

## **GASPIRALI V. IL'MINSKII: TWO IDENTITY PROJECTS FOR THE MUSLIMS OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE**

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In 1913, an article in a Russian missionary journal compared two “very typical representatives” of Islamic studies in Russia: İsmail Bey Gaspıralı (1851–1914) and Nikolai Ivanovich Il'minskii (1822–1891).<sup>1</sup> Nothing could better symbolize the two opposing points of view about the past, present and future of the Muslims of Russia in 1913. Il'minskii was a Russian Orthodox missionary whose ideas and efforts had formed the imperial perceptions and policies about the Muslims of the Russian empire in the late Tsarist period, while Gaspıralı was a Muslim educator and publisher whose ideas and efforts had shaped the Muslim society per se in the same period.<sup>2</sup> Il'minskii, beginning in the 1860s, and Gaspıralı, beginning in the 1880s, developed two formally similar but inherently contradictory programs for the Muslims of the Russian empire.<sup>3</sup> Schooling and the creation of a literary language or literary languages constituted the hearts of both of their programs. Besides their own efforts, both Gaspıralı and Il'minskii had a large number of followers that diligently worked to put their programs into practice among the Muslims of Russia. As a result of the inherent contradiction of these programs, a bitter controversy developed between what we may call the Il'minskii and Gaspıralı groups, which particularly intensified after the revolution of 1905. In this article, I will discuss the underlying causes and development of this controversy by focusing on the role of language in the programs of Gaspıralı and Il'minskii. Then, I will conclude my article with an evaluation of the legacies of these two individuals in their own time and beyond.

### **Background to the Ideas**

Gaspıralı and Il'minskii developed the basics of their ideas in the mid-nineteenth century. Understanding the social and political developments that influenced Gaspıralı and Il'minskii in this time period will help us to evaluate their works better. Therefore, before proceeding to a discussion of their programs, I will first try to describe the social, political, and cultural environments of Gaspıralı and Il'minskii in the formative years of their lives.

*Il'minskii*

Il'minskii was the son of a Russian priest in Penza. Following an education in the church schools of this city, he enrolled in the newly founded Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy in 1842. Since this academy was geographically close to the so-called *inorodtsy*, the Synod introduced languages of the *inorodtsy* in its curriculum in 1845.<sup>4</sup> From then on, Il'minskii developed a long-lasting interest in linguistics. He later became a specialist on most Altaic languages as well as Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Church Slavonic, Persian, and Arabic.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, since he preferred to devote his expertise and life to missionary purposes, his renown as a Christian missionary overshadows his works in linguistics. Il'minskii had grown up as a devout Christian in close contact with the baptized, Muslim, and pagan non-Russians in the Kazan region. Later, he also spent 2 years in the Middle East and 3 years in Turkistan among the Kazakhs.

The nineteenth century was the time of missionary revival in Russia.<sup>6</sup> Archimandrite Makarius in the Altai region and Archbishop Innocent Veniaminov among the Aleuts had both founded successful missions in the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>7</sup> Il'minskii was aware of the works of Makarius and Veniaminov as well as many other missionaries who founded missions later in the frontier regions and foreign countries,<sup>8</sup> but the general atmosphere in the Kazan region was not that of a revival. On the contrary, the *inorodtsy* who had been forcibly baptized in the eighteenth century<sup>9</sup> were now attempting to leave Orthodoxy in a series of movements that intensified in the years 1802–1803, 1827–1830, 1858–1870, and 1905.<sup>10</sup>

In 1848, Archbishop Grigorii wanted Il'minskii to travel around the baptized Tatar villages in the Kazan region and learn about the actual situation of the baptized Tatars in relation to Orthodoxy. Il'minskii's conclusions, as he wrote later in 1870, were that the conversion of Tatars after the conquest of Kazan was nominal. The baptized Tatars had not learned Christianity properly, and they had remained somewhere between Christianity and Islam. As a result, the Muslims had begun to influence them, beginning in the late-eighteenth century.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, consolidating Orthodoxy among the baptized *inorodtsy* and stemming the power of Muslims became the guiding principles of Il'minskii's work.<sup>12</sup>

*Gaspıralı*

Gaspıralı was born in the Crimea to a recently ennobled Tatar who worked in the service of a Russian prince as a translator. Following an education in a traditional Muslim school, Gaspıralı went to a Russian gymnasium and ended up in the Moscow Military Academy in 1865.<sup>13</sup> Following the Crimean War and the Polish Rebellion, Pan-Slavism and anti-Turkism had become particularly popular in Russia in the 1860s. Gaspıralı had close relations with people who espoused these views and sentiments. It is not difficult to estimate what kind of an influence the anti-Turkish

mood of Moscow had on this Crimean Tatar youth. In 1867, he left his education in the academy to go to the Ottoman Empire and fight against the Greek rebels. Russian authorities intercepted the fugitive in Odessa, and Gaspıralı had to return to Bahçesaray in the Crimea.<sup>14</sup> After teaching Russian here for some time, he spent 2 years in Paris and 1 year in İstanbul. He came back to the Crimea in 1875. In the meantime, he had become acquainted with several Russian émigré intellectuals, including Ivan S. Turgenev, and several prominent figures of the Ottoman Empire. Between 1878 and 1882, he served as the mayor of Bahçesaray, and published a few pamphlets on social issues. His 1879 appeal to the Russian authorities to publish a Tatar language journal shows that he had reached a certain level of intellectual sophistication by this time and wanted to put his ideas into practice.<sup>15</sup>

The Muslim society Gaspıralı observed in Russia in the 1870s was in a destitute situation. Catherine II had adopted a tolerant stance toward Islam after she had annexed the Crimea in 1783, but her “Greek project” and the following colonization had stripped the Crimean Tatars of their means of subsistence.<sup>16</sup> The result was the continuous emigration of Crimea’s Muslim population to the Ottoman lands.<sup>17</sup> While explaining the most massive emigration that took place in 1860 following the Crimean War, A. Bezchinskii wrote: “A rumor spread among the people [the Crimean Tatars] that the government would deliberately cleanse the Crimea from the useless and even harmful Tatar population.”<sup>18</sup> The exact number of emigrants is still unknown, but it is possible to say that the total number of people who migrated from Russia to the Ottoman Empire between 1855 and 1866, including the immigrants from the Caucasus, is over one million.<sup>19</sup> Gaspıralı was a little boy when this great escape took place. When he began to think about the problems of his people in the 1870s, the conditions that led to this escape had still not disappeared. Besides, elites among the Muslims of Russia were either impoverished or co-opted and alienated from their kin. Because of the fear of being Christianized and Russified, ordinary Muslims did not want to have any contact with the outside Russian world.<sup>20</sup> Consequently, they also did not have much contact with the Muslim communities beyond their localities. On the other hand, the outside world was changing rapidly in the reform years of the 1860s, and the insular Muslim communities were gradually losing their ability to exist as modernization accelerated. The only solution they could find—emigration—was either limited for practical reasons or often ended up in tragedies.<sup>21</sup> The Muslims had a strong tradition of education, but the traditional education did not provide the knowledge and skills needed in the modernizing world. On the contrary, it left the Muslims in stagnation.<sup>22</sup> Although there were previous attempts to end this stagnation, particularly in the Kazan region, they remained isolated and did not translate into a general movement until Gaspıralı began his work in the early 1880s.<sup>23</sup>

The contrast between the perceptions of Gaspıralı and Il’minskii may seem striking; in fact, it is. Gaspıralı and Il’minskii looked at different aspects of the situation, and naturally, they saw different things. Il’minskii was concerned with

keeping the baptized *inorodtsy* Christian and spreading Orthodoxy further. The Muslim and baptized Tatars lived close to each other, and the Muslim Tatars influenced their baptized kin through traditional every day relations.<sup>24</sup> This was enough for Il'minskii to think that "the kingdom of Muhammed" ruled in the eastern lands of Russia. Something had to be done to put an end to this kingdom.<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, Gaspıralı wanted the Muslims to become active members of the modern society without losing their Muslim identities. This had nothing to do with the local every day relations between baptized and Muslim Tatar communities. "The Muslims in Russia were in a deep sleep of ignorance," recalled Gaspıralı in 1908, and it followed that someone had to awaken them.<sup>26</sup>

### **Development of Their Respective Programs**

Although the perceptions and purposes of Gaspıralı and Il'minskii were completely different from each other, there were a number of parallels in their works. Education constituted the heart of their programs, they both opposed formalism in schooling, and they both gave a special importance to language. Despite these parallels in form, however, the contradiction of their purposes reflected the content of their programs.

