

The Views and Thoughts of Islamist Intellectuals on the Education of Russian Muslims during the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918)

II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde İslamcı Aydınların Rusya Müslümanlarının Eğitime Dair Görüş ve Düşünceleri (1908-1918)

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Makale Bilgisi

Makale Türü | Araştırma Makalesi

Geliş Tarihi | 26/Ağustos/2022

Kabul Tarihi | 27/Kasım/2022

Yayın Tarihi | 31/Aralık/2022

Article Information

Article Types | Research Article

Received | 26/August/2022

Accepted | 27/November/2022

Published | 31/December/2022

Bu makale 13-15 Mayıs 2022 tarihlerinde Konya’da gerçekleştirilen 3. Uluslararası Din Eğitimi Kongresi’nde sunulmuş olan “II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi’nde İslamcı Aydınların Rusya Müslümanlarının Eğitime Dair Görüş ve Düşünceleri (1908-1918)” başlıklı sözlü bildirisinin yayımlanmış özetinin geliştirilmiş halidir.

This article is an improved version of the published abstract of the oral presentation titled “The views and Thoughts of Islamist Intellectuals on the Education of Russian Muslims in the Second Constitutional Monarchy Period (1908-1918)” presented at the 3rd International Religious Education Congress held in Konya on May 13-15, 2022.

Atıf | Cite as:

AKTARAN, Nesrin. “The Views and Thoughts of Islamist Intellectuals on the Education of Russian Muslims during the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918) [II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde İslamcı Aydınların Rusya Müslümanlarının Eğitime Dair Görüş ve Düşünceleri (1908-1918)]”. *Tokat İlmîyat Dergisi | Tokat Journal of İlmîyat* 10/2 (Aralık | December 2022), 599-620.

<https://doi.org/10.51450/ilmiyat.1167321>

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The Views and Thoughts of Islamist Intellectuals on the Education of Russian Muslims during the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918)

Abstract: The Islamism movement, which became prominent as a political ideology during the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918), was free from the thought of Muslims as separate nations and emphasized they should be in unity based on religion. The Islamist intellectuals as the representatives of this movement, prioritized the idea of the Islamic Union; they deliberated on Muslim Turks living in various parts of the world through the *Sırat-ı Müstakim* and *Sebilü'r-Reşad* magazines they published. Among the subjects in question were Russian Muslims, who were assimilated by the Russian regime and its rulers, and who struggled to survive in religious, political and cultural terms with the repression policies. Islamist intellectuals gave various information on Muslims living in Russia through the press; they shared articles and news articles about their origin, language, population and socio-political situations. In the most general sense, they are Turks who belong to the Turkish race, and their language is composed of different dialects of Turkish. Regarding the population, the intellectuals stated that the statistics the Russian State gave were biased; they mentioned the existence of an Islamic nation with a population of twenty-five to thirty million under Russian rule. In addition, Islamist intellectuals emphasized the importance that Russian Muslims attached to education; in their writings, they expressed their belief that the old educational methods should be abandoned and new educational methods should be adopted. In this sense, they supported the Russian Muslims who wanted to reform all educational institutions by transforming them into a new style of education; they made explanations about the number of educational institutions in the country, their economic situation, whether there was state support or not, textbooks differing according to regions etc. The Islamist intellectuals also noted that Russian Muslims worked hard on the new method of education and made efforts, but they were opposed by the supporters of *usul-i kadim* (traditional education method), who defended traditionalism. They stated that these people did not care about the welfare and well-being of the Muslim population and aimed to continue education in the old way. After clarifying all these, the Islamist intellectuals reiterated in their writings that the distinction between *Jadid* and *kadim* should end as soon as possible and that schools and madrasas should be the hearts of civilization; they had no other purpose than this. The issue also received support from Muslim students studying in Russia, who expressed the need to dispel the negative atmosphere in educational institutions as soon as possible. They also stated that madrasas should be reformed, and that the sects such as *Kadimist*, *Jadidists* etc. should be put an end to. Because the Russian State pursued a policy of Russification of Muslims through education. In addition, the Russian state did not allow them to open schools or madrasas, and did not allow madrasas to be turned into schools; it tried to destroy these institutions by inflicting pressure. Furthermore, in addition in order to ensure that Muslim children were educated in Russian schools, Christian religious education was paid for by the state, while Muslims were required to pay for Islamic religious education. In short, Islamist intellectuals followed the Muslim people in Russia through *Sırat-ı Müstakim* and *Sebilü'r-Reşad* magazines during the Second Constitutional Monarchy Period and were closely interested in issues related to education and training. In this sense, they endeavored to reconcile the *Jadidists* and *Kadimists* who adopted new and old educational methods, on a common ground. They also discussed the assimilation they faced by the Russian regime and its rulers in their journals, as well as the oppressive policies regarding education and the struggle of Muslims against them.

Keywords: Religious Education, Islamist Intellectuals, Muslims in Russia, Reform, Second Constitutional Period.

II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde İslamcı Aydınların Rusya Müslümanlarının Eğitimine Dair Görüş ve Düşünceleri (1908-1918)

