



PAN-ISLAMISM IN RUSSIA 1905-1930: AN
ANALYSIS OF ITS ORIGINS, FEATURES AND
IMPACT

BY

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ABSTRACT

The research examines Pan-Islamic movement in Russia between 1905-1930, the main factors behind its appearance, peculiarities and its impact on other leading ideologies of that time such as Pan-Turkism, Pan-Turanism and Muslim National Communism through analyzing the official documents from Tsarist and Soviet sources, records of the All-Russian Muslim Congresses between 1905-1924, as well as the thoughts and activities of Russia's Muslim intellectuals, mainly 'Abd al-Rashīd Ibrahimov, Musa Jārullāh, Ismail Gaspralı and Mir Said Sultan-Galiev. In order to examine the works of Ibrahimov, Jārullāh and Gaspralı, the researcher adopted an inductive and textual analysis method. The research found a huge gap between the official portrait of Pan-Islam, designed by the Tsarist and then enriched by the Soviet authorities, and its real appearance in Russia. The Tsarist gendarmerie and secret service departments defined the entire intellectual, religious, social, educational and political activities of Russia's Muslims after 1905 as 'Pan-Islamism' or 'Pan-Turkism,' an anti-government movement. Yet, as the research exposes, Pan-Islamism in the thoughts of Russia's Muslim intellectuals was formulated as a peaceful ideology, no more than emphasizing the necessity for fraternity and solidarity among all Muslims of the world. Also, the research suggests that the extensive mushrooming of the call for Muslim unity at the beginning of the twentieth century in Russia should not be studied in isolation from the fundamental Islamic thoughts and universal values of Islam such as solidarity, justice, brotherhood and responsibility of the spiritual and political leaders toward other Muslims. Pan-Islamism in a Russian context was an attempt of local Muslims to reinstate the political dimensions of Islam in order to strengthen their legal, economic, religious, social and cultural positions against the danger emanating from Russian Imperialism. Moreover, it establishes that the consideration of Pan-Islamism as an interim period in the universal ideological development of nation formation process and the rise of nationalism is not applicable to the Russian case. Up to the 1920s, the large-scale movement towards unity of all layers of Muslim society of Russia went parallel with the growth of nationalism among the people, who claimed to be firstly Muslim, then Turkic. Also, there was never, in the Russian case, a natural decline in the hold of religion due to the rise of ethnic national awareness. Lastly, the study underlines that the Western classical approach of 'modeling' Europe for every small or big event that occurred in other parts of the world led to the distortion of the original shape of Pan-Islamism in the Western (Russian) scholarship. Thus the research emphasizes on the need for an alternative approach for studying Pan-Islamism, as well as other political and social developments occurring in the Muslim world.