#### *Il'minskii*

While traveling in the baptized Tatar villages in 1848, Il'minskii had noticed that the villagers did not understand the Tatar language translations of the Christian texts he showed to them. These translations, Il'minskii wrote in 1883, were in the "bookish Muhammedan language." After further contact with the Tatars, Kazakhs and Turkmens, he noticed that the vernaculars of these people were different from the "bookish" Tatar that the Russian translators had long been using. Thus, Il'minskii "began to consider the vernaculars specially important and indispensable in education and missionary work."<sup>27</sup> Only the vernacular could move a group of people to Christianity. A foreign language could not do this.<sup>28</sup> One of the most important failures of the conversions in the earlier centuries was that the Russian missionaries did not care whether the *inorodtsy* understood what was being told to them or not. Missionaries held liturgies in Church Slavonic, they did not try to teach the tenets of Orthodoxy to the *inorodtsy*, and did not educate native priests. Veniaminov and Makarius had already begun to change these practices, but it was Il'minskii who systematized and popularized reforms such as translating Orthodox liturgy into vernaculars, ordaining native priests, and using vernaculars as the main medium of education.<sup>29</sup>

Il'minskii's educational enterprise began with an unforeseen development. After he returned to Kazan from Turkistan in 1861, he wanted to find a native Tatar speaker to help him with translations. In 1863, he met Vasilii Timofeev, a baptized Tatar peasant, whom he brought to Kazan. Soon after, three boys from his village

followed Timofeev to his living quarters in Kazan. Under the guidance of Il'minskii, Timofeev began to educate these boys in the Tatar language. In 1866, Il'minskii found a strong supporter for this enterprise in the person of Dimitrii A. Tolstoi, the procurator of the Holy Synod.<sup>30</sup> In 1867, first an anonymous article and then an article by Il'minskii related Timofeev's experience in the *Journal of the Ministry of Education*.<sup>31</sup> A loyal group of people, mostly the graduates of Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy, gathered around Il'minskii and founded the Brotherhood of St. Gurii to promote his ideas. As early as 1869, the Russian public had begun to discuss the "Il'minskii system" in the education of the *inorodtsy*.<sup>32</sup> In this system, the children would first learn reading, writing and the basics of Orthodoxy in their own languages. Only after they had sufficiently learned and internalized Orthodoxy would they begin to learn Russian and Church Slavonic. The teachers would be native speakers of the language of the students whenever possible, and the entire schooling would take place in a cozy atmosphere in the Christian spirit.<sup>33</sup> Through his relations with strong personalities like Tolstoi and Konstantin D. Pobedonostsev, Il'minskii could even influence the general government policies about education. Beginning in 1870, Il'minskii and/or his followers would provide significant input into imperial regulations about the education of the *inorodtsy*.<sup>34</sup>

Providing a detailed account of Il'minskii's education system is beyond the purpose of this article. Instead, I will focus on the relevance of his educational and linguistic ideas to the Muslims of the Russian empire. Il'minskii did not see the Muslims of Russia as a united whole. He made a clear distinction between what he considered the nominal Muslims and the fully-confirmed ones. He believed that it was useless to try to Christianize fully-confirmed Muslims like the Tatars and the inhabitants of sedentary Central Asia, but it was worth trying to influence less-confirmed Muslims like the Kazakhs.<sup>35</sup> According to Il'minskii, the degree of closeness to the Tatars was a good indication of a Kazakh tribe's degree of Islamicization.<sup>36</sup>

During Il'minskii's stay in Turkistan, the famous Orientalist Vasilii V. Grigor'ev had convinced Il'minskii that stemming the Tatar influence over the Kazakhs could open the way for their Christianization. In 1859, Il'minskii met an enthusiastic Kazakh youth: İbray Altınсарin. From then on, Altınсарin remained a friend and protégée of Il'minskii. In 1879, Altınсарin became the inspector of Kazakh schools in the Turgai *oblast* and remained so until his death in 1889.<sup>37</sup> In 1900, an official report mentioned the schools Altınсарin had founded under the guidance of Il'minskii as the model to be followed for other Kazakhs, because these schools had spread Russian education and proved to be successful against the Tatar mullahs. Language of instruction in this model was the Kazakh vernacular. The curriculum included Islamic religious education, but instead of a "suspicious and staunch mullah, ... a Kirgiz teacher more or less enlightened in the Russian way" taught the classes, and this prevented the Kazakh students from developing "fanatic and harmful feelings." The Russian language study in these schools was the most important way to bring the

children closer to the Russians.<sup>38</sup> The method of teaching Russian was the “translative method” that Il’minskii had introduced in all his schools.<sup>39</sup> Il’minskii was especially careful to keep the developing Kazakh literary language away from the influence of Tatar.<sup>40</sup> Developing a Kazakh literary language independent from Tatar, he thought, would decrease the influence of Islam and consequently increase the influence of Russian culture among the Kazakhs. In 1870, he wrote: “If the schools of the mullahs will continue to exist [among the Kazakhs], let them teach in the Tatar language and torture the children with the Arabic phonetics. This will in any case be less influential than spreading Muhammedanism in the strong native language. Otherwise, Russian education should spread in the Kirgiz language.”<sup>41</sup>

Unification of the Muslims of the Russian empire was one of the things Il’minskii feared the most.<sup>42</sup> Beginning with the reign of Catherine II, the Russian government had been addressing all the Muslims of the empire in the Tatar language.<sup>43</sup> Il’minskii thought of this as a unifying factor. Developing literary languages from the local vernaculars of different Turkic and Muslim communities could prevent it.<sup>44</sup> The alphabet used had a special role in this respect. The Muslims, including the Kazakhs, exclusively used the Arabic script. From his experience among the baptized Tatars, Il’minskii had noticed that use of the Russian script “sharply separated the baptized Tatars from their Muslim kin.”<sup>45</sup> Although he published a Kazakh language book with the Arabic script in 1861, he later thought that this was a mistake<sup>46</sup> and corrected the mistake by designing a Cyrillic-based Kazakh alphabet in the same year.<sup>47</sup> Although Altinsarin wanted to keep the Arabic script and even published some works using the Arabic script,<sup>48</sup> Il’minskii insisted on employing the Cyrillic script in the Kazakh schools. According to the aforementioned official report in 1900, use of the Cyrillic alphabet had limited the spread of “undesirable and harmful publications in the Muslim language” among the Kazakhs.<sup>49</sup>

According to Il’minskii, the purpose of the Cyrillic alphabet had to be bringing the *inorodtsy* closer to the Russians and not bringing them closer to each other. Therefore, he suggested designing separate Cyrillic alphabets for each *inorodets* people.<sup>50</sup> Although there were other attempts to introduce the Cyrillic script into the languages of Muslim peoples other than the Kazakhs, this did not take place until the Soviet period.<sup>51</sup> In addition to these government projects about changing the alphabets, Nikolai Ostroumov, one of Il’minskii’s most loyal followers and one of the key personalities in the education of the Muslims in Central Asia, continued to apply Il’minskii’s ideas of separating the *inorodtsy* by creating separate literary languages out of their vernaculars. Ostroumov tried to bring out a literary language, which he called “Sart,” from the language of the sedentary Muslims in Central Asia.<sup>52</sup>

Il’minskii did not develop a clear program for the education of Muslim peoples other than the Kazakhs, but still, it is possible to detect some basic ideas explaining his thoughts about the education of other Muslims. Il’minskii approved the Governor General of Turkistan Konstantin von Kaufman’s policy of non-interference in the Muslim schools in Turkistan.<sup>53</sup> The logic was simple. If the state interfered in the

Muslim schools, “‘it would have to concern itself with their blossoming,’ ... and the combination of Muslim ideology and European culture would not only fail to achieve russification but could even become ‘a weapon against the Russian people and the Russian state.’”<sup>54</sup> In 1882, Vasilii D. Smirnov, whom Il’minskii would recommend to Pobedonostsev as a personal observer of the Muslim press in 1890, opposed the introduction of a reformed *medrese* system in the Caucasus for similar reasons.<sup>55</sup> If natural sciences were taught in the *medreses*, they would be Islamized, and this would only consolidate the Muslim worldview. The real question was how to attract the Muslims to the Russian schools, and not what kind of a school the Muslims should have. From Smirnov’s relationship with Il’minskii, we can deduce that they had parallel ideas.<sup>56</sup> Il’minskii found the traditional Muslim schools strong regarding their acceptance by the Muslims<sup>57</sup> but weak regarding their ability to improve the social consciousness of the Muslims.<sup>58</sup> Therefore, the Russian authorities should leave the Muslim educational institutions in their present situation provided that a Russian alternative also existed. This alternative should not have a Christian missionary character lest this would agitate the Muslims, but it should be in the spirit of Russian civilization.<sup>59</sup> If the Muslims attempted to improve the Muslim education system independent of the Russians, it was necessary to limit their freedom of movement as much as possible.<sup>60</sup>

### *Gaspıralı*

According to Gaspıralı, the traditional Muslim schools that taught “no book other than the Qur’an and no science other than theology” were unable to reform the Muslim society in a positive way. On the other hand, the number of Muslim schools was high enough to reach the Muslims of the empire through education, and the Muslim society had a strong confidence in these schools.<sup>61</sup> Therefore, Gaspıralı agreed with Il’minskii about the strength and limitations of the traditional Muslim schools, but his intentions about the Muslim education system in Russia were quite different from those of Il’minskii.