Öz: II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde (1908-1918) siyasi bir ideoloji olarak belirginleşen İslamcılık akımı, Müslümanların ayrı milletler olma düşüncesinden arınmış; dine dayalı bir birlik içerisinde olması gerektiği üzerinde durmuştur. Bu akımın temsilcileri olan İslamcı aydınlar İttihad-ı İslam düşüncesini önelemiş; yayımladıkları Sırat-ı Müstakim ve Sebilü'r-Reşad mecmuaları üzerinden dünyanın çeşitli yerlerinde yaşayan Müslüman Türkler üzerinde önemle durmuşlardır. Söz konusu konular arasında Rus rejimi ve yöneticileri tarafından asimilasyona uğrayan, baskı politikaları ile dini, siyasi ve kültürel anlamda yaşam mücadelesi veren Rus Müslümanları yer almıştır. İslamcı aydınlar basın yayın aracılığıyla Rusya'da yaşayan Müslümanlar hakkında çeşitli bilgiler vermiş; onların kökeni, dili, nüfusu ile sosyal, siyasi durumları hakkında makale ve haber yazıları paylaşmışlardır. En genel anlamda onların Türk ırkına mensup Türkoğlu Türkler olduğunu; dillerinin de Türkçenin farklı lehçelerinden meydana geldiğini ifade etmişlerdir. Nüfusu konusunda ise Rus Devleti'nin verdiği istatistiklerin yanlı olduğu belirtmişler; Rus idaresi altında yirmi beş otuz milyon nüfusa sahip bir İslam milletinin varlığından bahsetmişlerdir. Bunun yanı sıra İslamcı aydınlar, Rus Müslümanlarının eğitim-öğretime verdikleri önem üzerinde durmuş; yazılarında eski eğitim usullerinin terk edilerek yeni eğitim usullerinin benimsenmesi gerektiğine dair inançlarını dile getirmişlerdir. Bu anlamda tüm eğitim kurumlarını yeni eğitim tarzına dönüştürüp ıslah isteyen Rus Müslümanlarını desteklemiş; ülkede bulunan eğitim kurumlarının sayıları, ekonomik durumları, devlet desteğinin olup olmadığı, ders kitaplarının bölgelere göre farklılık gösterdiği vb. konularda açıklamalar yapmışlardır. İslamcı aydınlar ayrıca Rus Müslümanlarının yeni eğitim usulü hakkında çok çalıştıklarını, gayret gösterdiklerini ancak karşılığında gelenekçiliği savunan usul-i kadim taraftarlarını bulduklarını belirtmişlerdir. Bu kişilerin Müslüman halkın refah ve saadetini düşünmediğini ve eski usulde eğitime devam etme amacıyla olduğunu ifade etmişlerdir. İslamcı aydınlar tüm bunlara açıklık getirdikten sonra yazılarında karamsarlığa kapılmadan cedit, kadim ayrımının bir an evvel son bulmasını ve mektep ve medreselerin medeniyet ocağı olması gerektiğini; bundan başka maksatlarının olmadığını tekrarlamıştır. Konuya ilişkin Rusya'da eğitim gören Müslüman talebelerden de destek gelmiş; onlar da eğitim kurumlarının içerisinde bulunduğu bu olumsuz havanın bir an önce dağıtılması gerektiğini ifade etmiştir. Onlar ayrıca medreselerin bir an evvel ıslah edilmesini, kadimci, ceditçi vb. tefrikalara son verilmesi gerektiğini belirtmiştir. İslamcı aydınlar Rusya'da yaşayan Müslümanların bir yandan kadimcilerle yaşadığı mücadeleyi gündeme taşırken diğer yandan Rus Devleti'nin Müslümanların eğitimi üzerinde uyguladığı baskıyı da gözler önüne sermiştir. Zira Rus Devleti, Müslümanlara eğitim yolu ile Ruslaştırma politikası izlemiştir. Ayrıca mektep ve medreseler açıp okullarına izin vermemiş; baskı uygulayarak bu kurumları yok etme çabası içerisine girmiştir. Bunun yanı sıra Müslüman çocukların Rus mekteplerinde Rusça eğitim almasını sağlamak amacıyla Hristiyan dini eğitimi Devlet tarafından karşılanmış; İslam dini eğitiminin masraflarının Müslümanlar tarafından ödemesini istemiştir. Kısacası İslamcı aydınlar, II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi'nde (1908-1918) Sırat-ı Müstakim ve Sebilü'r-Reşad mecmuaları vasıtasıyla Rusya'da bulunan Müslüman halkın takipçisi olmuş; eğitim-öğretim ile ilgili konularla yakından ilgilenmiştir. Bu anlamda yeni ve eski eğitim-öğretim usullerini benimseyen ceditçi ve kadimcileri ortak bir payda da uzlaştırmaya gayret göstermişlerdir. Ayrıca Rus rejimi ve yöneticileri tarafından karşılaştıkları asimilasyonu, eğitime dair baskı politikalarını ve Müslümanların buna karşı verdikleri yaşam mücadelesini mecmualarında tartışmaya açmışlardır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Din Eğitimi, İslamcı Aydınlar, Rus Müslümanları, İslahat, II. Meşrutiyet.

Introduction

The Islamism movement became evident as a political ideology during the Second Constitutional Era (1908-1918). The movement aimed to gather Muslims under the umbrella of Islam. As the representatives of this political movement, the Islamist intellectuals argued that Muslims should be free from the idea of belonging to separate nations and a religious unity should be re-established beyond the nationalistic ideal.¹ They believed that in this way, Muslims would live with international brotherhood and prosperity as before, and that Muslims around the world would have the opportunity to know each other. Otherwise, a Muslim nation would be destroyed by other nations.² In order to prevent this, the intellectuals accepted the Islamic union as a principle of religion (usûl-i din), and regarded this union to be a political nexus that brings Muslims together under the banner of Islam, and carries heavy religious references.³

These thoughts above were expressed in the journals of *Sırat-ı Müstakîm* and *Sebilürreşad*⁴, which were among the media organs of the period. These journals were created with their own means due to the freedom they experienced in the press field during the Second Constitutional Period. Through these magazines, they expressed their opinions with many articles, news and improvement suggestions on the subject. Because they saw the press as a tool to bring together the separate parts of an object and they were of the opinion that "a brother living in the West can find a brother living in the East only through print."⁵

Islamist intellectuals argued that all Muslims were brothers and the Islamic union had a more important position than homeland and nation.⁶ Therefore, they wished that Muslims living both in the Ottoman Empire and outside the Ottoman borders would be in unity. In particular, they wanted to form the Islamic Union, which would include Muslims living in the lands that were

¹ Babanzade Ahmed Naim, "İslam'da Dava-yı Kavmiyet: Takib ve Tenkid Mecmuası Nüzhet Sabit Beyefendi'ye", *Sebilür-Reşad* 12/293 (23 Nisan 1914), 114-128; Said Halim Paşa, *Buhranlarımız*, ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, (İstanbul: Tercüman Gazetesi Yayınları, n.d.), 198-199; Musa Kazım, "İslam ve Terakki" *İslam Mecmuası* 1/ 3 (2 Şubat 1914), 75-77; Mehmet Akif Ersoy, "Tefsir-i Sure-i Al-i İmran", *Sebilür-Reşad* 2/39 (5 Aralık 1912), 231.

² Muhammed Abduh, "Vahdet ve Hâkimiyet", *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 3/53 (9 Eylül 1909), 4.

³ "İttihâd-ı İslâmın Esâsı Râbta-i Diniyyeyi Takviyedir", *Sebilür-Reşad* 12/287 (12 Mart 1914), 19; "Fransızlar Hacca Giden Müslümanları Men Etmek İstiyorlar: Sebilür-Reşad", *Sebilür-Reşad* 12/287 (12 Mart 1914), 18; Abdürreşid İbrahim, "Çin Müslümanları: Âlem-i İslam", *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 3/66 (9 Aralık 1909), 218; Alimcan el-İdrisi, "İslah-ı Medaris Hakkında", *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 5/122 (5 Ocak 1911), 293.

⁴ The newspapers *Sırat-ı Müstakim* and *Sebilür-Reşad* will continue to be published; Until March 8, 1912, 182 issues were published as *Sırat-ı Müstakim*; These will come together in 7 volumes. Then *Sebilür-Reşad* started to continue. *Sebilür-Reşad* continued until March 5, 1925, published 459 issues and collected in 18 volumes. When these two newspapers were published for 17 years, 641 issues were published and collected in 25 volumes. For information, see: Abdullah Ceylan, "Türk Yayın Hayatında Sıratmüstakim ve Sebilürreşad Mecmualarının Yeri", *Türk Kültürü Dergisi*, Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü 29/335, Ankara, (1991), 162.

⁵ Troyskili Ahmed Taceddin, "Âlem-i İslam Rusya Müslümanları ve Rus Maarif Nezareti", *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 3/61 (4 Kasım 1909), 143.

⁶ "İttihâd-ı İslâm'ın Esâsı...", 19; Permlî Züfer Kasımî, "Rusya'daki İslamların Terakkiyat-ı Diniyye ve Milliyeye Hizmetleri", *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 3/62 (11 Kasım 1909), 158.

occupied by the Westerners. They believed that in this way the problems that Muslims experience would be eliminated, and the problems encountered in the socio-cultural areas, religion, and education would be handled.⁷ In this context, they gave wide coverage to Muslim Turks around the world, especially Muslim Turks living in Russia, in the newspapers and journals they published. Possible causes are the assimilation and oppression policies on the Muslims living under Russian domination, and the struggle for survival in terms of religion, politics, and culture.