ملخص البحث

يتناول هذا البحث حركة الجامعة الإسلامية في روسيا من سنة 1905 حتى سنة 1930، فينظر في أهم العوامل التي أدت إلى ظهورها، وخصائصها وأثرها في أهم التيارات الإيديولوجية التي كانت موجودة خلال تلك المرحلة، كالجامعة التركية، والجامعة الطورانية، والشيوعية القومية الإسلامية ولتحقيق ذلك قام الباحث بتحليل الوثائق الرسمية في المصادر القيصرية والسوفييتية، والسجلات والمحاضر الخاصة بمؤتمرات عموم مسلمي روسيا بين سنتي 1905 و1924، وكذلك تحليل التراث الفكري والنشاط العملي للمفكرين المسلمين الروس، وخاصة عبد الرشيد إبراهيموف، وموسى جار الله، وإسماعيل غاسبرالي، ومير سعيد سلطان غاليف وقد اعتمد الباحث في دراسة أعمال إبراهيموف وجار الله وغاسبرالي منهجاً استقرائياً نصيلاً اكتشف الباحث وجود هوة ضخمة بين الحقيقة في ظهور حركة الجامعة الإسلامية في روسيا والصورة الرسمية التي رسمتها لها السلطات القيصرية ثم زادت في تلويها السلطات السوفييتية. فقوات الشرطة وأجهزة الأمن القيصرية صورت كل النشاط الفكري والديني والاجتماعي والتربوي والسياسي للمسلمين في روسيا بعد 1905 على أنه نشاط معاد للحكومة يندرج في إطار "حركة الجامعة الإسلامية" أو "الجامعة التركية". وكما كشف البحث على العكس من ذلك، فإن حركة الجامعة في فكر المفكرين المسلمين في روسيا قد صيغت بوصفها إيديولوجية سلمية لا غرض لها إلا تأكيد ضرورة الأخوة والتضامن بين المسلمين في العالم ويقترح البحث أن النمو الكثيف للأفكار الداعية للوحدة الإسلامية في روسيا في بداية القرن العشرين لا ينبغي أن ينظر إليه بمعزل عن الأصول الفكرية والقيم العالمية للإسلام كالتضامن والعدل والأخوة والمسؤولية التي يستشعرها القادة الروحيون والسياسيون المسلمون نحو غيرهم من المسلمين. فلم تكن حركة الجامعة الإسلامية في السياق الروسي سوى محاولة من المسلمين المحليين لإعادة تأكيد الأبعاد السياسية للإسلام من أجل تقوية ودعم أوضاعهم القانونية والاقتصادية والدينية والاجتماعية والثقافية في مواجهة الخطر الناجم من الهيمنة الإمبريالية الروسية وكذلك أكد البحث أن اعتبار حركة الجامعة الإسلامية مجرد مرحلة انتقالية في التطور الإيديولوجي العام للبناء الوطني وظهور القومية أمر لا ينطبق على الحالة الروسية. وحتى العشرينيات من القرن العشرين، كانت الحركة الواسعة المدى نحو الوحدة بين طبقات المجتمع المسلم في روسيا وفئاته كافة تسير متوازية مع نمو الروح القومية للمسلمين الذين كانوا يدعون أنهم مسلمون أولاً وأتراك ثانياً كما لم يكن هناك قط في الحالة الروسية تدهور طبيعي في التمسك بالدين نتيجة الوعي القومي العرقي. وفي الختام تؤكد الدراسة أن المقاربات المنهجية الغربية الكلاسيكية التي تتخذ من أوروبا "مثالاً" لكل ما يحدث في العالم صغيراً كان أو كبيراً قد أدت إلى تشويه الصورة الأصلية لحركة الجامعة الإسلامية في الدراسات العلمية الغربية (والروسية). ولذلك يؤكد البحث الحاجة لتطوير مقاربات منهجية بديلة لدراسة حركة الجامعة الإسلامية وغيرها من التطورات السياسية والاجتماعية في العالم الإسلامي

APPROVAL PAGE

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degrees at IIUM or other institutions.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAFGBRF	Central Archive of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation, Moscow
CGAHPRRRT	Central Government Archive of Historical-Political Records of the Republic of Tatarstan, Qazan
CP	Communist Party
FCB	Federal Security Service
KGB	Committee for State Security
NART	National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, Qazan
NKVD	People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs
OGPU	Joint State Political Directorate
RCP (b)	Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)
RGASPI	Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History, Moscow
RGIA	Russian State Historical Archive, Saint Petersburg
RSFSR	Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic
GARF	State Archive of the Russian Federation, Moscow
USSR	United Soviet Socialist Republic
VOOGPU	Eastern Department of the United State Political Administratio

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY AND ITS METHODOLOGY

During the last two centuries, mainstream Western scholarship on Islam and the Muslim world has been serving the interests of imperial powers to legitimize their policies devised to control the colonized nations. European penetration on Muslim lands has often been described as a positive step in the universal ideological development; that colonialism brought a persistent inertia for social process into the Hither Asian countries from an “insignificant corner.” Colonialism was over and over again applauded for spreading the ideology of nationalism in the Muslim world, which has been seen to be inevitable for ideological development, while ideas of Pan-Islamism were identified as a formative period in that progression.

In 1909, an unknown Russian Governor-General in Turkistan enthusiastically wrote:

The wars, so astonishing in their consequences, and the social and economic questions which have recently come everywhere unexpectedly to the fore, have stirred even the Mohammedan world in its persistent inertia. A process of development has gone on within it: first the ideas of Pan-Islamism, then increasingly keen national ambitions, and of late openly revolutionary separatist ambitions have begun to reveal themselves. All that has stirred our hitherto inert Mohammedan masses to the depths of the social order and has roused in their midst a clear movement of ideas favouring national union and individual freedom, and indeed even Socialist ideas.¹

The individual, who developed this idea of considering imperialism to be an essential tool for the transition from medieval to modern forms of organization in the Hither Asian countries, was a Hungarian-born journalist Hans Kohn (1891-1971). In