In 1881, Gaspıralı published a series of articles in a Russian newspaper under the title “Russian Islam.” In these articles, he laid out the basics of his future program. First of all, Gaspıralı saw the Muslims of Russia as a united group that professed the same faith, spoke dialects of the same language, and had the same social characteristics and traditions.<sup>62</sup> “Turk-Tatar peoples,” “Muslims,” “Tatars,” and rarely “Turks” were all terms that he used to denote this united group of people.<sup>63</sup> “*Tatar Türkî*” was the language of this “nation,” and only some Caucasian mountain tribes used other languages.<sup>64</sup>

As I explained earlier, Gaspıralı did not see many positives when he looked at his “Muslim nation.” The imperial policies that demanded that Muslims pay their taxes and left them on their own in their internal social life, according to Gaspıralı, resulted in “the social and mental isolation of the Muslims.” The Muslims could not think

beyond their petty local interests. The situation of their mental development, judging from their schools and writings, was not successful either. It was possible to see European influence among the Muslims of other countries, but among the Muslims of Russia, only the Lithuanian Tatars had acquired European culture.<sup>65</sup> Time had proved that Russification, as it was applied until then, was not a viable policy. It was not possible to find any completely Russified non-Russians in Russia; on the contrary, in some places, the Russians had adopted manners of the non-Russians.<sup>66</sup> What was the solution, then? Gaspıralı answered: “unification and moral rapprochement [of the Russians and Muslims] on the basis of equality, freedom, science, and education.” “In a word,” he wrote, “moral Russification of the Muslims can be achieved by raising their intellectual level, and this can be possible only by giving the Tatar language the right to be the language of school and literature. Muslims of Russia have neither science nor literature or press, and I think that it is necessary to facilitate their development. Russian-Tatar schools that are opened in order to teach Russian to the Tatar students cannot achieve this task at all.”<sup>67</sup> Thus, Gaspıralı demanded the introduction of elementary sciences to the traditional Muslim schools in the Tatar language and the support of publications, again, in the Tatar language. In fact, spread of knowledge among the Muslims was so necessary that all kinds of publications in the Muslim dialects should also be supported. Neither the Russian government nor the Russian language would suffer from this in any way.<sup>68</sup> “When we learn our fatherland, Russia, and its system from books in Tatar,” Gaspıralı wrote, “then you can feel sure that we will have the will and opportunity to fill your gymnasiums and universities in order to work together with you in the fields of life and science.” Otherwise, the Muslims would never understand the Russians and keep escaping from them.<sup>69</sup>

In 1883, Gaspıralı finally received permission to publish a newspaper: *Tercüman* or *Perevodchik* in its Russian version, both meaning “translator.” The permission stipulated that the newspaper should be a bilingual publication in Russian and Tatar. Although there had been previous attempts by the Muslims of Russia to publish periodicals, none of these attempts had yielded a lasting and substantial result.<sup>70</sup> *Tercüman*’s first issue came out on the 100th anniversary of the annexation of the Crimea. From the very beginning, Gaspıralı adopted a cautious tone, which enabled him to publish his newspaper without interruption for 31 years until his death. *Tercüman* is the best example of the language that Gaspıralı considered the common literary language of the Muslims of Russia. It was a simplified form of literary Ottoman Turkish with occasional Crimean Tatar expressions. In addition, when he addressed a certain group of Muslims, Gaspıralı would also use some expressions from their tongue. *Tercüman* was published in the Arabic script. The lack of characters for most of the vowels was a drawback of the Arabic script, as Il’minskii had also noted,<sup>71</sup> but Gaspıralı used this situation to cover some of the differences in the pronunciations of different Muslim groups in Russia.<sup>72</sup> Gaspıralı was a prolific writer. Aside from *Tercüman* and many manuscripts, he published a few other



periodicals; but the impact of *Tercüman* not only among the Muslims of Russia but also in the entire Turkic world cannot be exaggerated.<sup>73</sup> The famous historian and Bashkir political leader Zeki V. Togan relates that the most prestigious personalities among the Muslims of Russia had all followed *Tercüman*.<sup>74</sup>

Gaspıralı's second reform was the improvement of traditional Muslim schools. According to Ostroumov, the traditional *mekteb* was a place where the "child-like characteristics" of children were blunted.<sup>75</sup> In these schools, the children memorized the alphabet, but "acquisition of functional literacy was not the goal" of schooling.<sup>76</sup> The students learned the names of the letters, but not the sounds they represented. As a result, it was possible that they would remain functionally illiterate after years of study.<sup>77</sup> The Russian Orientalist Nil S. Lykoshin called this "Not Education but Torture" (*Muchenie, a ne uchenie*). He described the buildings where this education took place as unsuitable, dark, cold, and stifling places.<sup>78</sup> On the other hand, the *medreses* were not efficient either. The education in a *medrese* could continue for more than 20 years, and the student would graduate without even learning Arabic, which constituted the heart of *medrese* education.<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, more than 16,000 *mektebs* and 214 *medreses* in the late nineteenth century represented a strong commitment to education and a solid basis for a dynamic society after a well-planned reform.<sup>80</sup>

Gaspıralı called the system he introduced to the *mektebs* "*usûl-i cedid*," that is, "new method."<sup>81</sup> The most important aspect of *usûl-i cedid* was a shift to the phonetic method. In this way, Gaspıralı succeeded in shortening the time a student began to read and write to approximately 40 days. Then he regularized the duration of education and the curriculum and improved the class atmosphere.<sup>82</sup> Finally, he introduced subjects that had not been in the *mekteb* curriculum before his reforms. Aside from Qur'anic recitation and the basic principles of Islam he began to teach basic arithmetic, geography, and history.<sup>83</sup> Gaspıralı opened the first *cedid* school in 1884 in Bahçesaray. This was not the first attempt to reform the Muslim schools in Russia, but it was the one that yielded the most significant results.<sup>84</sup> In 1908, there were approximately 6,000 reformed schools in Russia according to Gaspıralı. Although fully enlightening the students in the short period they attended these schools was not possible, it was still possible to instill a love for further learning in their hearts. These children continued their studies with this love, and many of the graduates of *cedid* schools had successful careers.<sup>85</sup>

### The Clash Prior to 1905

Gaspıralı and Il'minskii were perceptive enough to notice the challenge of each other's efforts. Il'minskii was in a better situation to express his ideas. In his public works he frequently wrote about the danger of "Tatarization" with which he meant the influence of Muslim Tatars over other *inorodtsy*, while in his personal correspondence he more openly and directly accused Gaspıralı and urged the authorities to

take precautions against him.<sup>86</sup> The best-known and most frequently cited example of this correspondence is Il'minskii's letters to Pobedonostsev, which were published in 1895, 4 years after Il'minskii's death.<sup>87</sup>

Il'minskii's first warning to Pobedonostsev about Gaspıralı was in December 1883, 8 months after the first appearance of *Tercüman*. He wrote that Gaspıralı wanted to unite the millions of Muslims under Russian sovereignty "from the Crimea to the Caucasus and Central Asia" with science and civilization, and that his language was borrowed from the newspapers of İstanbul.<sup>88</sup> After receiving more information from his student in Turkistan, Ostroumov, Il'minskii continued to warn Pobedonostsev in February 1884:

Gasprinskii, the publisher of *Tercüman* (*perevodchik*) in Bahçesaray, has this aim: first, to spread among the Muslims of the Russian empire European enlightenment on a Muhammedan basis, coloring European education with Muhammedan ideas; second, to unite and rally the millions of wide-spread Muhammedan peoples of Russia with different tongues (example—German unification); third, to sow a Turkish germ among all the Muslims of Russia, the Ottoman language.<sup>89</sup>

In 1889, Il'minskii read an open letter to *Tercüman* in a local Kazakh newspaper published in Akmolinsk. He was upset. He wrote to Pobedonostsev, "In the opinion of competent people the Tatar newspaper '*Perevodchik*' revealed its artfulness, direction and tendency during the eight years [sic] it was published."<sup>90</sup> As the former Steppe Governor-General G. A. Kolpakovskii had also suggested, it was necessary to officially restrict this newspaper and unofficially promote alternative publications by "unskillful and uneducated translators."<sup>91</sup>

Il'minskii died in 1891. In his farewell address, Pobedonostsev wrote: "He [Il'minskii] vigilantly followed the Muslim propaganda that strengthened in the recent times in our near and far East and the service of his timely warnings cannot be exaggerated."<sup>92</sup> The influence of Il'minskii's followers gradually decreased with the rise of a relatively secular and ethno-nationalist educated society in Russia, but they still enjoyed considerable power until the end of the imperial regime. The Brotherhood of St. Gurii continued its activities under the leadership of Il'minskii's adopted son Nikolai A. Bobrovnikov.<sup>93</sup> Besides, a number of Il'minskii sympathizers occupied key decision-making positions on the education of Muslims in Russia. According to my research, there was no personal communication between Gaspıralı and Il'minskii, but Gaspıralı got into contact with the followers of Il'minskii, and it is possible to make some comments on Gaspıralı's ideas about Il'minskii and his system based on these contacts.

Gaspıralı's first reference to the Il'minskii system was in his "Russian Islam." While demanding the recognition of Tatar as the language of education in Muslim schools, he stated that the Ministry of Education had also recognized the importance of native language in education.<sup>94</sup> This was a rather vague reference to the regulations of 1870, which were promulgated following a debate over the Il'minskii system and had sanctioned the use of native languages in the government schools for the

*inorodtsy*. In relation to the Muslim schools, the emphasis of the 1870 regulations was on the introduction of Russian language classes in the *mektebs*, but still, the general insistence of the Il'minskii system on native languages provided some support to Gaspıralı's ideas.<sup>95</sup>

By the 1890s, Gaspıralı had secured considerable support for his school system among the Muslims of European Russia. Now, he wanted to expand *usûl-i cedid* to the rest of the empire. In 1892, he sent a memorandum to the Governor-General of Turkistan and suggested the introduction of *usûl-i cedid* in Turkistan, because the 2-year programs of this system were short enough to leave sufficient time for the study of Russian language as opposed to the 6-year programs of traditional *mektebs*.<sup>96</sup> The Governor-General passed the plan on to Ostroumov and the Orientalist Vladimir P. Nalivkin. Both Ostroumov and Nalivkin agreed with Gaspıralı on the content of his suggestions, but still, they responded negatively to the Governor-General's inquiry. "In the matter of the education of *inorodtsy* in Russia," Ostroumov wrote, "we need the direction of a Russian member of the Ministry of Education, not that of a Tatar *inorodets*." The solution was to provide education "in the spirit of Russian state interests," using administrative regulations, inspections, and censorship to ensure compliance.<sup>97</sup> Nalivkin's argument was similar to that of Ostroumov, though less enthusiastic.<sup>98</sup> The Governor-General ignored the memorandum, did not answer Gaspıralı, and filed the report. Gaspıralı traveled to Central Asia in 1893, and opened a *cedid* school. During this trip he also met with Ostroumov to ask for his support. Gaspıralı probably did not know how Ostroumov had responded to the Governor-General's inquiry. The school Gaspıralı opened closed soon after.<sup>99</sup>