Among the investigations related to the study, we gave place to Nadir Devlet's article "The Contributions of Azeri Intellectuals in the Muslim Conferences in Russia"⁸ as a source of the study. This article focused on political and intellectual developments, religious education, and a series of related conferences. Another important study for our research is Fegani Beyler's article titled "Madrasas in Russia and Their Activities in the Field of Islamic Education: An Overview". This article highlights the current education of madrasas together with the *cedid* (new) and *kadim* (old) methods. Another study was a master's thesis named "Muslims in Russia according to the Journal *Sırat-ı Müstakim*."⁹ The thesis discusses the Muslims in Russia through the journal *Sırat-ı Müstakim*. When we take together all these studies, the main motivation behind our research was the lack of an independent study that deals with the education of Muslims in Russia from the perspective of Islamist intellectuals. They present their ideas comprehensively through the articles they wrote in *Sırat-ı Müstakim* and *Sebilurreşad* between 1908-1918. Although our study covering the Second Constitutional Period mainly focused on the *Sırat-ı Müstakim* journal due to a large number of articles within, it was also important to include the views published in the journal *Sebilü'r-Reşad* in order to reveal the continuation of the developments and to convey the results.

Based on these data, our study focused on the Islamist intellectuals' views, not only in the Ottoman lands but in all over world, especially abroad, specifically those of Muslims in Russia. In the study, which was created with the use of the historical archiving method, the news articles and writings in the Journals *Sırat-ı Müstakim* and *Sebilü'r-Reşad* were used as the basic sources. On the occasions that the aforementioned journals were not efficient enough as a source, separate research and review artifacts were used as a source. In addition, the fact that the previous studies were regional in nature within the Russian State and dealt with madrasas and education in a limited way makes our study important for future research. In this sense, the evaluation of the developments in education in that period from the perspective of Islamist intellectuals is an answer to the studies to be carried out.

⁷ Muhyiddin Bin Hacı Emin, "Kırım'da Münteşir Tercüman Ceridesi Sahibi İsmail Gasprinski Bey'e", *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 3/64 (25 Kasım 1909), 186.

⁸ Nadir Devlet, "1905-1917 Rusya Müslüman Kongrelerinde Azerbaycan Aydınlarının Katkıları", *Kafkasya İslam Medeniyeti Milletlerarası Sempozyumu Tebliğleri* (Azerbaycan, 1998), 183-200.

⁹ Sinan Şahin, "1905-1917 Rusya Müslüman Kongrelerinde Azerbaycan Aydınlarının Katkıları", *Kafkasya İslam Medeniyeti Milletlerarası Sempozyumu Tebliğleri* (Azerbaycan, 1998), 183-200.

1. Islamist Intellectuals' Views on the Muslims in Russia

Islamist intellectuals gave information about the religious, political, social and economic conditions of Muslims living in Russia in the journals *Sebîlürreşâd* and *Sırat-ı Müstakim* in the context of the Islamic Union. They showed attention to announcing the current and latest information to the Islamic world. Since they were aware that they had a common religion, race and tradition, they tried to be in close relationships with other Muslims. However, they were aware that some changes could take place because of the fact that they lived in a geography far away under the rule of the Russian state.¹⁰

When we look at the articles of Islamist intellectuals, it is possible to see that they made observations about the origin, language and population of Muslims in Russia. In order to better understand the issue, first of all, we have to examine what the Islamist intellectuals think about the ethnic origin, language and population of the Muslims of Russia, and their social and political situations.

1.1. Ethnic Origin, Language, Population

Islamist intellectuals shared various information about the origin of Muslims living in Russia and mentioned the regions in which they lived. In this sense, Ahmed Midhat Efendi claimed that the Muslims of Russia were the first natives to live in the Himalayas.¹¹ A. Sevindik stated that the origin of the Muslims in Russia consisted of the union of many tribes and lineages from the European and Asian regions. Among them he listed Tatar, Mishar, Bashkir, Nogai, Caucasian, Kyrgyz, Turkmen, Sart, Uzbek, Tajik and so on.¹²

Ahmed Taceddin dealt with these provinces in detail in his article. He explained where the mentioned tribes and lineages were located and where they settled. The Tatars were mostly in Kazan, Orenburg, and Siberia; Bashkirs and Tipters were generally around the Ural; The Mishars, on the other hand, adopted the provinces of Tambût, Sarâtuf, Nigéria, Nevgurd and Sember in Central Russia. In addition, the Kyrgyz were in Central Asia, Siberia, Orenburg, and Uralski; whereas Sarts and Uzbeks settled in Transoxiana and Turkistan.

In a conference, Yusuf Akçura also stated that the Muslims living in Russia were located around three centers, namely the Volga Basin, the Kaf Mountains and the Trans-Caucasus.¹³ In another article of his, Ahmet Taceddin summarized the origins of Muslims in Russia with the following statement: "Just as the Ottoman Turks belong to the Turkish race, these people are Turks par excellence, and they belong to the Turkish race by the proof of history."¹⁴ In short, Islamist

¹⁰ Kazanlı Ayaz, "Âlem-i İslâm Rusya Müslümanları- Tatarlar", *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 2/51 (26 Ağustos 1909), 398.

¹¹ Ahmed Midhat Efendi, "Konferans: Türklüğe Dair", *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 1/21 (14 Ocak 1909), 332.

¹² A. Sevindik, "İslâm ve Türk Âlemi: Rusya Müslümanlarında Dil ve Edebiyat", *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 1/19 (31 Aralık 1908), 300; Midhat Efendi, "Konferans Türklüğe Dair", 332.

¹³ Akçuraoğlu Yusuf Bey, "Rusya'da Sâkin Türklerin Hayât-ı Medeniye, Fikriyye ve Siyâsiyelerine Dâir", *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 2/39 (3 Haziran 1909), 201-203.

¹⁴ Ahmed Taceddin, "Rusya İslamları", *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 2/31 (25 Mart 1909), 74-75.

intellectuals claimed that Muslims in Russia had been present in Russian lands for a long time; and that they adopted their first homeland by settling in different regions of Russia. However, they agreed that the ancestry of Muslims in Russia was Turkish.

Islamist intellectuals gave different numbers on the population of Muslims in Russia. They said that according to the statistics of the Russian State, there were 18 million Muslims, but that this was a figure deliberately given by the Russian State to understate it.¹⁵ They stated that there was no province or district in Russia where there were no Muslims. They claimed that they were increasing day by day in Petersburg and Moscow, and that there was a Muslim neighborhood in every city and town.¹⁶ In this sense, they wrote that Muslims constitute 94% of Dagestan, 80% of Baku province, 60% of Astarhan province and 50% of Ufa province.¹⁷ Considering these figures, Islamist intellectuals expressed that it was possible to talk about an Islamic nation with a population of twenty-five to thirty million people living under the rule of Russia.¹⁸

The Islamist intellectuals also touched on the language of Muslims in Russia. At every opportunity they stated that they were all Turkish and spoke different dialects of Turkish such as Turkmen, Chagatai, Tatar, Nogai, Azeri, etc.¹⁹ In his article, A. Sevindik stated that there were differences in pronunciation between these dialects and in the rest of his article, Sevindik stated that Muslims were forced to speak Russian among themselves because they could not communicate through a common language.²⁰

On the other hand, in his article Kazanlı Ayaz stated that this problem can be solved and made a suggestion on the subject. He said that newspapers, articles, treatises or theater work written in plain language would be understood by the public and that in this way their language would develop and they would begin to enter into an intellectual unity.²¹

Islamist intellectuals hoped that the unity of Islam will be realized with the aforementioned intellectual unity. They believed that twenty-five to thirty million Muslims in Russia were Turkish, and that they could communicate through a common and plain language, despite differences in their languages. In order to put these beliefs into practice, they closely followed the lives of the Muslims in Russia and their social and political situations and expressed their perspectives on the subject.