¹ M. Nemchenko, *Nacionalnoye Razmejevaniye Sredney Asii*, as quoted in Hans Kohn, *Nationalism and Imperialism in the Hither East*, (New York: Howard Fertig, 1969), 17.

his classical work entitled *Nationalism and Imperialism in the Hither East*, written in the years 1930-31 as a result of his extensive travels in several Middle Eastern countries as a correspondent for the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Hans Kohn remarked:

It is only within the last few decades that this world [Hither Asia], forgotten by mankind and almost by itself, has re-emerged. It began with the excavation and exposure there of the traces of ancient civilization. Modern inventions of means of transit gave new life and new importance to the trade routes whose day had seemed finally past. Like the Greeks in a former age, so now European notions and ideas exercised a revolutionary influence upon the petrified existence of these countries. European penetration began to evoke new forms in the political, cultural, and social order.²

Hans Kohn consequently developed a notion of identifying European imperialism as “part of the universal process of the spread of civilization” to “less civilized intruders.” He further asserted that “imperialism, especially British imperialism, was a bearer of civilization, like Roman imperialism in past days,” and enthusiastically remarked that this “old type of imperialism is disintegrating because it has completed its civilizing task even in the East.”³

According to Kohn, the distinguishing mark of modern times from the Middle Ages was the notion of nationality. Thus he admired the Western imperialism for spreading ideas of nationalism in the Muslim world that enabled them to enter the age of “social progress” and “middle-class capitalism.”⁴ He said “Just as in Eastern Europe the nations without a history had been roused in the nineteenth century to self-consciousness and the endeavour to play an active part in history, so now the peoples

² Kohn, *Nationalism and Imperialism*, 1.

³ See, *Ibid.*, 62.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 18-22.

of the Orient were roused from a period of medieval feudalism and religion to one instinct with the watchwords of nationalism and middle-class capitalism.”⁵

Later scholars in the field, not excluding some scholars of Muslim origin who had been educated in the Western institutions, were profoundly influenced by the ideas of Hans Kohn. Kemal Karpat, a Turkish historian of Crimean Tatar origin, for instance, identified not only nationalism, but also the ideas of Pan-Islamism, which played a significant role in the struggle against imperialism, as a result of the Western ideological influence on the Muslim world. He defined the notion of Pan-Islamism as a “European-type movement of liberation and change, clad in Islamic garments and apparently led by the traditional head of the Muslim community, the caliph.”⁶

Then, if European colonialism brought a positive change to the Muslim world, which stimulated in them a “persistent inertia” for social development, why did Muslims fail to cooperate with the West? What were the motives behind their choice of anti-imperial struggle on the basis of the so-called “European-type movement of liberation and change,” Pan-Islamism, right from the very beginning of the colonial rule? Also, if the ideology of Pan-Islamism was merely a product of the modern European thought, then how do I interpret other similar movements which appeared from time to time in the Muslim world long before the European incursion? In addition, a new enthusiastic wave of the massive return to Islamic life-styles and to the fundamental precepts of the faith, which can be seen in all Muslim societies starting from the 1970s are challenging the deep-rooted belief initiated by Hans Kohn and Harvard Professor Rupert Emerson that “the rise of nationalism coincided with a

⁵ Kohn, *Nationalism and Imperialism*, 18.

⁶ Kemal Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 18.

decline in the hold of religion.”⁷ Therefore, the idea of considering Pan-Islamism as a formative period in the emergence of nationalism among Muslim nations should be revisited.

This current research is a humble attempt to study Pan-Islamic movement in Russia, the main factors behind its appearance, peculiarities and impact on other leading ideologies of that time such as Pan-Turkism, Pan-Turanism and Muslim National Communism by studying official documents from Tsarist and Soviet sources, records of the All-Russian Muslim Congresses between 1905-1924, as well as the thoughts and activities of several influential Muslim intellectuals and activists of Russia, namely ‘Abd al-Rashīd Ibrahimov (1857-1944), Musa Jārullāh (1875-1949) and Ismail Gaspralı (1851-1914).