In 1905, Gaspıralı once again tried to find support from the Russian authorities. Shortly before the revolution of 1905, the Minister of Education, V. G. Glazov, convened a commission to discuss the question of schools for non-Russians.<sup>100</sup> Gaspıralı presented a petition to the commission. He wrote that though 30,000 schools were necessary for the education of 15 million Muslims in Russia, the government had only opened less than 300 during the previous 70 years. It was apparent that the government lacked the funds to open so many schools, however, it would be possible if the Muslims themselves supported the schools. On the other hand, the present government schools were unable to gain the support of the Muslims, because the classes were held in Russian and the students could not understand anything. The average student graduated "without any intellectual development." "For the intellectual enlightenment of the Muslims of Russia," it was necessary to follow Il'minskii's ideas and use the native language of the children. Only then would the Muslims support government schools.<sup>101</sup>

Members of the 1905 commission, also known as the "Budilovich Commission," were all supporters of Il'minskii, including Ostroumov and Bobrovnikov.<sup>102</sup> Contrary to what Il'minskii had suggested, the commission decided that the Il'minskii system as it was applied to the baptized *inorodtsy* should be used for all non-Russians with some room for certain amendments to comply with local necessities. The first year

should be fully in the vernacular. Russian should enter the curriculum as a subject of study in the second year, and only in the third year could the language of instruction become Russian. With regard to the Muslims, the commission stated that the Il'minskii system had full respect for the students' beliefs. Therefore, it allowed religious education in the Muslim schools, but taking into consideration that this would not bring the Muslims close to the Russian people, basic subjects such as natural and social sciences should also be in the curriculum. It was necessary to prepare books for the Muslims in their local languages with Cyrillic scripts so that the common alphabet would serve as a path to Russian books, the Russian language and the Russian outlook on the world.

With regard to the *mektebs* and *medreses*, the commission first recommended the authorities not to intervene in the internal affairs of the Muslims, but then it listed a number of requirements for the Muslim schools. The mullahs should know Russian and be of the same nationality as the students. The language of instruction should be the native language spoken in the child's house and not "artificial Tatar." The education should not encourage opposition against the state. The schools should open with the permission of the Ministry of Education. The mullahs should submit statistical data about the students each year. The curriculum of *mektebs* should include Russian and basic subjects like mathematics. The purpose of teaching Russian should be bringing the Muslims closer to Russian education and instilling the feeling of "patriotic solidarity" in their hearts.<sup>103</sup>

Since *usûl-i cedid* was only recently and gradually making its way into Central Asia, most of the *cedid* teachers in this region were Tatars from European Russia. Aside from other restrictions, it was apparent that the condition of "same nationality" was intended to limit Tatar influence. Non-interference was not working anymore, because the Muslim schools had gone through an internal reform and had begun to improve the social and political consciousness of the Muslims. After the Budilovich Commission, the followers of Il'minskii would try to limit the influence of the Muslim reformers, "using administrative regulations, inspections, and censorship to ensure compliance," as Ostroumov had suggested to the Governor-General of Turkistan in 1892.<sup>104</sup> An additional measure was to take advantage of the conflict between the traditionalist opposition that had begun to develop among the Muslim clergy against Gaspıralı's reforms and support the traditionalists against the reformers.<sup>105</sup> These may seem to be a diversion from the non-interference policy Il'minskii had adopted in the 1860s, but what happened is rather an adaptation of the old system to the new conditions, because the purpose of limiting social and political consciousness of the Muslims remained unchanged. The Budilovich Commission's suggestions were approved as regulation in 1906. Because of the opposition from the Muslims, the Ministry of Education had to drop the provisions regarding the use of Cyrillic script in school materials, "Russian classes in the Muslim confessional schools, the requirement that mullahs know Russian, and ministry inspection of confessional schools." However, the requirement that the mullahs should be of the

same nationality as students remained.<sup>106</sup>

From Gaspiralı's references to Il'minskii before the revolution of 1905, it is possible to see that he refrained from attacking Il'minskii and even tried to use some of Il'minskii's ideas to support his own arguments. In the liberal atmosphere of the years following the revolution of 1905, he could speak more openly. In 1908, he wrote that it was necessary to be cautious before 1905 because of the opposition of Il'minskii and his followers "who did not accept the Tatar, Bashkir, Kirgiz, and Sart children to the same schools and tried to separate them." But the conditions had changed by 1908. Now, Gaspiralı could even criticize the regulations of the Ministry of Education. According to him, the ministry had made a mistake by defining native language as the language spoken in the child's house. Accepting this position would require instruction in the languages of each city or region. The native language of the Russian children was the Russian language, not the languages of Volgograd, Kursk, Saratovsk, and Yaroslavl. Thus, Gaspiralı concluded, "Our native language is the literary 'Türk' language."<sup>107</sup>

### **Post-1905 and the Wider Society**

The openness in Gaspiralı's statements was not the only thing that changed after the revolution of 1905. The Russian empire in its entirety went through a period of reform. Several journals and newspapers appeared among the Muslims. Gaspiralı estimated that the total number of subscribers to these periodicals was between 60,000 and 70,000 in 1908.<sup>108</sup> The Muslims had generally not joined the strikes and insurgencies that had paralyzed the empire during 1905, but they had well sensed the approaching administrative changes, and through a number of rather peaceful gatherings, they had tried to bring about a common representative body for the Muslims of the empire. In August 1906, between the first and second Dumas, Muslim representatives from all over the empire met in a congress in Nizhnii Novgorod. This was the third Muslim congress since March 1905, and it was the best organized one. The Muslim representatives agreed on a 33-point resolution on schooling. The resolution stated, *inter alia*, that the education in Muslim schools should be in the native language with the Arabic script. Special importance should be given to the study of "literary Turkish language" in the Muslim secondary schools and, wherever possible, in the elementary schools. The study of the Russian language was not necessary in the elementary schools, but it could enter the curriculum as a subject of study in the secondary schools. Education of all Muslims should be standardized as much as possible. Muslim students should have the same rights as Russian students. In the Muslim teachers' schools with preparatory Russian classes the study of the "literary national language" should improve so that the Muslim teachers could teach in their own language. Elementary education should be obligatory for all Muslim children, and the Muslim teachers should meet in a congress to prepare a standard program of education and materials for use in the

Muslim schools.<sup>109</sup> Muslims of Russia would hold several other meetings in the following years and reaffirm the decisions of this resolution.<sup>110</sup>

The resolution was a victory for Gaspıralı, but the congress also showed tensions that he had not foreseen 25 years before in “Russian Islam.” Gaspıralı had always concentrated his work on social and cultural issues. In the years of the revolution, he had expressed this concentration as follows: “Some thoughts are forbidden to us. Let us leave these to the generations that will come later. Let us form a spiritual unity; let us unite the languages; [but] let others think of political unity.”<sup>111</sup> Nevertheless, the members of the new generation, who to a large extent were graduates of Gaspıralı’s schools, did not want to leave political action to future generations. The Muslim congress approved the formation of a Muslim political party despite Gaspıralı’s initial opposition. Later, Gaspıralı consented to this formation,<sup>112</sup> but the lack of popular support after the initial political excitement of the revolution showed that Muslims of Russia were not ready to support a political party yet.<sup>113</sup> Moreover, the political ideals of the new generation were not always compatible with the unity of the Turkic and Muslim nation that Gaspıralı had in mind.

In 1911, two articles appeared in the biweekly supplement of an Orenburg-based newspaper: “We are Tatars” by ‘Alimcan İbrahimov from Kazan<sup>114</sup> and “We are Turks” by an author who wrote under the pseudonym Türkoğlu, which means “son of a Turk.”<sup>115</sup> The titles well summarized the contents of the articles. İbrahimov wrote; “We are Tatars; our language is the Tatar language; our literature is the Tatar literature; all our affairs are Tatar affairs; our civilization will be the Tatar civilization.” While saying “we,” İbrahimov was referring to the people who are called “Kazan Tatars” today. Türkoğlu did not like İbrahimov’s statements. It was necessary to put an end to these “whims of Tatarism” according to him. After the spread of that “so-called Tatar literature” now a “so-called Kazakh literature” had begun to appear. This was all dividing the common “Türk” people.<sup>116</sup> The Ministry of Education was trying to impose the use of local dialects in *inorodets* schools. This, of course, was harmful to the Turks of the Russian empire.<sup>117</sup> Division weakened the Turks of Russia. It was necessary to end all those wrong tendencies and begin to work for the creation of a “Türkî” literature.<sup>118</sup> Until the very end of the imperial regime, a heated discussion continued between the Kazakh, Volga Tatar, Crimean Tatar, Bashkir and other ethno-territorial nationalists and pan-Turkists in the Muslim press. Language was the key issue in these discussions.<sup>119</sup>