¹⁵ “Şuun- Resmi İstatistike Nazaran; Rusya’da Müslümanların, Camilerin ve Mekteb-Medreselerin Mikdarı”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 6/144 (8 Haziran 1911), 224.

¹⁶ “Hayât-ı Akvâm-ı İslamiyye- Rusya Müslümanları”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 8/203 (25 Temmuz 1912), 400.

¹⁷ “Rusya’da Bulunan Müslümanların Hesabı”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 5/130 (2 Mart 1911), 432.

¹⁸ Ahmed Taceddin, “Rusya İslamları”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 2/31 (25 Mart 1909), 74-75; “Rusya’da Bulunan Müslümanlar”, 432.

¹⁹ “Rusların Rusya Müslümanları Hakkındaki Zanları”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 6/131 (9 Mart 1911), 14; “Hayât-ı Akvâm-ı İslamiyye- Rusya Müslümanları”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 8/203 (25 Temmuz 1912), 411.

²⁰ A. Sevindik, “İslâm ve Türk Alemi: Rusya Müslümanlarında Dil ve Edebiyat”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 1/19 (31 Aralık 1908), 300.

²¹ Kazanlı Ayâz, “Lisan Mes’elesi”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 2/46 (22 Temmuz 1909), 316.

1.2. The Social, Political and Cultural Situation of the Muslims

In their writings, Islamist intellectuals also wrote about how the Muslims of Russia improved in political, social and cultural spheres. In particular, they focused on the developments in Russia between 1905 and 1917, shortly before the declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy in 1908.²² In fact, these dates constituted a period of time that coincided with the last years of the Tsarist Period and the beginning of the Soviet Period. In this process, the Japan-Russia War (1904-1905) took place.²³ The war affected the Muslim Turks and resulted in the defeat of Russia. As a result of the defeat, the government had to comply with the wishes of the people.²⁴ In this environment, the Muslims of Russia obtained various rights by making demands for their own problems. They had the opportunity to openly continue the political activities that they had carried out in secret before. They started the process of electing their official representatives.²⁵ Thus, they gained the right to participate in the Duma Assembly and appointed their own representatives. This legislative body worked effectively between 1905 and 1917.²⁶

The Muslims of Russia brought many issues to the Assembly through these representatives. They made demands about issues like reforms of schools and madrasas, foundations, provincial councils, religious courts, muftis, sheik al-Islams, etc. These demands include the opening of a primary school in every village, the improvement of madrasas, the implementation of a common program in educational institutions, etc. Islamist intellectuals published all these issues related to education in their journals. They kept the issue on the agenda in order to support the education of Muslims in Russia.²⁷

2. The Education of the Muslims in Russia

Islamist intellectuals mentioned that after the revolution in Russia in 1905, the Muslims of Russia found an environment of liberation in the field of education and that the enthusiasm for education among Muslims increased and they expressed their satisfaction with this.²⁸ Because

²² “Devlet-ş Aliyye- Rusya: Rusya'nın Şark Politikası”, *Sebilü'r-Reşad* 8/185 (21 Mart 1912), 51-52; Ahmed Agayef, “Siyâsiyât: Vaz'iyet-i Hâzıramız”, *Sebilü'r-Reşad* 8/186 (28 Mart 1912), 86.

²³ Fergani Beyler, “Rusya'da Medreseler ve İslami Eğitim-Öğretim Alanındaki Faaliyetleri: Genel Bakış”, *Bingöl Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 4/7 (1/2016), 91.

²⁴ Osman Ağır, “Rusya Federasyonu'nun Siyasal Rejiminin Adlandırılması Üzerine”, *ASSAM Uluslararası Hakemli Dergi* 1/3 (2015), 27.

²⁵ İsmail Türkoğlu, “Müslüman Kongreleri”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2008), 32/96-98.

²⁶ Selda Kaya Kılıç, “Arşiv Belgelerine Göre 1917 Rus Devrimi'nin Azerbaycan Üzerindeki Etkileri”, XVIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, (Ankara: 1-5 Ekim 2018), 10/683-719.

²⁷ “Rusya'da Müslümanlara Yapılan Mezâlim”, *Sebilü'r-Reşad* 8/194 (23 Mayıs 1912), 230; “Rusya: Rusya ve Panislamizm”, *Sebilü'r-Reşad* 8/198 (20 Haziran 1912), 302; “Elvâh-ı İntibah”, “Rusya Duma'sında Kırım Meb'usu Mirza Müftü-zâde'nin Lisan-ı Milliyeye Dair İrad Eylediği Nutuk Sureti”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 4/84 (14 Nisan 1910), 109.

²⁸ Kazanlı Ayaz, “Rusya Müslümanları-5”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 3/56 (30 Eylül 1909), 61; “Şuûn-ı İslâmiyye: Rusya”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 4/84 (14 Nisan 1910), 111; “Rusya: Rusya Müslümanlarında Maarif-perverlik”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 10/235 (13 Mart 1913), 16.

they believed that the political, intellectual and cultural unity of Muslims under the umbrella of the Islamic Union could only be achieved through education and training. They argued that this would only happen by abandoning the old education methods and adopting the new education method. They supported the Muslims of Russia who wanted to reform all educational institutions with a new education style and wrote a lot about the new and old education methods in their writings.²⁹

When we look at the writings of Islamist intellectuals in the journals *Sırât-ı Müstakîm* and *Sebîlürreşâd*, it is seen that they focus on the education of many regions separately and convey the situation regarding education.³⁰ In their writings, they included thoughts on Usûl al-Jadîd (the new method) and Usûl al-Kadîm (the old method) and focused on the developments in this field. They made clarifications about the Usûl al-Jadîd, what needed to be done, contributors and developments regarding it.

The fatwas issued by the followers of the Usûl al-Kadîm against development and innovation with a traditionalist point of view in the regions where they were strong, and the closure of schools providing education with the new method, were frequently included in the writings of Islamist intellectuals. Ahmed Taceddin from Troytski revealed the gravity of the issue. He stated that the Muslim scholars of Russia were divided into two as Jadidists and Ancientists and they declared war on each other on this issue.³¹ In order to cover all these issues in more detail, it is important to look at the schools and madrasas created by Muslims living in Russia and the activities carried out on the idea of the Usûl al-Kadîm and Usûl al-Jadîd.

2.1. Schools and Madrasas

Islamist intellectuals especially focused on the education of Muslims in Russia.³² They published articles that gave examples of education in schools and madrasas in the cities of Russia. In this respect, Ayaz focused on the education of Tatars living in Kazan. In his article, he stated that there was a mosque and a school in every village, and even a few mosques and a few schools in large villages. The expenses of these institutions were paid by the Muslims and the Government did not pay for the schools and madrasas. He wrote that permission should be obtained from the Ministry of Education to build a school and it was very difficult to get permission in this regard. However, the Turks built and opened their own schools without applying to the Ministry of

²⁹ "İttihâd-ı İslâmın Esâsi...", 19.

³⁰ "İntibah-ı İslâm", *Sırât-ı Müstakîm* 4/84 (14 Nisan 1910), 109.

³¹ Troytskili Ahmed Taceddin, "Alem-i İslâm-Zavallı Buhara", *Sırât-ı Müstakîm* 3/64 (25 Kasım 1909), 187.

