Imperial Russia's Muslims

Imperial Russia's Muslims offers an exploration of social and cultural change among the Muslim communities of Central Eurasia from the late eighteenth century through to the outbreak of the First World War. Drawing from a wealth of Russian and Turkic sources, Mustafa Tuna surveys the roles of Islam, social networks, state interventions, infrastructural changes, and the globalization of European modernity in transforming imperial Russia's oldest Muslim community: the Volga-Ural Muslims. Shifting between local, imperial, and transregional frameworks, Tuna reveals how the Russian state sought to manage Muslim communities, the ways in which both the state and Muslim society were transformed by European modernity, and the extent to which the long nineteenth century either fused Russia's Muslims and the tsarist state or drew them apart. The book raises questions about imperial governance, diversity, minorities, and Islamic reform, and in doing so proposes a new theoretical model for the study of imperial situations.

MUSTAFA TUNA is Andrew W. Mellon Assistant Professor of Slavic and Eurasian Studies and History at Duke University.

```
Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-03249-1 - Imperial Russia's Muslims: Islam, Empire, and European Modernity,
1788–1914
Mustafa Tuna
Frontmatter
<u>More information</u>
```

Critical Perspectives on Empire

Editors

Professor Catherine Hall University College London

Professor Mrinalini Sinha University of Michigan

Professor Kathleen Wilson State University of New York, Stony Brook

Critical Perspectives on Empire is a major series of ambitious, cross-disciplinary works in the emerging field of critical imperial studies. Books in the series explore the connections, exchanges, and mediations at the heart of national and global histories, the contributions of local as well as metropolitan knowledge, and the flows of people, ideas and identities facilitated by colonial contact. To that end, the series not only offers a space for outstanding scholars working at the intersection of several disciplines to bring to wider attention the impact of their work; it also takes a leading role in reconfiguring contemporary historical and critical knowledge, of the past and of ourselves.

A full list of titles published in the series can be found at: www.cambridge.org/ cpempire

Imperial Russia's Muslims

Islam, Empire, and European Modernity, 1788–1914

Mustafa Tuna Duke University



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107032491

© Mustafa Tuna 2015

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2015

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data Tuna, Mustafa Özgür, 1976-

Imperial Russia's Muslims: Islam, Empire, and European Modernity, 1788–1914 / Mustafa Tuna (Duke University).

pages cm. - (Critical perspectives on empire)

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-1-107-03249-1 (Hardback)

1. Muslims-Russia (Federation)-Volga-Ural Region-History.

2. Muslims-Russia (Federation)-Volga-Ural Region-Social conditions.

3. Community life-Russia (Federation)-Volga-Ural Region-History.

4. Islam–Social aspects–Russia (Federation)–Volga-Ural Region–History.

5. Social change-Russia (Federation)-Volga-Ural Region-History.

Volga-Ural Region (Russia)–Ethnic relations.
 Volga-Ural Region (Russia)–Social conditions.
 Muslims–Russia–History.
 Imperialism–Social aspects–Russia–History.
 Russia–History–1801–1917.
 Title.

DK511.V65T86 2015

305.6'970947409034-dc23 2014046690

2014046690

ISBN 978-1-107-03249-1 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

To the memory of Emine and Hüseyin Tuna, the teachers

Contents

	List of figures	page viii
	Acknowledgments	Х
	Notes on transliteration and dates	xii
	Introduction	1
1	A world of Muslims	18
2	Connecting Volga-Ural Muslims to the Russian state	37
3	Russification: Unmediated governance and the empire's quest for ideal subjects	57
4	Peasant responses: Protecting the inviolability of the Muslim domain	79
5	Russia's great transformation in the second half of the long nineteenth century (1860–1914)	103
6	The wealthy: Prospering with the sea-change and giving back	125
7	The cult of progress	146
8	Alienation of the Muslim intelligentsia	171
9	Imperial paranoia	195
10	Flexibility of the imperial domain and the limits of integration	217
	Conclusion	237
	Bibliography Index	244 271