The Muslim intellectuals who entered such discussions always expressed a certain respect for and gratefulness to Gaspıralı, the “old teacher” or the “father,” regardless of whether they agreed with him or not.<sup>120</sup> The very fact that the Muslims were publicly discussing social and political issues was the proof of Gaspıralı’s success in reforming the Muslim society. But the old teacher was in an ambivalent situation. He was happy for the appearance of a flourishing press, but he was upset because of the mistakes made about language. With all due respect to the common people, he wrote in 1912, the literary and scientific publications should not be published in the

language spoken by a Kazakh shepherd. The several Turkic tribes could not become a nation if they insisted on separating their languages.<sup>121</sup>

While Gaspirali found himself in this ambivalent situation, followers of Il'minskii also had a number of things to worry about. Following the edict of religious toleration on 17 April 1905, approximately 49,000 *inorodtsy* left Orthodoxy for Islam in 5 years.<sup>122</sup> Il'minskii's biographer, Petr V. Znamenskii wrote in a work about the Kazan Tatars that the mission among the Muslims was completely paralyzed.<sup>123</sup> In 1910, a missionary congress gathered in Kazan.<sup>124</sup> The atmosphere of the congress was quite gloomy. It did not yield a substantive result other than the publication of a journal to observe and study the Muslim world: *Mir Islama*. Writers of the journal were quick to notice the ideological currents among the Muslims of the empire. In 1913, two articles discussed pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism in Russia. According to these articles, pan-Islamism was losing its influence in the Ottoman Empire and among the Muslims of Russia. On the other hand pan-Turkism and territorial nationalisms were gaining strength.<sup>125</sup> Il'minskii's followers had definitely failed to prevent the development of social and political consciousness among the Muslims of Russia. Local nationalists were opposing a political Turkic unity, but they were by no means closer to the Russians. On the other hand, the mission of consolidating Orthodoxy among the baptized *inorodtsy* with the Il'minskii system was not working smoothly either.

When Il'minskii had first presented his system to Russian society in the 1860s, claiming that the native language is most effective in instilling Christianity and that the path to Russification would be open to the *inorodtsy* once they were sufficiently Christianized, the opposition had contended that the proper way of national assimilation was through language, and strengthening the native languages would result in the alienation of the *inorodtsy*.<sup>126</sup> Thanks to the support of Tolstoi and Pobedonostsev, the Il'minskii system had gained official recognition in those days, but the political composition of the empire had changed significantly by the early twentieth century. In 1897, an article appeared in the *Journal of the Ministry of Education* about a new language teaching technique: the natural method. "The main channel for the *inorodtsy* to approach the Russians" was the Russian language, according to the author, and with the natural method, it was possible to teach Russian to the *inorodtsy* without using their native languages. In this method, the teacher was supposed to teach first by miming and with gestures and then by building on the words that the students had already learned.<sup>127</sup> Soon after, the natural method developed as an alternative to Il'minskii's translative method. It also found supporters in the Russian bureaucracy, and despite the legal recognition of the Il'minskii system with a number of regulations, local authorities decided which method to use in practice. As the imperial bureaucracy became increasingly secularized and ethno-nationalist toward the end of the imperial regime, followers of Il'minskii lost their control in the education of the non-Muslim *inorodtsy*,<sup>128</sup> but their ideas about the Muslims were not that incompatible with the ideas of the new ruling elite. The Il'minskii group had

already been stressing the importance of the Russian language for the assimilation of the Muslims.

In 1908, a “special commission to work out the measures to counter Tatar-Muslim influence in the Volga basin” gave a report to Stolypin. Apparently, members of the commission were followers of Il’minskii. Following a summary of the Muslim reform movement in Russia, the commission related how the Tatars had begun to propagate pan-Turkism openly in Russia and to demand autonomy for Muslim schools, exclusion of the Russian language from Muslim schools, and education in the Tatar language, “Tatar” denoting the language of Gaspıralı. The reformed Muslim schools were legally accepted as confessional schools, but in practice, they were not religious at all. According to the commission, the government should restrict the reformed schools by drawing a clear line between the purely confessional and purely cultural-educational schools. On the other hand, it should also support the activities of the Brotherhood of St. Gurii.<sup>129</sup>

Policies of the Russian authorities toward the Muslims of the empire during the years of reaction following the 1905 revolution show that they had received the message of this report. The archives of the Russian secret police contained many reports about Muslim teachers in these years.<sup>130</sup> The most prominent Muslim political leaders had to leave the country after Stolypin put an end to the atmosphere of freedom that followed the revolution of 1905.<sup>131</sup> A strong assault on the *cedid* schools began in Central Asia in 1912.<sup>132</sup> A new regulation further emphasized the importance of Russian language in the non-Russian schools in 1913.<sup>133</sup> When Russia and the Ottoman Empire declared war on each other in 1914, the official suspicions about the Muslims further increased. Despite all these restrictions, however, both the Muslim affairs and the Russian society in general had passed out of the control of the government by the end of World War I. An article by Bobrovnikov in 1917 constituted the final remark of the followers of Il’minskii about the Muslims before the Bolshevik Revolution. Relying on ample statistical data, Bobrovnikov contended that the Muslims had already attained a high cultural level, that the policy of non-interference would not work any more, and Russification was not possible either. Bobrovnikov’s solutions echoed the suggestions of the Budilovich Commission, and called for more active and conscious government involvement in the education of the Muslims.<sup>134</sup>

## Legacies

This intricate story shows that the social, cultural, and political composition of the Muslims of the Russian empire fundamentally changed toward the end of the imperial regime. The works of two men, Gaspıralı and Il’minskii, were instrumental in this change. Gaspıralı had wanted the Muslims of the empire to modernize without losing their Muslim identities, to contact the outside world beyond their local communities—either Muslim or Russian—to unite culturally, and later, to translate



this union into political action. By the time he died, the Muslims of the empire had begun to modernize in the way he wanted, isolation had ended to a great extent, and a Muslim political movement had appeared in the Russian empire. The Muslims of the empire, however, were divided about the problems of cultural and political unity. Il'minskii, on the other hand, wanted to separate the Muslims of the empire in accordance with their ethno-linguistic differences and assumed levels of Islamicization, to accustom those Muslims whom he thought to be less Islamicized to the Russian culture, and to keep those Muslims whom he considered to be more Islamicized weak and isolated. He died in 1891, but his followers continued his work. They could not stop Gaspirali's modernization project, they could not keep the Muslims of the empire weak and isolated, they could propagate the Russian culture only in a few areas, and the issue of separation v. unity remained unresolved until the Bolshevik Revolution.

The Soviet regime radically changed the lives of the Muslims of the former Russian empire, but no matter how great the change was, their existence still displayed some continuities from the past. Isabelle T. Kreindler has emphasized the relationship between Il'minskii's ideas and the Soviet nationality policies.<sup>135</sup> Focusing her work on the baptized *inorodtsy*, she contends that the works of Il'minskii and his followers about the creation of literary languages from vernaculars provided the cultural background for the national consciousness of the *inorodtsy*, and this is parallel to the "indigenization policy" of the early Soviet period. According to Kreindler, indigenization represents the triumph of Il'minskii's ideas vis-à-vis the Russian ethno-nationalists. I agree with Kreindler about the continuity between Il'minskii's ideas and the Soviet nationality policies, but I have a fundamentally different approach to the characteristics of this continuity.

According to Il'minskii and his followers, the reforms that were to be enacted in the lives of the *inorodtsy* should have been controlled by the Russians and not by the *inorodtsy* themselves. This condition was particularly valid for the Muslims of the empire whom Il'minskii and his followers perceived as a serious threat.<sup>136</sup> This Russo-centrality and the exclusion of the wills of the nationalities from the policy-making process, I believe, explains the real continuity from Il'minskii to the Soviet regime. Kreindler defines nation entirely in cultural terms while one of the founders of the modern theory of nationalism, Ernest Gellner, singles out "will and culture" as the two basic, if not sufficient, ingredients of a nation.<sup>137</sup> Soviet nationalities lacked the will—of the people who constituted these nationalities—to bring out nations. The Bolsheviks had either ousted or "liquidated" the people who would otherwise represent this will. This is why the esteemed Kazan Tatar historian M. A. Usmanov considers the Muslim awakening in the Russian empire before the Bolshevik Revolution the triumph of Gaspirali and the Soviet period his tragedy.<sup>138</sup>

When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, the Turkic/Muslim republics were the most reluctant ones to leave the Russian core. In this respect, the Soviet nationality policies that numbed the wills of the Muslim peoples of the former Soviet Union for

self-rule represent the triumph of Il'minskii's program for the Muslims of the Russian empire. This, however, is not the end of the story. Shortly after the collapse of the Soviet Union, discussions of the Muslim press at the end of the imperial regime reappeared in the Turkic world.<sup>139</sup> The year 2001 was commemorated as the 150th anniversary of Gasprali's birth.<sup>140</sup> As a part of the commemorations, a scientific conference took place in Moscow in November 2001. In addition to historians and political scientists, a number of Muslim/Turkic minority leaders from the Russian Federation also participated in this conference, and placing Il'minskii to a proper place in the history of the Turkic/Muslim peoples of the former Soviet Union appeared as one of the most burning and emotional issues of the meeting.<sup>141</sup> These developments show that the Gasprali–Il'minskii controversy is still going on, and we have yet to wait for the real conclusion of this story.