³² İsmail Gaspirinski, "Ser-tac-ı Ulema-i Şeri'at-Penah Şeyhülislam Hazretlerine Açık Mektub", trans. Bağçesaray, *Sırât-ı Müstakîm* 2/2 (19 Ağustos 1909), 407; M. Ali Münir, "İsmail Gaspirinski Bey Hazretlerine", *Sırât-ı Müstakîm* 2/52 (19 Ağustos 1909), 409; "Rusya", *Sırât-ı Müstakîm* 5/105 (8 Eylül 1910), 16; "Sırât-ı Müstakîm", *Sırât-ı Müstakîm*, 2/40 (10 Haziran 1909), 214.

Education, and the Government did not prevent this. For this reason, he explained that they built one or two boys' schools and separate schools for girls in the villages and started education.³³

Ayaz also mentioned education in schools and madrasas in his article. He stated that studies were carried out in order for the children studying in schools to receive a better education, and that new alifba and recitation books were created depending on the method of instruction so that children can learn to read and write quickly. In this sense, alifbas were created in four styles and books for reading, catechism, mathematics, and geography were prepared in two or three years. The books were created in a language that Tatars could understand. In addition to schools, new books were written for madrasas. Arabic syntax books, works of logic and creed began to be written in their native language. Ayaz stated that these studies continued and new works and new methods were tried to be established day by day.³⁴

Züfer Kasımî wrote about the schools and madrasas in the city of Ufa. He stated that the Russian Government did not allocate funds for these institutions, but with the support of the Muslim people, they provided education in many schools and madrasas with the new method. In his article, the author mentions the existence of a large madrasa called Madrasa Aliyye al- Diniyya in Ufa. He stated that there were also junior high school and high school departments in this institution. Kasımî said that this institution was built by the merchants of the city of Ufa, and the professors were educated in Egypt, Beirut, Istanbul, etc. Finally, he emphasized that the purpose of the students, scholars and professors who grew up here was to serve the education of Muslims in Russia as required by the current age.³⁵

Education life in Turkistan was mentioned in another article in *Sırat-ı Müstakim* journal. As in all regions where Muslims lived, there were Russian schools in Turkistan, which provided education with the Russians' own religious and national values. Since the education given in Russian schools followed the policy of Russification, the Muslim people did not want to send their children to these schools. Instead, they were sent to madrasas that preserved the religion of Islam and spiritual values despite following the old method. In the rest of the article, it was stated that this situation had changed in the last 10-15 years, and there was a further decrease in the number of Muslim children attending Russian schools due to the fact that Muslims had established schools providing education with the new method. In the article, it was emphasized that there were only 4 Muslim Turkish children who had graduated from Russian schools in the previous year, but one hundred to two hundred children were educated in schools providing education with the method of Usûl al-Jadid.³⁶

Islamist intellectuals also gave information about the schools and madrasas in Baku province, and the number of students studying there. It is stated that there were 120 students in the high

³³ Kazanlı Ayaz, "Âlem-i İslam Rusya Müslümanları-Tatarlar 2", *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 2/52 (19 Ağustos 1909), 416.

³⁴ Kazanlı Ayaz, "Rusya Müslümanları: Tatarlar", *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 3/55 (23 Eylül 1909), 46.

³⁵ Züfer Kasımî, "Ufa'da Mekâtib ve Medâris", *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 3/62 (11 Kasım 1909), 159.

³⁶ "Şuûn Türkistan- Türkistan'da Rus Mektepleri" *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 5/109 (6 Ekim 1910), 86.

schools in the Baku province, 70 in the Riyale school, 633 students in the primary and city secondary schools. In addition, it is reported that in the previous year there were 3127 students in 8 madrasas and 115 national schools in Baku province. The article also mentioned the Tbilisi province. 114 students were educated in high schools, 24 students in military school, and 27 students in other schools. The author believes that the number of students as well as educational institutions is less than necessary and more attention should be paid to national schools.³⁷

It is seen from these articles that Islamist intellectuals have important information about the schools and madrasas of Kazan, Ufa, Turkistan, Baku and Tbilisi regions where Muslims of Russia lived. They aimed to keep the subject on the agenda in their writings and to expand the schools and madrasas with the new method by contributing to education. In order to better understand the subject, it is important to look at the developments in education and the thoughts of Usūl al-Jadīd and Usūl al-Kadīm. With this classification, we try to determine the thoughts, activities and demands of Muslims living in Russia about two different education methods.

2.2. Usūl al-Jadīd (The New Method)

Islamist intellectuals stated that the Muslims of Russia accelerated their efforts in order to be strong in scientific fields thanks to the revolution that took place in 1905. They stated that they were trying to develop a new method of education, namely the idea of Usūl al-Jadīd. Ahmed Taceddin stated that those who were in favor of the new method of education did not aim toward the past, and that they wanted education to progress by enabling schools and madrasas to switch to the new method. He stated that these people consisted of young teachers and authors who were very few in number.³⁸

Midhat Efendi, who gave information about the Usūl al-Jadīd, stated that the first person who tried to create a new education method in Russia with the aim of Islamic unity was İsmail Gaspirinski Bey. Midhat Efendi stated that İsmail Gaspirinski founded the Tercüman newspaper at a time when Crimea was unaware of Kazan, and Kazan was unaware of Orenburg, and he had been trying to bring Muslims together for the last thirty years through this means. In the continuation of Midhat Efendi's article, he stated that İsmail Gaspirinski Bey opened a large school in Kashgar that provided education with the method. He mentioned the contributions of scholars such as Hüseyin Bey and Ma'sum Efendi. In his article, he mentioned other names who contributed to the new education method. For example, Fatih Kirimof returned to his homeland after receiving his education in Istanbul and supported education by opening a printing house. Alimcan Efendi had a madrasa built in Kazan. Midhat Efendi emphasized that education had improved thanks to these people.³⁹

³⁷ "Şuûn-ı İslâmiyye: Rusya", *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 4/84 (14 Nisan 1910), 111.

³⁸ Ahmed Taceddin, "Rusya İslâmları ve Üç Mes'ele", *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 2/33 (8 Nisan 1909), 106-108.

³⁹ Ahmed Midhat Efendi, "Türklüğe Dâir", 349.

Midhat Efendi published another article on the subject on 5 August 1909. He stated that in order to bring Muslims together, İsmail Gaspırski determined the deficiencies in education and published newspapers, books and treatises. He went to provinces such as İstanbul and Egypt, and researched the education system there and developed the method of primary schools in Russia, and eventually reformed it for the benefit of Muslims in Russia. In this way, there was progress in science in Crimea, Kazan and Orenburg. Hundreds of students were trained every year and these students completed their education and served their hometown.⁴⁰ In the continuation of his words, he explained that convoys came from Bukhara and China to Russia to learn the education system and that they wanted to adapt the same system to their schools when they returned to their hometowns. All this means that İsmail Gaspırski worked for the Islamic Union by providing great services to the whole world of Islam and allowing Muslims to progress in education.

In addition to all these, Ahmet Akçuraoğlu also wrote an article on 3 June 1909. He stated that the Turks in Russia wanted innovation, the *Tercüman* newspaper was published in Russia upon this request, and the owner of the newspaper was İsmail Gaspırski Bey.⁴¹ Akçura also mentioned the publication policy determined by the newspaper. He stated that the first priority was the improvement of schools and madrasas, and this was done with the aim of Europeanization by preserving Islam. The second and other goals were the unification of the languages of the Turks in Russia, the education of women, the strengthening of religion among the people, and the teaching of Russian. Akçura stated that efforts were being made to achieve these goals, but despite all this, people who were opposed to innovation wanted to preserve the old way, so people were divided into two different sects, *Usûl al-Jadîd* and *Usûl al-Kadîm* supporters.⁴²

Akçura also talked about the 4-5 year period of the Muslims of Russia between 1905-1909. He stated that his strength increased due to a few names joining the supporters of the *Usûl al-Jadîd*. He explained that these names were Sheikh Şehabeddin El-Mercanî who was one of the greatest scholars of Muslims in Russia, Sheikh Cemaleddin Afghani, and Sheikh Mohammed Abduh who was the mufti of Egypt.⁴³

Islamist intellectuals stated that the Muslims of Russia worked hard and made an effort to implement the new education method. However they encountered opposition from the supporters of the old method who defended traditionalism. Therefore, they could not achieve the desired speed in progress. According to them, these people insisted on continuing education in the old way, as they did not care about the welfare and happiness of the Muslim people.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ "Konferans", *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 2/48 (5 Ağustos 1909), 345.