vii

Figures

	Rızâeddin bin Fahreddin. Courtesy of İbrahim Maraş. The cover of <i>Tercüman</i> 's first issue, published on April 10, 1883. Image published with permission of ProQuest LLC.	page 3
	Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.	118
3	An advert for hair ointment that ran in Russian Muslim	110
)	periodicals frequently after 1904. Image published with	
	permission of ProQuest LLC. Further reproduction is	
	prohibited without permission.	121
4		121
	İsmâ'îl Bey Gasprinskiy.	130
5	Prominent authors and publishers of the Volga-Ural Muslim	
	press between 1905 and 1915: Ğayaz İshâqî, Seyyidgiray	
	Alkin, Ahmed-Hâdi Maqsûdî, Şeher Şeref, and Burhan	
	Şeref. <i>Añ</i> , 1916 (1): 6–7, 10–11, and 13. Courtesy of İbrahim	1.57
~	Maraş.	157
6	Prominent authors and publishers of the Volga-Ural Muslim	
	press between 1905 and 1915: Rızâeddin bin Fahreddin,	
	Ğatâullah Ahund Bayezidof, Zâkir Ramiyef, Şâkir Ramiyef,	
	and Fâtih Kerîmî. Añ, 1916 (1): 6–7, 10–11, and 13.	
	Courtesy of İbrahim Maraş.	158
7	Prominent authors and publishers of the Volga-Ural Muslim	
	press between 1905 and 1915: Mahmûd Fu'âd Tuqtaref,	
	Muhammedcan Seydaşef, Ahmedcan Seydaşef, Ahmed	
	Urmançıyef, Hâris Feyzi, and Ğaliasgar Kemâl. Añ, 1916	
	(1): 6–7, 10–11, and 13. Courtesy of İbrahim Maraş.	159
8	Prominent authors and publishers of the Volga-Ural Muslim	
	press between 1905 and 1915: Fâtih Murtazîn,	
	Ğabdurrahman Ğumerof, Kemâl Tuhfetullin,	
	Habîburrahman Ğaniyef, Timurşah Salavyof, and	
	Kelîmullah Hüseyinof. Añ, 1916 (1): 6–7, 10–11, and 13.	
	Courtesy of İbrahim Maraş.	160

viii

Cambridge University Press
78-1-107-03249-1 - Imperial Russia's Muslims: Islam, Empire, and European Modernity
788–1914
Austafa Tuna
Frontmatter
Aore information

	List of figures	ix
9	Prominent authors and publishers of the Volga-Ural Muslim press between 1905 and 1915: Şerefüddîn Şehîdullin, Ya'qûb Halîlî, Fahrulislâm Âgiyef, Mahmûd Mercânî,	
10	 Ğibâdullah Ğusmanof, and Zâkir Qâdirî. Añ, 1916 (1): 6–7, 10–11, and 13. Courtesy of İbrahim Maraş. The cover of the 41st issue of <i>Molla Nasreddin</i> in 1911. Image published with permission of ProQuest LLC. Further 	161
11	reproduction is prohibited without permission. Şihâbuddin Mercânî.	190 191

Acknowledgments

The contributions and support of many individuals and institutions made this book possible.

I appreciate my teachers in history: Nejdet Gök, Hakan Kırımlı, Norman Stone, and Hasan Ünal at Bilkent University in Turkey; Ben Eklof, Hiroaki Kuromiya, and David Ransel at Indiana University; Stephen Kotkin, Jeremy Adelman, Linda Colley, Molly Greene, Sükrü Hanioğlu, Olga Litvak, Philip Nord, Robert Tignor, and John R. Willis at Princeton University. As I first conceptualized this project in Kazan in the 2001-2 academic year, Azat Ahundov, Alper Alp, Nadir Arslan, Lalä Hasanşina, İbrahim Maraş, Cävdät Miñnullin, Räfik Möhämmätşin, Süleyman Rähimov, Asiyä Rähimova, Rezeda Safiullina, İsmail Türkoğlu, Dilara Usmanova, and Cämil Zäynullin helped me with their knowledge and assistance. My advisor, Stephen Kotkin, Cemil Aydın, Jane Burbank, Bob Crews, Wayne Dowler, Rozaliya Garipova, Mona Hassan, Nora Fisher-Onar, Allen Frank, Molly Greene, Agnes Kefeli Clay, Adeeb Khalid, Anna Krylova, Bruce Lawrence, Gil Merkx, Martin Miller, Ben Nathans, Ekaterina Pravilova, Don Raleigh, Michael Reynolds, Uli Schamiloglu, Eric Taggliacozzo, Frank Wcislo, Erik Zitser, and two anonymous reviewers of Cambridge University Press read all or parts of my work at its various stages and helped me improve it with generous comments.

The Foundation for the Dissemination of Knowledge in Turkey funded my initial research in Kazan, and Princeton University's Graduate School enabled another trip to St. Petersburg. A timely donation from the Münir Ertegün Turkish Studies Fund to Princeton University Library provided me with easy access to an important collection of Turkic periodicals from the Russian empire. Awards from Duke University and from the Eurasia Program of the Social Science Research Council with funds provided by the State Department under the Program for Research and Training on Eastern Europe and the Independent States of the Former Soviet Union (Title VIII) enabled me to take research leave and focus on writing in the 2012–13 academic year.