### NOTES

1. Nikolai Ostroumov, "K istorii musul'manskogo obrazovatel'nogo dvizheniia v Rossii v XIX i XX stoletiiakh," *Mir Islama*, Vol. 2, No. 5, 1913, pp. 316–326. "Ismail Bei Gasprinskii" is the English transliteration of the Russianized form of Gasprali's name.
2. There is a vast literature about the lives, works, and influences of both Gasprali and Il'minskii. The best works in English include the following. On Gasprali: Edward J. Lazzerini, *Ismail Bey Gasprinskii and Muslim Modernism in Russia, 1878–1914* (Seattle: University of Washington, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1973). There is a concise and good discussion in Hakan Kırımlı, *National Movements and National Identity among the Crimean Tatars, 1905–1916* (Leiden, NY: E. J. Brill, 1996). On Il'minskii: Isabelle Teitz Kreindler, *Educational Policies toward the Eastern Nationalities in Tsarist Russia: A Study of Il'minskii's System* (New York: Columbia University, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1969). Unless indicated otherwise, I will use Kreindler's work for the biographical information on Il'minskii. Wayne Dowler, *Classroom and Empire: The Politics of Schooling Russia's Eastern Nationalities, 1860–1917* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001) provides an account of Il'minskii from an educational point of view. Robert Geraci, *Window on the East: Ethnography, Orthodoxy, and Russian Nationality in Kazan, 1870–1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001) discusses Il'minskii at length in relation to his missionary work.
3. Il'minskii's main activity, which is generally known as the "Il'minskii system," was among the baptized non-Russians of the empire rather than the Muslims, but the boundary between the baptized non-Russian and Muslim domains in the East of the empire was rather vague and Il'minskii also developed a system for the Muslims of the empire.
4. "Inorodtsy" is the Russian plural for the word *inorodets*. "Inorodets," literally "that of the other kind," was used to denote non-Russians in general, and more commonly the non-Russian peoples of eastern Russia in particular.
5. This is not a full list of the languages Il'minskii knew. It is only a list of the languages in which he conducted translation works and linguistic studies.
6. James J. Stamooolis, *Eastern Orthodox Mission Theology Today* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1986), p. 28.
7. For the missionary activities of Makarius and Veniaminov see Eugene Smirnov, *A Short Account of the Historical Development and Present Position of Russian Orthodox Missions* (London: 1903), pp. 16–23.

8. For the relationship between Makarius and Il'minskii, see Nikolai I. Il'minskii, "Pravoslavnoe bogoslužhenie na tatarskom iazyke," in *Nikolai Ivanovich Il'minskii: izbrannye mesta iz pedagogicheskikh sochinenii, nekotorye svedeniia o ego geiatel'nosti i o poslednykh dniakh ego zhizni* (Kazan': Tipografiia imperatorskogo universiteta, 1892), pp. 22–29. In 1870, Veniaminov founded the Orthodox Missionary Society in Moscow. See C. R. Hale, "The Orthodox Missionary Society of Russia," *American Church Review*, Vol. 30, 1878, pp. 344–360. This society supported Il'minskii's work from then on. For examples of how Il'minskii followed the Russian Orthodox missions and for the personal relationship between Il'minskii and Veniaminov, see Nikolai I. Il'minskii, *Pis'ma N. I. Il'minskogo k Ober-prokuroru Sviateishego Sinoda Konstantinu Petrovichu Pobedonostsevu* (Kazan': Tipo-litografiia imperatorskogo universitete, 1895), pp. 116–126, 180–187.
9. See Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Les missions orthodoxes en pays musulmans de moyenne-et basse-Volga, 1552–1865," *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 1967, pp. 387–391; and Michael Khodarkovsky, "'Not by Word Alone': Missionary Policies and Religious Conversion in Early Modern Russia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1996, pp. 283–287.
10. Agnes Kefeli-Clay, "L'Islam populaire chez les Tatars chretiens orthodoxes au XIXe siecle," *Cahiers du Monde Russe*, Vol. 37, No. 4, 1996, p. 411.
11. Nikolai I. Il'minskii, "O perevode pravoslavnykh kristianskikh knig na tatarskii iazyk, pri khristiano-tatarskoi shkole v Kazani," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia* (November 1870), Chapter 152, pp. 2–3. Il'minskii's student Nikolai Ostroumov has a similar argument in Nikolai Ostroumov, "Zametka ob otnoshenii Mokhammedanstva k obrazovaniiu kreshchenykh Tatar," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia* (June 1872), ch. 161, otd. 4, pp. 94–95.
12. Il'minskii and his followers developed a similar attitude to Buddhism later, but this remained a secondary issue for Il'minskii.
13. Lazzerini, *Ismail Bey Gasprinskii*, pp. 2–3.
14. Hakan Kırımlı, *Kırım Tatarlarında Millî Kimlik ve Millî Hareketler, 1905–1916* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1996), p. 38. This book is the Turkish edition of Kırımlı, *National Movements and National Identity*.
15. Lazzerini, *Ismail Bey Gasprinskii*, pp. 4–11.
16. See Alan W. Fisher, "Enlightened Despotism and Islam under Catherine II," *Slavic Review*, Vol. 27, No. 4, 1968, pp. 542–553.
17. On the Russian colonization and emigrations, see Alan W. Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1987), pp. 78, 88, 92–93; and Kırımlı, *Kırım Tatarlarında Millî Kimlik*, pp. 11–17.
18. A. Bezchinskii, *Putevoditel' po Krymu* (Moskva: Tipo-lit. T-va I. N. Kushnerev, 1903), p. 74. Prince Menshikov had in fact ordered deportation of the Crimean Tatars to Central Russia in 1854, but this proved to be practically impossible under the war conditions. Kırımlı, *Kırım Tatarlarında Millî Kimlik*, p. 15.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
20. A series of petitions to the Russian authorities in the 1880s from the Muslims of the Kazan region asking for the annulment of the laws that attempted to introduce Russian classes to the Muslim schools and required the mullahs to learn Russian is a good example of this fear and of the unwillingness of the Muslims of the Russian empire to get in contact with the outer Russian world. See *Natsionalnyi Arkhiv Respubliki Tatarstana* (The National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan) (NART) f. 1, op. 3, d. 5881, 5882, 5883, 7797, 7798.

21. In 1913, Gaspıralı wrote: "I would not let even one Turk move from his place in Russia if I had the power to do so, because one emigrating Turk is influencing ten others; he is leaving them in ambivalence, and he himself cannot find salvation in emigration; a homeland is being ruined, but another one is not being founded; nobody gains anything, everybody loses something." İsmail Gaspırski, "Muhâceret-i Muazzama," *Türk Yurdu*, Vol. 2, 1328 (1913), p. 707. Quoted in Abdullah Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri (1856–1876)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1997), p. 69. See also İsmail Gaspırski, *Russkoe Musul'manstvo* (1881; reprint, Oxford: Society for Central Asian Studies, 1985), pp. 28–29.
22. There were two types of traditional Muslim schools: *mektebs*, elementary schools, and *medreses*, higher schools that had an exclusively religious character in nineteenth-century Russia until the reform movement that came toward the end of the nineteenth century. On the function of traditional education in the traditional Muslim societies in Russia, see: Adeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 19–44. Although Khalid's work is confined to Central Asia, the situation in other parts of Russia was not much different.
23. Lazzerini, *Ismail Bey Gasprinskii*, p. xx. School reforms of Şihabeddin Mercanî and Abdülqayyum Nasırî are two outstanding examples of these attempts.
24. Il'minskii, "O perevode," p. 3. For a case study about the impact of these everyday relations, see Kefeli-Clay, "L'Islam populaire."
25. Il'minskii, *Pis'ma*, p. 4.
26. "İsmail Bey Gaspırskiy ile Mülâqat," *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, 27 June 1908.
27. Nikolai I. Il'minskii, "O primenenii Russkogo alfavita k inorodcheskim iazykam," in *Nikolai Ivanovich Il'minskii*, pp. 5–6. Beginning from the late eighteenth century, the Holy Synod had engaged in the translation of Christian texts into the languages of the *inorodtsy*. In 1883, Il'minskii analyzed these translations in a long treatise. He contended that these translations were unsuccessful because they had not paid attention to the lexical, semantic, and syntactic rules of the vernaculars. Nikolai I. Il'minskii, *Opyty perelozheniia khristianskikh verouchitel'nykh knig na Tatarskii i drugie inorodcheskie iazyki v nachale tekushchogo stoleiia* (Kazan': Tipografiia Imperatorskogo Universiteta, 1883).
28. Il'minskii, "O perevode," p. 14.
29. Sophia Chicherina, *O iazyke prepodavaniia v shkolakh dlia vostochnykh inorodtsev* (S-Petersburg: Tipografiia V. Ia. Mil'shteina, 1910), p. 7; and I. Iznoskov, "Pamiati Nikolaia Ivanovicha Il'minskogo," in *Nikolai Ivanovich Il'minskii*, p. 95. Also see Il'minskii, "Pravoslavnoe bogoslužhenie," and Nikolai I. Il'minskii, "O tserkovnom bogoslužhenii na inorodcheskikh iazykakh," in *Nikolai Ivanovich Il'minskii*, pp. 30–40.
30. Dowler, *Classroom and Empire*, p. 63.
31. "K voprosu ob ustroistve uchilishch dlia inorodcheskikh detei Kazanskogo uchebnogo okruga," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia* (April 1867), ch. 134, pp. 75–96; and Nikolai I. Il'minskii, "Shkola dlia pervonachal'nogo obucheniia detei kreshchenykh Tatar, v Kazani," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia* (June 1867), ch. 134, pp. 293–328.
32. M. Neverov uses the term "Il'minskii system." M. Neverov, "K voprosu ob obrazvanii inorodtsev," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia* (December 1869), ch. 146, p. 127.
33. For the details of the Il'minskii system, see Kreindler, *Educational Policies*, pp. 132–150.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 84; Dowler, *Classroom and Empire*, pp. 79–80, 177–187.
35. Nikolai I. Il'minskii, "Ob obrazovanii inorodtsev," in *Nikolai Ivanovich Il'minskii*,