⁴¹ Akçuraoğlu Yusuf Bey, "Rusya'da Sâkin Türklerin Hayât-ı...", 201-203.

⁴² Akçuraoğlu Yusuf Bey, "Rusya'da Sâkin Türklerin Hayât-ı...", 202.

⁴³ Akçuraoğlu Yusuf Bey, "Rusya'da Sâkin Türklerin Hayât-ı..." 203.

⁴⁴ Ahmed Taceddin, "Üç Mes'ele", 106-108.

2.3. Usūl al-Kadīm (The Old Method)

Ahmed Taceddin wrote an article on March 25, 1909. He explained the thoughts, goals and wishes of the followers of the old method.⁴⁵ He stated that these people were strong and had a say in the education system. Since they did not want reforms in education, the desired reforms did not take place or there was slow progress.⁴⁶ Taceddin also stated that their desire was to live as before, to avoid everything new whether it was beneficial or harmful. He explained that the supporters of the old method came out of the common people, and the old imams and "işans" dressed in the guise of mysticism were also in the group called the kadimciler (Ancientists). Taceddin wrote that işans were the Sūfī group that hindered development, and made claims that they were inspired by Allah and possessed miracles. Instead of abandoning the world, they lived in beautiful buildings with their servants and concubines, as in the late Romans.⁴⁷

Yusuf Akçura wrote on the same subject in *Sırât-ı Müstakîm* on June 3, 1909. He explained the experiences of education in the twenty-five-year period (1883-1907). He stated that since 1883, Turks gathered in the centers of Bukhara and Mashhad, and that there were famous universities and madrasas in these regions for a long time. The method of teaching of these institutions dated back five or six centuries and they did everything in the old way, including trade.⁴⁸

Ahmed Taceddin mentioned that the Ancientists accused Jadidists with blasphemy at every opportunity, wrote annotations on old works instead of producing new works, and acted in line with their interests with the fatwas they issued. He explained that this situation annoyed all the people, especially the students. He stated that the missionaries and the Russian Government benefited the most from this negativity.

Islamist intellectuals hoped that this trend would come to an end. They stated that the voices coming from the north had awakened some of the Ancientists, who were deeply ignorant, and that the supporters of innovation gathered around Mufti Damolla İkrām Efendi and they wanted to take action. However, Ayaz Mahdum, who was a staunch supporter of the old style and had authority above the mufti, opposed this development and said, "If the Usūl al-Jadīd is performed in Bukhara, it is my promise to dye my white beard with the blood of Mufti Damolla İkrām."⁴⁹ Because the Ancientists, who were the supporters of Ayaz Mahdum, argued that the new method was haram (forbidden). They stated that the reason for this was that learning to read and write was only necessary for reading the Qur'an. According to them, science can be used as a tool to read things like newspapers and cause people to backbite. For this reason, according to the Ancientists, it was reasonable to abandon the science of reading and writing, which was only a tool for reading the Qur'ān.

⁴⁵ Ahmed Taceddin, "Rusya İslamları", 74-75.

⁴⁶ Ahmed Taceddin, "Üç Mes'ele", 106-108.

⁴⁷ Ahmed Taceddin, "...Üç Mes'ele.", 106-108.

⁴⁸ Akçuraoğlu Yusuf Bey, "Rusya'da Sâkin Türklerin Hayât-ı.", 201-203.

⁴⁹ Akçuraoğlu Yusuf Bey, "Rusya'da Sâkin Türklerin Hayât-ı.", 201-203.

The school gave education with the method of Usūl al-Jadīd in Bukhara, and it was closed despite the insistence of Müftü İkrām due to these thoughts. Upon this, the Emir invited Ayaz Maḥdum and tried to persuade him. Emir wanted to turn back from the mistake, but he could not persuade Ayaz Maḥdum. Islamist intellectuals reported that the situation in Bukhara was in such a deplorable state it which made them very sorry.⁵⁰

There is another article about these schools that were closed in Bukhara, written with the pseudonym M. S(sad) on December 9, 1909. Two schools were opened and they started to teach with Usūl al-Jadīd, only to be closed by the Ancientist ulema (ulamā) after a short time. Buhari stated that he received many letters from some people who were uncomfortable with the closure of these schools. After reading the letters, he understood how the ulema was overcome by rapaciousness and anxiety. Because, the course schedule of the school consisted of unarmful lessons such as catechism, Quran, tecvid (Tadjwīd), calculation, calligraphy, Arabic grammar, Persian, Chagatai, etc.⁵¹

All these developments in the education of Muslims in Russia prevented the education there from showing the desired progress. Abdürreşid İbrahim mentioned that education did not reached the desired level for thirty years. Despite this, he stated that he was hopeful of Muslims and he hoped they would find ways to reach the highest level of progress. In this way, Muslims would not fall behind the Russians and their future would be bright.⁵² Ahmed Taceddin also expressed similar views without being pessimistic. He repeated that the new-ancient distinction should come to an end as soon as possible, and eventually schools and madrasas should be centers of civilization without any other purpose.⁵³

In a news article published on November 4, 1909, shortly after this warning, it was written that the Ancientists accused the Jadidists of being revolutionary and reported them to the gendarmerie. As a result, the gendarmerie forces took the imam of Aktoba and Katip Sabit Alokef Efendi from their homes and interrogated them for a long time. This situation was interpreted by the Islamic intellectuals as playing into the hands of the Russians and it was repeated that this situation should be ended as soon as possible.⁵⁴ Molla Ataullah Seyfeddinof Efendi (Mollā ‘Aṭā’ Allāh Sayf al-Dīnof Efendi), the orator of the Muslims of Russia in Baku, reminded us that Muslims were brothers in his speech.⁵⁵ Seyfeddinof emphasized that the brotherhood of Muslims was fard and they should be in unity and alliance. He underlined the need to eliminate the discord and enmity between the ancient and the new, and to advance in science and education. He warned that their situation would not be pleasant unless this negative atmosphere dissipated. This issue, which was brought to the agenda by Islamist intellectuals, received support from Muslim students

⁵⁰ “Buhara’dan Mektup”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 3/69 (30 Aralık 1909), 266.

⁵¹ M. S(sad). Buharî, “Buhara’da Şeriat Namına İrtikâb Olunan Cinayat”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 3/66 (9 Aralık 1909), 222.

⁵² Abdürreşid İbrahim, “Âlem-i İslam- Ahval-i Âlem-i İslam Hakkında”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 4/84 (14 Nisan 1910), 104.

⁵³ Troyskili Ahmed Taceddin, “Âlem-i İslam- Novoye Vremya ve Âlem-i İslam”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 3/59 (21 Ekim 1909), 101

⁵⁴ Vakıf, “Rusya”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 3/61 (4 Kasım 1909), 144.