‘Abd al-Rashīd Ibrahimov was an indefatigable initiator of the movement toward unity and progress of Russia’s Muslims. Born in a Tatar village of Siberia and educated in village *madrassahs* of the Qazan⁸ *gubernia* (province) and Siberia, Ibrahimov became one of the emissaries of the last *de facto* Osmanlı Sultan Abdulhamid II (r. 1876-1909). He was the main architect and promoter of the All-Russian Muslim Congresses during the years of the Russian revolution of 1905. Throughout his life, Ibrahimov traveled extensively around the world calling upon Muslims to liberate themselves from the yoke of Western Imperialism. The observations and views of Ibrahimov are recounted in dozens of his books and articles

⁷ See, Rupert Emerson, *From Empire to Nation: The Rise to Self-Assertion of Asian and African Peoples*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 158.

⁸ In the European, Russian and Turkish sources this city’s name is given as “Kazan” due to the lack of the letter close to Arabic ‘qaf’, whereas in Tatar language it sounds as Qazan, and so I am going to use this version.

written mainly in Old Tatar (Osmanlı Turkish) language,⁹ which are still waiting to be studied by local as well as international researchers.

Another significant figure in Russian Pan-Islamism was Musa Jārullāh Bigiyev (1875-1949), a comrade and admirer of Ibrahimov. He is celebrated as one of the most significant scholars at the beginning of the twentieth century's intellectual society of Russia's Muslims. He had published 64 books.¹⁰ As was demonstrated in my MA thesis entitled "Ideas of Muslim Unity at the Age of Nationalism: A Comparative Study of the Concept of the *Ummah* in the Writings of Musa Jārullāh and Said Nursi," Jārullāh had provided a conceptual framework of Pan-Islamism in a number of his works. He strongly believed in the great potential of Islam and Muslims to free themselves from the yoke of Western powers and to achieve unity, which would include all Muslim races, classes, trends; as a result, the glory of Islam and Muslims will again become a reality. These Pan-Islamic ideas were indirectly inherited from Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838-1897)¹¹ as during his educational trip to Egypt,

⁹ According to the modern Tatar historian Fauzia Bayramova, Ibrahimov had published more than 280 articles and books. See, Fauzia Bayramova, "Gabdrashid Ibrahimovning Millat ham Islam Useshena Kertkan Oleshe," (paper was presented in the Conference of "XIX-XX Gasirlarda Torki-Tatar Donyasining Kurenekle Eshleklelare Ham Alarning Seber Tatarlari Tormishinda Totkan Rollare," 30 November, 2008, Tobolsk, Russia).

¹⁰ The number of works written by Jārullāh varies by different scholars. For instance, Abdullah Battal-Taymas, the first biographer of Jārullāh, mentioned the titles of 47 books published by the scholar, see Abdullah Battal-Taymas, *Musa Carullah Bigi: Kişiligi, fikir hayatı ve eserleri*, (Istanbul: M. Sıralar Matbaası, 1958). Yusuf Uralgiray in his introduction to the translation of *Uzun Günlerde Oruç* gave a list of 122 works of Musa Jārullāh, see Musa Jārullāh, *Uzun Günlerde Oruç: İctihad Kitabı*, translated from Old Turkic by Yusuf Uralgiray (Ankara: Kazan Türkleri Kultur ve Yardimlaşma Dergeni Yayınları, 1975), vii-viii. According to Ahmet Kanlıdere, the amount of published works of Musa Jārullāh is 64: Ahmet Kanlıdere, "Musa Carullah'in Eserleri Hakkında Yeni Bilgiler" in *Ölümlüün 50. Yıldönümünde Musa Carullah Bigief (1975-1949): I.Uluslararası Musa Carullah Bigief Sempozyumu*, (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2002), 224.

¹¹ In fact, many Russia's Muslim intellectuals were directly influenced by Pan-Islamic ideas of Jamāl al-Din al-Afghānī during his trip to Russia in 1886-1887. While the thinker stayed in Saint-Petersburg for eighteen or nineteen months, he regularly met with Muslim Tatar intellectuals, and wrote articles for Russian newspapers about the politics of Turkey, Russia, England, Iran and Afghanistan. He even became a member of St. Petersburg's Geographic Society. Such active participation of al-Afghānī in local intellectual, political and social lives resulted in popularization of his Pan-Islamic ideas among Russia's Muslim intellectuals, who later played a vital role in formulating dominant ideas of the beginning of the twentieth century, including the concept of uniting all-Turkic speaking Muslims, Pan-

Jārullāh took private classes from Shaykh Muḥammad Bakhit al-Muti‘ī (died in 1935),¹² met with Muḥammad ‘Abdūh (1849-1905) and corresponded with Muḥammad Farid Wajdī (1875-1954).¹³

Ismail Gaspralı (1851-1914; Gasprinskii in Russian version) was the person who made the first practical effort towards such a unity. Born in a Crimean village near Bakhchesaray (former seat of the ruling Crimean Khans), Gaspralı would mature into the activist who in 1907 proposed the first global Muslim Congress in Cairo. By concentrating on economic, cultural and educational aspects of the unity of Muslims, Gaspralı promoted a new wave of calling for unity among intellectuals of the Near East, who previously were concentrating largely on political dimension of the union.