- pp. 18–19.
36. Il'minskii, *Pis'ma*, p. 223. During the imperial period “Tatar” basically denoted any Muslim living in the Russian empire, but it was more specifically used for the Lithuanian Tatars, Crimean Tatars, Kazan Tatars and the Caucasian Muslims. Russians called today’s Kazakhs the “Kyrgyz” and today’s Kirgiz “Kara-Kyrgyz.” The most general term for the Muslims of sedentary Central Asia was “Sart.” One should be careful about this terminology. In particular the word “Tatar” could have different meanings in different contexts. It could mean all the Muslims of the Russian empire in Gasprali’s usage, while it could mean the sedentary Muslims of European Russia in distinction from the nomadic Turkic tribes to their east in a text by Il'minskii.
  37. Nikolai I. Il'minskii, *Vospominaniia ob I. A. Altynsarin* (Kazan’: Tipo-Litografiia V. M. Kliuchnikova, 1891), p. 4. Also see Isabelle Teitz Kreindler, “Ibrahim Altynsarin, Nikolai Il'minskii and the Kazakh National Awakening,” *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1983, pp. 99–116. I should note that this article suffers from Kreindler’s lack of knowledge about the Muslim reform movement that Gasprali had initiated.
  38. Quoted in A. Alektorov, “Iz istorii razvitiia obrazovaniia sredi Kirgizov Akmolinskoi i Semipalatinskoi Oblastei,” *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia* (December 1905), ch. 342, pp. 167–170. In his letter to the Minister of Education, dated 17 March 1888, Il'minskii had also praised Altynsarin’s schools for their success in bringing the Kazakh and Russian students close to each other. NART, f. 968, op. 1, d. 53.
  39. Alektorov, “Iz istorii razvitiia,” p. 187. Jan Ámos Komenský was the first known person to systematize and popularize the translative method. He arranged his books in columns with the same text in different languages. Thus the student would learn by comparing the foreign language with his native language. “Comenius, John Amos” *Encyclopædia Britannica* Online. <<http://www.eb.com:180/bol/topic?eu=25332&sctn=1>> (accessed 6 April 2001). Il'minskii knew, respected, and quoted Komenský. Nikolai I. Il'minskii, “Besedy o narodnoi shkole,” in *Nikolai Ivanovich Il'minskii*, pp. 76–77.
  40. Kreindler, *Educational Policies*, pp. 57–58.
  41. Il'minskii, *Vospominaniia*, p. 192.
  42. Il'minskii, *Pis'ma*, pp. 247–248, 321–322.
  43. Fisher, *Enlightened Despotism*.
  44. NART, f. 968, op. 1, d. 6.
  45. Il'minskii, “O primenenii,” p. 9.
  46. Kreindler, *Educational Policies*, p. 58.
  47. Ingeborg Baldauf, *Schriftreform und Schriftwechsel bei den Muslimischen Russland—und Sowjettürken (1850–1937): ein Symptom Ideengeschichtlicher und Kulturpolitischer Entwicklungen* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993), p. 688.
  48. Ahmet Zeki V. Togan, *Bugünki Türkili (Türkistan) ve yakın tarihi* (İstanbul: İbrahim Horoz ve Güven Basımevleri, 1942–1947), pp. 490–491; and Kreindler, “Ibrahim Altynsarin,” p. 109.
  49. Quoted in Alektorov, “Iz istorii razvitiia,” p. 168.
  50. See Il'minskii’s report to the General Governor of Turkistan in 1876. NART, f. 93, op. 1, d. 93.
  51. *Ibid.*
  52. Togan, *Bugünki Türkili*, p. 501.
  53. Dowler, *Classroom and Empire*, pp. 143–145; and Kreindler, *Educational Policies*, p. 172.
  54. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
  55. Il'minskii, *Pis'ma*, pp. 338–339. Unfortunately Smirnov’s letters to Il'minskii (NART, f.

- 968, op. 1, d. 145) are lost.
56. Vasilii Smirnov, "Po voprosu o shkol'nom obrazovanii inorodtsev musul'man," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia* (June 1882), ch. 222, otd. 3, pp. 1–24. Stephen Blank cites this article as an example of the opposition against Il'minskii's ideas, but I cannot see the point in Blank's argument. Stephen J. Blank, "National Education, Church and State in Tsarist Nationality Policy: The Il'minskii System," *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 1983, p. 476. Smirnov was apparently not in the camp that opposed Il'minskii. His opposition in this article was to a Caucasian school inspector, Semenov, and indirectly to Radlov, whose *medrese* reform plans Semenov wanted to copy in the Caucasus. Vasilii Radlov and Smirnov had also engaged in a quarrel earlier in 1877. See V. Smirnov, "Neskol'ko slov ob uchebnikakh russkogo iazyka dlia tatarskikh narodnykh shkol," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia* (January 1877), ch. 189, otd. 4, pp. 1–25; V. Radlov, "Eshche neskol'ko slov ob uchebnikakh russkogo iazyka dlia tatarskikh shkol," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia* (December 1877), ch. 194, otd. 4, pp. 98–119; V. Smirnov, "Vozrazhenie g. Radlovu (po pvody ego stat'i o rukovodstvakh russkogo iazyka)," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia* (February 1878), ch. 195, otd. 4, pp. 147–156. I did not come across a document about an open quarrel between Il'minskii and Radlov, but apparently they had disagreements on many issues. In a letter to the Minister of Education in 1888, Il'minskii wrote that the Russian-native schools could not fulfill their purpose. NART, f. 968, op. 1, d. 53. Radlov was the inspector of these schools in the Kazan region. Also see NART, f. 93, op. 1, d. 93, p. 60.
  57. Dowler, *Classroom and Empire*, pp. 45–46.
  58. Il'minskii, *Vospominaniia*, p. 192.
  59. Chicherina, *O iazyke prepodavaniia*, p. 8.
  60. See Il'minskii, *Pis'ma*, pp. 174–176, 218–219, 247–248, 321–322, 410–411. See also: NART, f. 968, op. 1, d. 53.
  61. These articles were later published as a book and reprinted in 1985: Gasprinskii, *Russkoe Musul'manstvo*, pp. 63, 67–68.
  62. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
  63. Kırımlı, *Kırım Tatarlarında Millî Kimlik*, p. 46. After 1905, he would more frequently use "Turk."
  64. İsmail Bey Gaspirinskiy, *Tunguç*, 1881. Quoted in Togan, *Bugünki Türkili*, p. 555.
  65. Gasprinskii, *Russkoe Musul'manstvo*, pp. 27–31.
  66. *Ibid.*, pp. 42–43, 46, 50, 61.
  67. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
  68. *Ibid.*, pp. 72–73.
  69. *Ibid.*, pp. 64–65.
  70. See Kırımlı, *Kırım Tatarlarında Millî Kimlik*, p. 40; Dilara M. Usmanova, "Die Tatarische Presse 1905–1918: Quellen, Entwicklungsetappen und Quantitative Analyse," in Michael Kemper, Anke von Kügelgen and Dmitriy Yermakov, eds, *Muslim Culture in Russian and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1996), pp. 239–278; Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Lemerquier-Quelquejay, *La presse et le mouvement national chez les musulmans de Russie avant 1920* (Paris: Mouton, 1964). *Turkistan Vilayeti'nin Gazeti* was published in Tashkent for 47 years between 1870 and 1917, but it was an official publication edited by Ostroumov.
  71. Il'minskii, "O primenenii," p. 6.
  72. Kırımlı, *Kırım Tatarlarında Millî Kimlik*, pp. 48–49.
  73. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

74. Togan, *Bugünki Türkili*, p. 556.
75. Nikolai Ostroumov, "Musul'manskie maktaby i rusko-tuzemnye shkoly v Turkestanskom krae," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia* (February 1906), new series, ch. 1, p. 137.
76. Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, p. 24.
77. Ostroumov, "Musul'manskie maktaby," pp. 130–134.
78. N. S. Lykoshin, *Polzhizni v Turkestane* (Petrograd, 1916), pp. 223–224.
79. For a critique of *medrese* education from inside, see Abdürreşid İbrahimof, *Tercüme-i Halim* (Kazan, 1905).
80. Kırımlı, *Kırım Tatarlarında Millî Kimlik*, p. 53.
81. This term was used in the Ottoman empire before Gaspıralı introduced it in Russia.
82. Lazzerini, *Ismail Bey Gasprinskii*, pp. 185–189. Lazzerini also gives a sample curriculum and classroom plan.
83. Kırımlı, *Kırım Tatarlarında Millî Kimlik*, p. 54.
84. Şihabüddin Mercanî's attempt in Kazan is probably the first one.
85. İsmail Bey Gaspirinskiy ile Mülâqat. Since the *usûl-i cedid* schools were not always officially sanctioned and the Russian empire was not sufficiently successful to keep track of statistical numbers, the exact number of *cedid* schools are not known. Estimates are around 5,000–6,000. What we can certainly say is that there were enough schools to influence the entire Muslim society in the Russian empire.
86. For examples of this usage, see Il'minskii, *Pis'ma*, pp. 396–397 and Il'minskii, "O perevode," pp. 2–4.
87. Il'minskii, *Pis'ma*.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
89. *Ibid.*, pp. 62–63.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 321.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 322.
92. Konstantin Pobedonostsev, "Iz vospominanii o N. I. Il'minskom," in *Nikolai Ivanovich Il'minskii*, p. 111.
93. Sophia Bobrovnikoff, "Moslems in Russia," *The Moslem World*, Vol. 1, 1911, p. 9.
94. Gasprinskii, *Russkoe Musul'manstvo*, p. 65.
95. On the regulations of 1870, see Dowler, *Classroom and Empire*, pp. 62–84.
96. Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, pp. 178–179.
97. Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 180.
98. *Ibid.*, pp. 179–180.
99. For the details of this trip see Edward J. Lazzerini, "From Bahchisarai to Bukhara in 1893: Ismail Bey Gasprinskii's Journey to Central Asia," *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 3, No. 4, 1984, pp. 77–88.
100. For more on this commission, see Dowler, *Classroom and Empire*, pp. 174–187.
101. Quoted in Ostroumov, "K istorii musul'manskogo," pp. 322–326. Altinsarin's system, which used the Kazakh vernacular as the medium of instruction, had a limited usage by 1905. Russo-native schools generally used Russian as the language of instruction.
102. Dowler, *Classroom and Empire*, p. 178.
103. N. Miropiev, "Russko inorodcheskie shkoly sistemy N. I. Il'minskogo," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia* (February 1908), new series, ch. 13, pp. 183–210.
104. See endnote 92. Quoted in Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, p. 180.
105. For the government support to the traditionalists against the reformers, see R. D. Crews, *Allies in God's Command: Muslim Communities and the State in Imperial Russia*