⁵⁵ S(sad). A. (ayın). İbrahimov, “Ulema-yı İslam Böyle Olmalı”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 3/62 (11 Kasım 1909), 156.

studying in Russia. These students stated that this negative atmosphere in educational institutions should be dispelled as soon as possible.

2.4. Views of the Students

The reactions of the Islamist intellectuals to the old-new debates in educational institutions were soon supported by the students of the Kazanlı Student Association. Various letters were sent to the *Sırât-ı Müstakîm* journal on the subject. They wanted the madrasas to be reformed as soon as possible, and the old-new debate to end. In addition, they emphasized that the ulema should take responsibility and work for the benefit of the ummah.⁵⁶ In this sense, on March 13, 1913, the students of the Bukhara Madrasa applied to the Bukhara deputy and complained that the method of teaching was not good and the books taught did not contain the information required by the age. They requested that the method of education be reformed.⁵⁷

Not long after, the same problem arose in the Madrasa-i Aliyye-i Diniyye in Ufa. Here also the students complained that their programs were not good, the madrasas were still living in the Middle Ages, and they were given an education that killed ideas. The students also mentioned that they took unpalatable lessons that were full of superstitions, their time was wasted by the fallacies of ignorant teachers and they could not bear this situation any longer. The 80 students who expressed their concerns declared that they would not continue to the madrasa and the courses unless distinguished teachers were appointed.⁵⁸ About two months after this news, another announcement was made on the same subject in the journal *Sebilürreşâd*. 35 students left the madrasa due to the failure of the Ufa Madrasa to fulfill their wishes.⁵⁹

The education reform stayed on the agenda through the news, letters and the wishes of the students in the *Sebilürreşâd* magazine. This discussion continued among the Muslims of Russia. The scholars and teachers who took action in this direction argued that not only the courts, muftis and kadıs (qādīs), but also the ulema should be consulted in the reforms to be made on the curriculum in the madrasas. In order to realize this idea, invitations were sent to the ulema in various centers by the Mufti office with the permission of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia. They were asked to come together in the Shariah Court in the city of Ufa on 27 December 1913. Many scholars, professors, muftis and hodjas participated in the meeting where pleadings were read and negotiations were held. Decisions regarding the mentioned reforms were taken for schools and madrasas, and the decisions determined by muftis, imams and professors were signed.⁶⁰ However, these decisions could not be implemented. Shortly after, World War I started and all aspects of education were pushed to the background.

⁵⁶ Medine Kazanlı Talebesi Cem'iyeti, "Âlem-i İslam", *Sırât-ı Müstakim* 3/ 60 (28 Ekim 1909), 128.

⁵⁷ "Rusya: Maarif-perverlik", 16.

⁵⁸ "Rusya: Talebe-i Ulûmda İntibah Emareleri", *Sebilü'r-Reşad* 10/236 (20 Mart 1913), 36.

⁵⁹ "Rusya: Talebe-i Ulûmda Hareket-i Fikriyye", *Sebilü'r-Reşad* 10/243 (8 Mayıs 1913), 150.

⁶⁰ "Hayat-ı Akvam-ı İslamiyye- Şimalî Müslümanlık Âlemi- Şimali Müslüman Kardeşlerimiz Arasında Ciddi Hareketler", *Sebilü'r-Reşad* 11/280 (22 Ocak 1914), 312.

3. Russian Oppression on Education

The Russian State applied a policy of Russification to Muslim subjects through education in different periods of history. The state tried to prevent educational activities that would allow Muslims to develop and progress. In this sense, it did not allow them to open schools and madrasas, and tried to destroy these institutions by oppression. In addition, Christian religious education was provided by the State in order to enable Muslim children to receive education in Russian schools. On the other hand, Muslims were asked to pay for the expenses of Islamic religious education. In addition, a practice was put into effect where students could not receive education in their own language and religion.⁶¹ Although the Muslim Assembly members objected to this, it was not accepted for fear of "the danger of Pan-Islamism".⁶² Islamist intellectuals frequently expressed the historical process of this situation in their journals and revealed the Russian State's point of view and pressures on the Muslim people.⁶³

Ahmed Taceddin stated that the Russian Government wanted to oppress and divide the Muslims and eventually implement a policy of total assimilation. However, he stated that this was doomed to failure and that the Russian Government was tiring themselves out for nothing. In his next article, Taceddin stated that the Ministry's statement of "Muslims, a nation that does not know how to write" was an exaggeration and it was not a coincidence that they had dozens of schools and madrasas. In addition to this, he also described the Ministry of Education's statement claiming that Muslims did not want to enter the school and they had no interest in science as slander, considering the fact that Muslims in Russia went to places such as Bukhara, Samarkand, Egypt, Arabia, Istanbul, etc. and received an education.⁶⁴

Islamist intellectuals reported that the Russian Government also cut off the educational aid it gave to Muslims. They also objected to the statements of the Russian authorities, which said that "If they want to study science, they can enter Russian schools and study."⁶⁵ Ahmed Taceddin wrote a series of articles on the subject. He stated that the reason why Muslims did not want to go to Russian schools was their missionary activities there, and they saw this as a problem that they had to solve themselves.⁶⁶ Taceddin said that the Russians used their schools for missionary purposes. He wrote that they destroyed the madrasas and darü'l-irfâns (dâr al-irfâns) belonging

⁶¹ "Türkistan'da Rus Mektepleri", 86.

⁶² "Rusya'da Mekâtib-i İbtidaiyyede Lisan-ı Umûmî", *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 3/70 (6 Ocak 1910), 283.

⁶³ Ahmed Taceddin, "Âlem-i İslam- Rusya Müslümanları ve Rus Maarif Nezareti", 143; "Kafkasya: İslamları Rus Mekteplerine Celb için", *Sebilü'r-Reşad* 11/268 (30 Ekim 1913), 128; "Rusya: Rusya'da Sakin Müslüman Kardeşlerimizin Muhafaza-i Din ü Milliyet Cihadları", *Sırat-ı Müstakim*, 5/115 (17 Kasım 1910), 192; "Rusya", *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 4/83 (6 Nisan 1910), 96.

⁶⁴ Troyskilli Ahmed Taceddin, "Âlem-i İslam- Rusya Müslümanları ve Maarif Nezareti 2", *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 3/62 (11 Kasım 1909), 155; Troyskilli Ahmed Taceddin, "Âlem-i İslam- Rus Maarif Nezaretinin Beyanâtı Münasebetiyle Ta'lim-i Umûmiye Dair", *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 3/65 (2 Aralık 1909), 205.

⁶⁵ "Şuûn-Orenburg Müslüman Medresesine Bu Sene Akçe Verilmiyor", *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 5/130 (2 Mart 1911), 432.