Gaspralı was educated in Russian schools, lived for a few years in Moscow as a teenager, resided in Paris in the mid-1870s, traveled extensively within the Russian Empire and had frequent contacts with Russian public officials.¹⁴ He even served as the mayor of Bakhchesaray between 1878-1884. Throughout his life, Gaspralı published innumerable books, brochures, essays, and collections with the purpose of benefiting the Muslims; the most useful piece among them was *Terjüman*, or *Interpreter*, a Turkic newspaper published continuously in Bakhchesaray from 1883 until several years after his death. In reality, Gaspralı’s *Terjüman* was the only vehicle to prepare and train Muslim writers, typesetters, proofreaders and even ordinary readers of Russia during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

Turkism.

¹² Student and follower of the ideas of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, and a close friend of Muḥammad ‘Abduh.

¹³ Ahmet Kanlıdere, *Reform within Islam: The Tajdid and Jadid Movement among the Kazan Tatars*, (Istanbul: Eren, 1997), 38.

¹⁴ Edward J. Lazzerini, “Ismail Bey Gasprinskii (Gaspıralı); The Discourse of Modernism and the Russian” in *Tatars on the Crimea: Their Struggle for Survival*, edited by Edward Allworth (UK: Duke University Press, 1988), 152.

The time scope of the research is confined to twenty-five years of the Pan-Islamic developments in Russia, starting with the First Russian revolution of 1905 and concluding with the accomplishment of the absolute totalitarian Soviet regime in the 1930s. However, the study does not aim at elaborating the entire Pan-Islamic activities that occurred in the vast territory of the Russian Empire during that particular scope of time. Rather, it embraces mainly the Pan-Islamic developments happened in the central parts of the empire, including the significant Russian cities of Moscow, Saint Petersburg and Nizhny Novgorod, and the Volga-Urals basin, the home of the Volga Tatars,¹⁵ the leading Muslim community of Russia.

In addition, there are several identical terms to express the idea of Muslims' unity. One of them is the term 'Ittiḥād al-Islām,' which became 'Islam Birliḡi' in Republican Turkish. It was generally rendered as 'Waḥdat al-Islām' in Arabic, later as 'Jāmi'at al-Islām.' Yet, the most common term among them in modern scholarship, perhaps, is 'Pan-Islamism' or simply 'Islamism.' All these terms are identical and mean 'Unity of Muslims' or 'Islamic Union.' In this study, I mainly use the terms 'Unity of Muslims,' 'Islamic Union,' 'Pan-Islamism' and 'Ittiḥād al-Islām' synonymously.

Also, in the Russian context the entire subject of Islamic revivalist and reform movement was conceptualized under the term 'Pan-Islamism' or 'Pan-Turkism.' The Tsarist authorities used these two terms to describe the social, political, religious, educational and economic awakening of Russia's Muslims in the beginning of the twentieth century. The Muslim masses called the entire development with the term

¹⁵ The Volga Tatars are the largest subgroup of the Tatars, native to the Volga-Urals basin. The majority of them are the Qazan (Kazan) Tatars, who live in the historical territory of the Qazan Khanate which existed between the years 1438 and 1552. Quite often, the terms 'Volga Tatars' and 'Qazan Tatars' are used synonymously.

‘Ittifāq,’ while the Muslim educated circles used the term ‘Ittihād al-Islām’ to express the idea of Islamic unity. Thus, the term ‘Pan-Islamism’ or ‘Ittifāq’ in the case of Russia bears a broader meaning, embracing a large-scale movement of socio-political and religio-cultural awakening of the Muslim population in the beginning of the twentieth century.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The mainstream literature on Pan-Islamism generally holds the view that the idea of unity of world-wide Muslims was formulated in the second half of the nineteenth century by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Sultan Abdulhamid II in the face of European Imperialism as a consequence of modern educational system and spread of Western ideas such as liberalism, freedom and nationalism among the Muslim nations.