X

Acknowledgments

xi

My sister Ülkü Çetinkanat and brother-in-law Haldun Çetinkanat, their children Başak and Kutay, "*hocam*" Nejdet Gök and his family, my lifelong roommate Mehmet Ali Doğan, college comrades Faruk Bostancı, Murat Cemrek, Tahir Kaplan, Nurettin Kilci, Çağrı Özer, Mirat Satoğlu, and Hasan Şen, and numerous others blessed me with their friendship and support. My colleagues at the Slavic and Eurasian Studies Department of Duke University gave me a welcoming academic home. My wife Mona Hassan completed my life by also being my best friend and colleague, our two sons Hüseyin-Abdullah and Abdullatif gave us joy and strength, and my mother-in-law Afifa Afifi patiently helped us at each step, as we carried on through the long haul of our demanding projects.

I am grateful to them all.

Notes on transliteration and dates

The choice of characters in transliterating and transcribing the languages or dialects of the former Soviet Union's Turkic-speaking Muslim peoples is a politicized task. Muslims in the Russian empire and Transoxiana used the Arabic script until the advent of the Soviet regime. Although they had no common orthography and the spelling of words was hardly standardized in any particular Turkic language or dialect, the absence of vowels in the Arabic script (despite their prominence in Turkic languages) concealed many of the differences in local pronunciation. This situation changed in the 1920s, when the governments of Turkic Soviet republics introduced Latin-based alphabets for their titular nationalities, and again in the 1930s, when they were replaced with Cyrillic ones, in an attempt to bring the Union's Turkic peoples closer to the Russian core while simultaneously distancing them from Turkey. The vowels and many cumbersome diacritical marks in these Cyrillic alphabets marked the Soviet Union's designated Turkic nationalities from one another by highlighting and sometimes exaggerating differences in local pronunciation. Finally, since the Soviet Union's disintegration in 1992, some of those Turkic peoples have switched back to Latin-based alphabets, which partly continue to reflect the problems of the earlier Cyrillic ones. In the end, the artificial and politically charged nature of these changes leaves no standard and politically neutral way to transliterate the Arabicscript Turkic texts produced by imperial Russia's Muslims. One has to make an inevitably subjective choice.

In the footnotes and bibliography of this book, I used the Latin characters that I thought would best facilitate the identification of Turkic sources. In the main text, however, I transliterated Turkic words written in the Arabic script with a modified version of characters from the modern Turkish alphabet, with which I feel most comfortable. For people who lived both in the tsarist and Soviet periods, I transliterated from the Arabic-script version of their names. In spelling out words, I made an effort to maintain simplicity while also reflecting sharp differences in local pronunciation. When there was more than one option for

xii

Notes on transliteration and dates

pronunciation, I relied on modern Tatar unless the word was used in a text from outside of the Volga-Ural region, such as the Crimea or South Caucasus. I left some Turkic or Arabic words that are commonly used in the English-language literature, such as "madrasa" or "sheikh," in their conventionally accepted forms.

To transliterate texts or names from the Arabic or Persian languages, I used common standard transliteration systems. I did the same for Russian words and names, but I converted texts written with the old Russian alphabet to the modern Russian alphabet before transliteration.

Readers who are not familiar with Turkic alphabets may find the following helpful in reading the main text of the book:

A/a - a as in father

- E/e "e" as in pen or engine, or "a" as in pan
- I/1 no equivalent in English, similar to "e" in open
- \dot{I}/\dot{i} "i" as in p**i**n or **i**n
- O/o "o" as in more or open
- \ddot{O}/\ddot{o} "u" as in turn or urge
- U/u "oo" as in room but short
- \ddot{U}/\ddot{u} similar to "u" in "cube" but short
- C/c "j" as in **j**oy
- \dot{Q}/\dot{Q} "ch" as in **ch**air
- Ğ/ğ no equivalent in English, indicates "٤" ('ayn) in Arabic and is similar to the French "r" at the beginning of a Turkic word as pronounced in the Volga-Ural region; elsewhere, either silent but prolongs the preceding vowel or similar to but less pronounced than the French "r"
- ^c indicates Arabic "ξ" ('ayn), no equivalent in English, pronounced by constricting the throat and vibrating the vocal cords with an expulsion of breath, does not exist in Turkic words but is common in Arabic-origin Turkic names

K/k – "k" in key, indicates "ك" in Arabic

 \tilde{N} – nasal "n" similar to "ng" in "English"

Ş/ş – "sh" as in ship

- Q/q "q" in queen, indicates "ق" in Arabic
- $\hat{}$ on â, û, and \hat{i} indicates prolonged vowels which are common in Arabic-origin words

I did not convert Julian calendar dates into Gregorian dates, but left them as they appeared in the original sources. I converted Hijri and Rumi calendar dates into Gregorian dates.

xiii