⁶⁶ Ahmed Taceddin, "Âlem-i İslam- Rusya Müslümanları ve Maarif Nezareti 2", 155; Ahmed Taceddin, "Rus Maarif Nezaretinin Beyanâtı", 205.

to Muslims and usurped their foundations. He stated that while more than half of Samarkand were madrasa foundations, these places were now in the hands of the Russian Government. When their foundations were gone, the madrasas and the nation were devastated. Taceddin stated that the Russian Government did not stop there, trying to influence the Muslim youth by opening a tavern on every street in the cities of Samarkand and Tashkent. He tried to reveal the assimilation policy applied to Muslims.⁶⁷

Islamist intellectuals continued to convey the persecution of Muslims in Russia to all Muslims through the media. They stated that the Russian Government's violence against Muslims increased day by day. For example, the Russian Government announced a requirement with a sudden decision. The requirement was that the instructors who would teach in Turkestan must be from Turkistan. It was reported that all instructors who did not comply with this condition were expelled from the regional schools or even expelled from the country. In addition, harsh conditions were put forward for primary schools in Crimea, and high schools were closed.⁶⁸

City and village imams in the regions Kazakh, Orenburg, Ufa etc. were insulted, deprived of their powers and dismissed. Thereupon, the mufti of the Muslims of Russia declared the issue to the undersecretary of the Russian Minister of the Interior, and stated that this was an arbitrary and unfair behavior. In response, the undersecretary promised to initiate an investigation against the mentioned Russian officials.⁶⁹ However, two months later, it was stated in the journal *Sebilürreşad* that similar complaints continued to be submitted. The persecution of Muslims is expressed in the following words:

“... In one year, one hundred and fifty Muslim households were subjected to searches and seventy schools were closed, many newspapers and pamphlets were collected. Twenty schools were closed by the order of the Government in the city of Kokar in Turkestan, and the teachers enrolled in the school were fired. The school in Arsay village in Samarra province was closed. In Petropavlaski, the famous Hasan Efendi School, and the school with the number 17 near the assembly in Kazan province were closed, and twenty teachers were fired. In the city of Merala in Ufa province, Saâdet Library, and Evreng and Karfof Islamic printing houses in the city of Kazan were closed. Gentlemen, this is a portion of the persecution that took place in one year.”⁷⁰

The extent of the pressure exerted by the Russian Government on education can be understood from this expression. Because, in the article dated July 25, 1912, in the journal *Sebilürreşad*, it was stated that the pressures had reached such a level that they would annoy Muslims with their lives. It was stated that Islamic madrasas were closed without any reason, their professors and teachers were arrested, and their detention continued although one year passed.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Troyskili Ahmed Taceddin, “Rusya’da İslamiyet Âlemi”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 3/ 57 (7 Ekim 1909), 78.

⁶⁸ “Rusya: Rusya, İslamları Tazyik Ediyor”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 5, no. 130 (2 Mart 1911), 431; “Teyakkuz ve İntibâh Lüzûmu”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 7/174 (4 Ocak 1912), 287.

⁶⁹ “Rusya İslamları”, *Sırat-ı Müstakim* 7/182 (29 Şubat 1912), 417.

⁷⁰ “Rusya’da Müslümanlara Yapılan Mezalim”, *Sebilü’r-Reşad* 8/194 (23 Mayıs 1912), 229.

⁷¹ “Rusya: Tazyikat”, *Sebilü’r-Reşad* 8/203 (25 Temmuz 1912), 411.

The content of the articles written by Islamist intellectuals about the Muslims of Russia did not change over the years, and it was reported that the persecution of the Russians continued. It was announced that the Muslims of Bukhara, Crimea, Khiva, Kyrgyz and Tatars were suffering from the Russian atrocities. In addition to political and social harassment, it was also stated that they prevented them from living their religion freely. It was forbidden for women to wear hijabs, and even the education of the Qur'an was allowed only in Russian.⁷² In an article published on October 9, 1914, one month after these statements, it was explained that it was unbearable to explain the evil that the Russian barbarians inflicted on thirty million Muslims, and the mildest cruelty that the Russians did was demolishing mosques, making people hurt and oppressing them with the worst level of lowness.⁷³ It was stated that quotas were set for the news in magazines and newspapers, and they were fined for articles they deemed objectionable. In some cases they even decided to close the magazine or the newspaper in which this article was published and imprison the owner of the publication.⁷⁴

At this point, the First World War started and the situation of the Muslims of Russia became even more difficult. However, in his letter dated 18 July 1918, Abdürreşid İbrahim expressed the need for Muslims to be hopeful and stand up again.⁷⁵ These words were answered by Moscow, where Ayaz İshaki gave information to the journal *Sebilü'r-Reşad* about the situation of the Muslims of Russia after the First World War. He explained that the Bolsheviks seized the state administration, and the Muslims who did not accept socialism and tried to preserve their own religious-national and civil law were subjected to ill-treatment by the Russians. Ayaz said that the Russians closed the newspapers belonging to Muslims, and burned eleven thousand households, thirty-nine mosques and many madrasas and bazaars. He stated that the Armenians, together with the Bolsheviks, brutalized and tortured Muslims.⁷⁶ He added that the Muslims had suffered a great blow and their future was uncertain. In a short time, various articles were written on the same subject. The situation of the Muslims of Russia, the mistakes they made in the political sense, the consequences and the things to be done were emphasized.⁷⁷ As a result of all these, it is seen that the Muslims of Russia could not go further than the issue of religious education, could not reach the maturity of a political idea, or could not form a clear and definite political idea for their own future.⁷⁸

⁷² "Buhara, Kırım, Hive, Kırgız ve Tataristan", *Sebilü'r-Reşad* 12/311 (9 Ekim 1914), 435.

⁷³ "Cihad-ı İslam", *Sebilü'r-Reşad* 13/313 (12 Kasım 1914), 3.

⁷⁴ "Rusya'da Müslümanlara Yapılan Mezalim", 229.

⁷⁵ Abdürreşid İbrahim, "Rusya'da İnkılab ve Bu İnkılabdan Dâhilî Rusya Müslümanlarının İstifadesi", *Sebilü'r-Reşad* 14/362 (18 Temmuz 1918), 225.

⁷⁶ Ayaz İshakî, "Moskova'dan", *Sebilü'r-Reşad* 14/362 (4 Haziran 1918/18 Temmuz 1918), 229.

⁷⁷ "Rusya Müslümanlarının İstikbali ve Saltanat-ı Seniyye'nin Bu Hususda Ta'kib Edeceği Siyaset", *Sebilü'r-Reşad* 14/363 (1 Ağustos 1918), 247; Abdülaziz Çaviş, "Âlem-i İslam'ın Hastalıkları ve Çareleri" *Sebilü'r-Reşad*, 14/364 (8 Ağustos 1918) 261; Arif, "Rusya'da Tatar Matbuatı", *Sebilü'r-Reşad* 14/364 (8 Ağustos 1918), 262.

⁷⁸ Nadir Devlet, "1905-1917 Rusya Müslüman Kongrelerinde Azerbaycan Aydınlarının Katkıları", 196.

Conclusion

Due to their belief that all Muslims around the world should live in international brotherhood and prosperity, Islamist intellectuals endeavored to ensure that Muslims living in Russia and all Muslims were aware of each other and in solidarity through *Sırat-ı Müstakim* and *Sebilü'r-Reşad* magazines. Otherwise, they believed that Muslims would be destroyed by other nations and eliminated from the world. In order to avoid this, they prioritized education and gave importance to educational institutions. Therefore, they discussed on the education of the Muslims of Russia and the developments on this issue. They tried to keep the issue on the agenda in order to propose solutions to the problems. In the study, the discourses and studies of Islamist intellectuals on the education of Russian Muslims were discussed and an answer was sought to the question of how effective they were. In short, they cared for the Muslim people in Russia through the media organs during the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918). They discussed the assimilation they faced by the Russian regime and its rulers, the oppression policies regarding education, and the struggle for the life of Muslims against these problems in their journals. Looking at the articles of Islamist intellectuals, it is seen that Muslims living in Russia were struggling not only against the regime of the Russian State, but also against the ancientists who were Muslims like themselves but did not want reform in education. In this sense, the issues of conflict in education among the Muslims of Russia can be a source for further studies.

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Appendix - 1: Map of Russia in 1908-1918.

