religious communities, such as madrassas Khusainiya, Galiya; and madrassas financed by individuals. For example, Izh-Bubinskoe madrasah (currently Agryzsky district of the Republic of Tatarstan), Khusainiya named after its founder Akhmet Khusainov; government educational institutions – Tatar teachers' schools (in Kazan, Orenburg, Troitsk and other cities). Russian teachers' Seminary, Central Baptismal Tatar School, Russian-Tatar classes at the madrasah, as well as Russian-Tatar women's classes (Mustafina, 2015).

According to the census of 1897, in the Kazan province, the percentage of literacy among Tatars among men was 21.7%, among Russians – 36% and 13.1%, respectively (Smykov, 1988: 73-83). Another important component in education was getting an education outside the Russian state. In the late XIX – early XX centuries, many representatives

of the Tatar elite studied at universities in Turkey (Ashrafullina, 2004: 276).

Among them are Derdmand, the founder of Tatar classical poetry, playwright G. Kamal, theater critic G. Karam, writers M. Akyegedzade, F. Karimi (Faskhutdinov, 1996: 21). At the beginning of the XX century, the politician Sadri Maksudi studied at the Sorbonne University. Western European languages were studied in the new-fashioned madrassas (Tagirov, 1994:279). Eastern languages were studied in Kazan, so “Kazan orientalists very often made trips to Persia and to Kabul, from where they bring linguistic “jewels” with them” (Legends of foreigners about Kazan, 1911: 8-17). In the 19th century, the Tatar intellectual elite made a significant contribution to world culture; one of the most considerable was the development of the reform movement of Jadidism.

#### ***Education of Kazakh youth in educational institutions of Kazan in the middle of the XIX – early XX centuries***

B. A. Kenzhetaev in his work “Kazan educational institutions and the process of formation of the Kazakh intelligentsia in the middle of the XIX – early XX centuries” indicates that “by the end of the XIX century, two educational concepts were formed in Russia: N. I. Ilminsky and I. Gasprinsky”. Each of these concepts paved the way to the minds of the younger generation of Kazakhs (Kenzhetaev, 1998. – 88).

According to the “Temporary Provision” from 1868, Kazakh children could also enter Russian educational institutions. For this purpose, a number of scholarships were established for Kazakh children in educational institutions both within the Turgay region itself and beyond its borders. In 1878, the I. A. Kryzhanovsky Scholarships were established at the Kazan and St. Petersburg Universities. In 1881, the scholarship from St. Petersburg University was transferred to Kazan University. These scholarships were established on the interest from the capital of 19,200 rubles donated by the Kazakh population of the Turgay region specifically for the establishment of three scholarships at these universities for poor Kazakh students (each in the amount of 320 rubles per year). In the regulations on the Kryzhanovsky scholarships, it was noted that if these scholarships were not used for several years, then a fourth scholarship “for natives of the Orenburg Region” would be established for the resulting savings (Alektorov, 1900: 234).

In 1882, two scholarships named after L.F. Balluzek (former military governor of the

Turgay region) were established at the Trinity Men's Gymnasium at the request of the donors on the voluntary donations of the Kazakh societies of the Turgay, Irgiz and Nikolaev counties. Annual percentages of the fixed capital collected from donations were supposed to ensure the maintenance of these scholarships. The right to receive scholarships could be used only by children from the poor strata of the Kazakh population, mainly Turgay, Irgiz and Nikolaev counties. It was established that the remainder of the interest will be issued to persons who had successfully completed a course at local educational institutions and who wish to continue their studies at Kazan or St. Petersburg universities. In 1887, with the funds donated by the Kazakh societies of the Turgay region, two additional scholarships were established for Kazakh children in the boarding school of the Trinity Men's Gymnasium. In the 90s of the XIX century, Kazakh young men from the Turgay region had the opportunity to enroll in teachers' seminaries, institutes and universities. In 1894, 2 Kazakhs: Bisengali Jarylgasynov from the Burta region and Satbayev from the Town region were accepted to the Kazan "foreign" Seminary on 2 scholarships of the Turgay region. They became the first scholarship holders from the Turgay region who entered the Kazan "foreign" Seminary on the exam (Kyrgyz steppe newspaper, 1894: 13).

In 1896, the Turgay region had up to 50 scholarships in higher and secondary educational institutions of Russia. In 1887, a scholarship named after N. I. Neplyuev was established for Kazakh pupils in the Neplyuev Cadet Corps with funds donated by former cadet corps pupils and other Kazakhs of the Turgay region. The scholarship holders could be elected "the sons of those Kyrgyz of the Turgay region who, through their service, through the award of their respective ranks and orders, acquired the rights and advantages assigned to the nobility of the Russian Empire" (Alektorov, 1900: 85).