Kemal Karpat in his recent book entitled *The Politicization of Islam* noticed that Pan-Islamism had no parallel in Islamic history. He identified Pan-Islamism and also Pan-Turkism as “integrative nationalist movements of self-defense,” born in nineteenth century Russia as “part of the process of nation formation and the rise of nationalism among the Muslims there.”¹⁶

This view of Pan-Islamism as a nationalist movement was proposed earlier by a number of noteworthy Orientalist scholars. Harvard University's formidable Professor Hamilton A.R. Gibb, for instance, identified ideas of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī as “Pan-Islamic nationalism,”¹⁷ while another scholar Nikki R. Keddie

¹⁶ Karpat, *Politicization of Islam*, 68-69.

¹⁷ H.A.R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, (USA: The University of Chicago Press, 1947), 119.

defined them as “Proto-nationalism.” For the latter, nationalism and Pan-Islamism complemented one another in their “liberationist” aspect.¹⁸

Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jacob M. Landau saw no difference between Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism. For example, in his famous work, *Pan-Turkism: From Irredentism to Cooperation* (published in 1995), Landau presented Ismail Gaspralı, Yusuf Akchura and Ahmed Agaoğlu as Pan-Turkists or even pure nationalists. Surprisingly, in his another work entitled *The Politics of Pan-Islam: Ideology and Organization*, which was published just five years prior to *Pan-Turkism*, Jacob Landau presented the same Ismail Gaspralı as a hero of Russian Pan-Islamism.¹⁹ In the same book, he also observed that famous Muslim intellectuals such as Yusuf Akchura and Ahmed Agaoğlu, being influenced by the writings of al-Afghānī, were all active in promoting Pan-Islamic activities in Russia. Moreover, in 1990 he identified All-Russian Muslim Congresses as a genuine Pan-Islamic development,²⁰ while in 1995, by stressing on the point that gathered Russia’s Muslims called on unification under the common Turkic language, defined these meetings as Pan-Turkic.²¹

In 1971 Alexandre Bennigsen, the notable scholar on Islam in the former Soviet Union, also remarked that “There was never, in pre-revolutionary Russia, any conflict between pan-Turkism and pan-Islamism similar to the conflict which we found in the Ottoman Empire between pan-Turkism and pan-Islamism, or in the Arab

¹⁸ Nikki R. Keddie, “Pan-Islam as Proto-Nationalism,” *The Journal of Modern History*, vol.41, no.1 (March 1969), 20-21.

¹⁹ Jacob Landau, *The Politics of Pan-Islam: Ideology and Organization*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 146-156.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 152-161.

²¹ Jacob Landau, *Pan-Turkism: From Irredentism to Cooperation*, (London: Hurst & Company, 1995), 11-16.

world between pan-Arabism and pan-Islamism. Such a conflict would have been unimaginable in Russia.”²²

Then, does this complementary nature of these two Pan movements, i.e. Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism, provide enough proof to consider Pan-Islamism as a formative period in the emergence of nationalism among the Muslims of Russia?

In his classical work entitled *Islam Assembled* Martin Kramer, the most influential historian on the Middle East, classified the ideology of Pan-Islamism not as a formative period in the emergence of nationalism, but a continuation of the traditional technique Muslim rulers used to generate world-wide Muslim support for the caliphate. Kramer subsequently concluded that the aim of the emissaries, send by the Osmanlı Sultan Abdulhamid II to different parts of the Muslim world “ultimately remained as conservative as the doctrine which he was employed to propagate.” The Osmanlı ambassadors, Kramer underlined, “pursued not an exchange of ideas, but the propagation of a set of fixed principles about the nature of political and religious authority in Islam.”²³

Consequently, in order to comprehend Pan-Islamism more precisely, the research responds to the following questions:

1. What were the main factors behind the emergence of Pan-Islamism in the Muslim world in general and in Russia in particular?
2. Can I view the ideology of Pan-Islamism as a modern European-type movement of liberation and change? Are there any interrelations between Pan-Islamism and the Qur’ānic concept of unity of the Muslim *ummah*?

²² Alexandre Bennigsen, “Islamic or Local Consciousness among Soviet Nationalities” in *Soviet Nationality Problems*, edited by Edward Allworth (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 177.

²³ Martin Kramer, *Islam Assembled: The Advent of the Muslim Congresses*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 9.