- (Princeton: Princeton University, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 1999).
106. Dowler, *Classroom and Empire*, p. 187.
  107. İsmail Bey Gaspıralı, "Can Yaki Dil Meselesi," *Tercüman*, 25 January 1905.
  108. İsmail Bey Gaspıralı ile Mülâqat.
  109. Arshalius Arsharuni and Khacı Gabidullin, *Ocherki panislamizma i pantiurkizma v Rossii* (Moscow: Bezbozhnik, 1931), pp. 115–116. The expression "*literatumyi rodnoi iazyk*" in this Russian text is misleading. It is the translation of "*edebî millî dil*" in Turkish, which Gaspıralı used to denote the common language he promoted for the entire Turkic world. Although "literary native language" is the literal translation of "*literatumyi rodnoi iazyk*," the correct expression should be "literary national language" for this better gives the meaning of "*edebî millî dil*."
  110. For examples, see "Ma'arif Kamisiyası," *Yulduz*, 14 September 1907, No. 168; "Qafqaz Müslüman Mu'allimler Meclisinin Programı," *Beyan-ül Haq*, 23 September 1906; "Mu'allimler Cem'iyetinin Vazîfeleri," *Beyan-ül Haq*, 15 August 1906; Mekârece Ciyunında Mu'allim ve Şakirdler," *Beyan-ül Haq*, 24 September 1906.
  111. Altan Deliorman, "İsmail Gaspıralı ve Tercüman Gazetesi," *Türk Kültürü*, Vol. 6, No. 69, 1968, p. 655. Quoted in Lazzerini, *İsmail Bey Gaspıralı*, p. 51.
  112. Serge A. Zenkovsky, *Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 45–51.
  113. "Vopros o musul'manskoï fraktsii Gosudarstvennoi Dumy," *Mir Islama*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1913, pp. 101–109.
  114. 'Alimcan İbrahimof, "Biz Tattarmız," *Şûrâ*, 15 April 1911, pp. 236–238.
  115. Türkoğlu, "Biz Türkmiz," *Şûrâ*, 15 April 1911, pp. 238–241. Türkoğlu would write three more articles under this title in 1912: *Şûrâ*, 1 January 1912, pp. 19–21; *Şûrâ*, 15 January 1912, pp. 55–56 and *Şûrâ*, 1 February 1912, pp. 79–80.
  116. Türkoğlu, "Biz Türkmiz," 1 February 1912.
  117. Türkoğlu, "Biz Türkmiz," 15 January 1912.
  118. Türkoğlu, "Biz Türkmiz," 1 February 1912.
  119. For examples, see "Til ve İmlâ Meselesi," *Şûrâ*, 1 February 1911, pp. 79–82; Feyzurrahman Cihandarof, "Qazaq Mekteblerine Dair," *Şûrâ*, 15 February 1911, pp. 92–93; and Ahmed, "Her Kimniñ Ana Tili Özine Qıymetli," *Şûrâ*, 15 April 1911, pp. 232–233. Although the period between 1905 and 1917 is the time when the Muslims of Russia most vocally discussed nationalism, territorial or extraterritorial, the precedents of their ideas were present earlier in the mid-nineteenth century in the works of people like Çokan Velixanov, Şihabüddin Mercanî and, as I try to explain in this article, İsmail Bey Gaspıralı.
  120. See "'Tercüman' Babamıza Bir İki Söz," *Beyan-ül Haq*, 29 May 1906; "İttifaq ve İslah," *Beyan-ül Haq*, 20 September 1906; and Cemaleddin Velidof, "Yine Til Meselesi," *Yulduz*, 1912, No. 786.
  121. Reprinted from *Tercüman* in [İsmail Bey Gaspıralı], "Lisan Gerek Lisan," *Şûrâ*, 1 January 1912, pp. 18–19.
  122. Robert Geraci, "Russian Orientalism at an Impasse: Tsarist Education Policy and the 1910 Conference on Islam," in Daniel R. Brower and Edward J. Lazzerini, eds, *Russia's Orient: Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700–1917* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1997), p. 140.
  123. Petr Znamenskii, *Kazanskie Tatary* (Kazan, 1910), p. 35.
  124. For the details of this congress, see Geraci, "Russian Orientalism at an Impasse," and Frank T. McCarthy, "The Kazan Missionary Congress," *Cahiers du monde russe et sovietique*, Vol. 14, 1973, pp. 308–332.



125. “K voprosu o panislamizme,” *Mir Islama*, No. 2, 1913, pp. 1–12 and “Pantiurkizm v Rossii,” *Mir Islama*, pp. 13–30.
126. Kreindler, *Educational Policies*, p. 80.
127. I. Shatalov, “Russkii iazyk v inorodcheskoi shkole,” *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia* (November 1870), ch. 310, pp. 1–21.
128. About this change, see Wayne Dowler, “The Politics of Language in Non-Russian Elementary Schools in the Eastern Empire, 1865–1914,” *The Russian Review*, Vol. 54, No. 3, 1995, pp. 516–538.
129. “Zhurnal osobogo soveshchaniia po vyrabotke mer dlia protivodeistviia tatarsko-musul'manskomu vliianiiu v Privolzhskom krae.” Quoted in A. Arsharuni, “Iz istorii natsional'noi politiki tsarizma,” *Krasnyi arkhiv*, Vol. 4, No. 35, pp. 107–127.
130. Sherali Turdiev, “La sûretté Russe, les maîtres d'école Tatares et le mouvement djadid au Turkestan,” *Cahiers du Monde Russe*, Vol. 37, Nos 1–2, pp. 211–215.
131. Two examples are Abdürreşid İbrahim, who had organized the Muslim congresses after the revolution of 1905, and Yusuf Akçura, who had acted as the spokesman of the Muslim faction in the Duma.
132. Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, p. 182.
133. Dowler, *Classroom and Empire*, pp. 225–227. This was a blow to the Il'minskii system as applied to the baptized *inorodtsy* too, but it was in harmony with the ideas of the followers of Il'minskii about the Muslims of the empire.
134. Nikolai Bobrovnikov, “Sovremennoe polozenie uchebnogo dela u inorodcheskikh plemen vostocnoi Rossii,” *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia* (May 1917), new series, ch. 135, pp. 51–84.
135. Kreindler, *Educational Policies*, pp. 211–213; Isabelle Teitz Kreindler, “A Neglected Source of Lenin's Nationality Policy,” *Slavic Review*, Vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 86–100. In this article, Kreindler traces Il'minskii's influence on Lenin's ideas to the personal relationship between a loyal disciple of Il'minskii, I. Ia. Iakovlev and Lenin's father. Archival documents reveal that Lenin's father and mother had personally communicated with Il'minskii too. In a letter, dated 28 September 1889, Lenin's mother asks for Il'minskii's help for Lenin's readmission to the Kazan State University. NART, f. 968, op. 1, d. 157.
136. See NART, f. 968, op. 1, d. 43.
137. Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher, 1983), p. 53.
138. Mirkasım A. Usmanov, “O triumphe i tragedii idei Gasprinskogo,” in *Ismail Bei Gasprinskii—Rossiia i vostok* (Kazan': Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1993), pp. 3–15.
139. Being a Turk and having an academic interest in the affairs of the Turkic world, I personally witnessed and continue to witness the appearance of these ideas, and it is impossible to cite all of them. For a few concrete examples, read through the following Web pages: *SOTA Turkic Web Pages* <<http://www.turkiye.net/sota/sota.html>> and *Erk Democratic Party of Uzbekistan* <<http://www.uzbekistanerk.org/>>.
140. See <<http://www.ismailgaspurali.org>> (a Web page designed for the 150th anniversary of Gaspurali's birth).
141. For a collection of the summaries of the works presented in this conference, see Svetlana M. Chervonnaia, *Ismail Gasprinskii—prosvetitel'naraodov Vostoka, k 150-letiiu co dnia rozhdeniia, Materialy Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii* (Moscow: N.I.I. teorii i istorii izobrazitel'nykh iskusstv Rossiiskoi Akademii khudozhestv, 2001).