### ***Kazan as a center of printing in the Volga region, the Urals and Siberia***

Central Asia has its own unique history, the peoples inhabiting its territory had undergone various transformations, absorbing all the best traditions. Various ideological paradigms penetrated there. Currently, some of the rarest treatises, manuscripts, woodcuts of Oriental authors "are stored in the largest libraries of Moscow, Leningrad (St. Petersburg), Yerevan, Tashkent, Paris, London, Leiden, Copenhagen, Istanbul, Cairo, Tehran,

Kanpur and other cities" (Zhirenchin, 1987: 4). That is why the traditions in the field of education, knowledge transfer, and the revival of printing, despite significant changes in social and political vicissitudes, have spread quite quickly and widely in that region. The continuity of this phenomenon emphasizes the depth and objective significance.

In publishing books in the languages of the Muslim East of Russia, the role of Tatar printing is especially great. In his products 'in the Turkic languages, after the Tatar books, the second place belongs to books in the Kazakh language in terms of the number of editions and circulation" (Karimullin, 1985: 171).

Kazan "still remained a trade center, which was greatly facilitated by its favorable geographical location on the main waterway of the country between Europe and Asia" (Valeeva, 2013, 15-28). This favorable geographical location, in addition to the development of trade relations, contributed to the formation of Tatar printing, which had a huge impact on the further development of the Enlightenment. In 1801, an Asian printing house was opened in Kazan. One of the first publications in the Tatar language was the pamphlet "Korven ve tabagat" by R. Fakhredtina on the history of printing in Arabic script, "as well as on the activities of the first printing houses of Kazan engaged in printing oriental books" (Karimullin, 1974: 13-14).

The first printed Kazakh book entitled "Kissa-i Seful-Muluk" was published in the Kazan Asian Printing House in 1807. The epic "Er-Targyn" printed in the Kazakh language in the Kazan printing house in 1831 became very popular among the population.

The reforms in the Russian Empire, as well the influence of the ideas of the liberation movements in the Ottoman Empire contributed to the development of the spiritual revival of this region. The intellectual elite of the Turkic-speaking peoples began to study the causes of the backwardness of their societies and propagandize the ideas of educating the people. "After 1906, the Muslim press became the most important instrument in the creation of the public sphere where issues of tradition and modernity were debated" (Rorlich, 2013). In the XIX century, Kazan "still remained a trade center, which was greatly facilitated by its favorable geographical location on the main waterway of the country between Europe and Asia" (Valeeva, 2013, 15-28).

More than 250 Kazakh books were published in the printing house of Kazan University from 1807 to 1918. The circulation of 135 editions was 606,300 copies. The printed products included a diverse

range of genres and topics: heroic and lyrical epics, historical tales, legends, aitys, ritual poetry, samples of Oriental folklore and translations of works of classics of Eastern literature, religious and moral, fiction and works of Kazakh authors, as well as textbooks, textbooks, dictionaries, etc. (Shalgyrbai, 2009: 328).

The total number of Kazan publications in the Kazakh language comprised 753 titles, including reprints. The circulation of 409 of them was 2 million 47 thousand 290 copies (Kazakh book business in documents and materials, 2009: 632).

More than two-thirds of all Kazakh books published before the revolution of 1917 were published in Kazan. They are printed with the stamp of more than eighteen Kazan printing houses by Heirs of M. A. Chirkova, N. P. Kokovin, G. M. Vecheslav, B. L. Dombrovsky Central, the printing house of Kazan University and private Tatar Brothers Karimov Trading house, Magarka and Umid, and Millyat and many others.

### Conclusion

The XIX century in fact gave a significant impetus to the development of the Eurasian region. The historical development of the country in the second half of the XIX century was marked by cardinal changes due to objective factors. There, the main trends in culture were formed, which, based on previous traditions, were transformed in accordance with the demands of the time. There were new names that represented the new culture of the period,

embodying the connecting thread of the epochs in their work. It is important for each nation to study its own history. In the study, we are referring to the cultural ties of the Volga region and the Urals, and above all, the Kazakh-Tatar ties. The spiritual heritage of the historical past of Kazakhstan testifies to the positive experience of coexistence of various ethnic groups and cultures for a long time.

Since ancient times, Tatars and Kazakhs have been in continuous natural contacts, having a genetic community, proximity, kinship of languages, folklore, epics, genres, Turkic-language compositions, etc.

In the XIX century, Kazan became the center of orientalism, education and enlightenment of the Turkic-speaking peoples. During this period, the city had at its disposal a developed system of educational and cultural institutions and had a significant impact on the cultural development not only in the Volga region, the Urals and Siberia, but also in the Steppe region. In the second half of the XIX century, the centers of cultural life became not only mosques, madrassas, mektebs, but also other educational institutions, libraries, museums, theater, etc.

In general, the role of the city of Kazan in the Volga region and the Urals, as well as in other regions of the Russian state, gradually expanded and became more diverse. Its social orientation, significance and humane essence were strengthened. The release of Kazakh literature contributed to the emergence of a whole galaxy of the Kazakh intellectual elite.

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