3. Based on the complementary nature of ideologies of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism, can I consider Pan-Islamism as a part of the process of nation formation or the beginning of nationalism in the Muslim world?
4. Was the decay of Pan-Islamic movement in Russia a natural development? What was the role of the Soviet policies in that decay? Did the ideas of unity disappear completely?

By addressing these focal issues, the research evaluates the emergence of the Pan-Islamic movement among Russia's Muslims and its development in the first three decades of the twentieth century.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

The research is significant for the following reasons:

Firstly, the existing literature on Pan-Islamic ideas in Russia, the main factors behind its development and its relationship with the world-wide Pan-Islamic movement heavily depends on secondary sources. These works are mainly written by scholars who have no knowledge of the native language of Russia's Muslims or application of archival sources. This present study on Pan-Islamism in Russia is based on primary sources such as the official records of the Tsarist and Soviet regimes, as well as proceedings and documents of various types of Muslim meetings in the first three decades of the twentieth century. In order to understand the nature and features of Russian Pan-Islamism, the researcher consulted various books, brochures and articles of several Muslim scholars of Russia such as Ibrahimov, Jārullāh, Gasprali and Sultan-Galiev, published in different local and international newspapers and journals of that time. In addition to the uniqueness of this research, it should also be

noted that the political thoughts of ‘Abd al-Rashīd Ibrahimov and Musa Jārullāh have not been studied in an academic manner. Moreover, the research offers a fresh look at the legacy and activities of Ismail Gaspralı and, through analyzing his Pan-Islamic ideas in original sources, rejects the classical designation of him as a pure nationalist.

Secondly, the research challenges the classical approach of studying the ideology of Pan-Islamism. The existing literature in the field is mainly based on the theory of unilineal historical progress (also referred to as “classical social evolution”), which envisages society and man, including his ideas, religious belief and intelligence, as being in a condition of continuous progress. Based on this classical theory, in the 1930s Hans Kohn, who became the “father” of later writers on the development of nationalism in the Muslim world, formulated a belief that Muslim countries were going through a secularization process similar to that in Europe.²⁴ It is believed that the rise of nationalism in the Muslim world coincided with the decline in the hold of religion.²⁵ The idea of Pan-Islamism, according to the most influential scholars in the field such as Jacob Landau and Kemal Karpat, played the role of nexus in that process.

This study also challenges the view that Pan-Islamism is just one initial phase in the growth of nationalism among Muslim nations. By studying the original works and activities of Muslim intellectuals of Russia, it proposes that Pan-Islamism was a part of the traditional *işlāh* and *tajdīd* movement in Islam or a continuation of calling for unity of Muslims on the basis of the Qur’ānic concept of the *ummah*, which repeatedly occurred in Islamic history when the *ummah* was under threat.

²⁴ See Abdullah Al-Ahsan, *Ummah or Nation? Identity Crisis in Contemporary Muslim Society*, (UK: The Islamic Foundation, 1992), 31.

²⁵ See, Emerson, *From Empire to Nation*, 158.

The other original feature of this study is that it links the so-called “secular” ideologies of Pan-Turkism and Muslim National Communism to the Qur’ānic concept of unity of the Muslim *ummah*. In other words, the study considers these movements as an outcome of reconciling the *ummah*’s feelings with modern intellectual and ideological movements such as nationalism, socialism and communism, which were for Muslims living in Russia, unavoidable. The study claims that Pan-Turkism in Russia is a part of Pan-Islamism, calling for unity of Muslims on cultural bases.

At the end, the research challenges the well-established myth in the mainstream scholarship of considering Pan-Islamism as merely an Arab phenomenon and, by studying the spread of Pan-Islamism in a Russian context, verifies its universal nature.

SOURCES OF THE RESEARCH

This study of Pan-Islamism in Russia is based on primary as well as secondary sources available to the researcher. The primary sources used in the research could be divided into three categories: firstly, the Tsarist and Soviet official records; secondly, local and international journals and newspapers in Tatar, Turkish, Russian, Arabic and Crimean Tatar languages published in the Russian Empire, Turkey and Egypt; and the works of Muslim scholars of Russia written in the first three decades of the twentieth century on the topic of unity of Muslims.

The unpublished official Tsarist and Soviet records selected for this study are found in the National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan (NART, in Russian: *Natsional’niy Arkhiv Respubliki Tatarstana*; Qazan), Central Archive of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation (CA FCB RF, in Russian: *Tsentral’niy*