THE POLICY OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE AGAINST THE TURKS OF ANATOLIA IN TURKESTAN
(second half of the XIX and early XX centuries)

With the strengthening of the colonial system in the Turkestan region, the tsarist administration tightened control over the Turkic-Muslim peoples of the region. At the end of the 19th century and especially at the beginning of the 20th century, new-method schools were opened in Turkestan, which later became the founders of the idea of unity of the Turkic peoples. According to intelligence information, during the study period, citizens of the Ottoman state were actively involved in the region and were subjected to political persecution. The imperial administration promptly studied the scale of the propaganda work of Turkish agents in the region, the degree to which the ideas of Turkism and Islamism penetrated into the consciousness of the indigenous Turkic-Muslim population. From the information provided by the agents, it follows that after the Young Turk revolution in Turkestan governorship, the Bukhara emirate and the Khiva khanate, the work of Turkish residents aimed at anti-Russian propaganda, pan-Turkism and pan-Islamism was significantly intensified. Having studied the main materials, the author carries out a comparative analysis of archival ametriles and comes to the conclusion that the subjects of the Ottoman state carried out Muslim educational activities, promoted Islam and the idea of unity of the Turkic-Muslim peoples. Their activities were based on cultural, linguistic and historical principles. Thus, this article sets the goal of disclosing certain aspects of the activities of citizens of the Ottoman state in the Turkestan governor-general on the basis of intelligence information of the tsarist administration.

Key words: Turkestan, Ottoman state, intelligence information, Turkic-Muslim peoples,
С усилением колониальной системы в Туркестанском крае царская администрация ужесточила контроль за тюрко-мусульманскими народами региона. В конце XIX и особенно в начале XX века в Туркестане открываются новометодные школы, которые в последующем стали основоположниками идеи единения тюркских народов. По данным агентурных сведений, в изучаемый период в регионе активную деятельность проявляли граждане Османского государства, которые подверглись политическим преследованиям. Царская администрация стремительно изучала масштабы пропагандистской работы турецких агентов в регионе, степень проникновения идей пантюркизма и панисламизма в сознание коренного тюрко-мусульманского населения. Из представленных агентурных сведений следует, что после младотурецкой революции в Туркестанском генерал-губернаторстве, Бухарском эмирате и Хивинском ханстве значительно активизировалась работа турецких резидентов, нацеленная на антирусскую пропаганду, пантюркизма и панисламизма. Изучив основные материалы, автор проводит сопоставительный анализ архивных архивных архивных материалов и приходит к мнению, что поданные Османского государства вели мусульманскую образовательную деятельность, пропагандировали ислам и идею единения тюрко-мусульманских народов. Их деятельность основывалась на культурном, языковом и историческом началах. Таким образом в данной статье ставится цель раскрыть некоторые аспекты деятельности граждан Османского государства в Туркестанском генерал-губернаторстве на основе агентурных сведений царской администрации.

Ключевые слова: Туркестан, Османское государство, агентурные сведения, тюрко-мусульманские народы.

Introduction

The peculiarity of the colonial policy of the Russian Empire is that in the conquered territories it not only absorbs the local Turkic peoples, but also considers these places an integral part, glorifying only the Russian language and culture, as noted by the British historian and political scientist D. Lieven: «Where does it end and where does the Russian colonial policy begin?» is still relevant (Lieven, 1999: 299). Comparing the colonial policy of tsarist Russia and the British Empire, D. Lieven argues that the policy of the tsarist administration in the steppes and Turkestan was largely aimed at involving the local population in spiritual independence and turning their lands into the periphery of the empire, which was implemented at the end of the nineteenth century. For the Russian colonialists, the local Turkic peoples were considered secondary, various socioeconomic and cultural events were organized against them. One of them is the prevention of cooperation between Turkic peoples and the removal of the term “Turkic unity” from their consciousness. Expert of the tsarist government G.K. Gins said in a statement that Russia defined the goals of the empire «we are pursuing a resettlement policy of Russian peasants and we need a policy of colonization» (Gins, 1913: 7, 28).

In the second half of the 19th century, the political situation in the colonized Turkic peoples changed dramatically, which was associated with the active policy of military colonization of the Russian Empire in this region. Minister of War D.A. Milyutin, rejecting the need for military action in Turkestan in 1861-1862, believed that «... with the colonization of Turkestan, England will focus on Poland» (Fyodorova, 2004: 311).

The Russian Empire in the early stages of its conquest began to organize the Turkestan administration. Thus, the lands of all Turkic peoples began to be controlled by three governor-generals. These are the governors general of Orenburg, Western Siberia and Turkestan. The tsarist administration began to strengthen the Russian “element” in order to
ensure its viability on the territory of Turkestan, first of all, to control strategically important territories, transport routes and border lines, to provide colonial administrative institutions and military garrisons. The long process of developing the final version of the new «Regulation on the Administration of the Turkestan Territory» was completed in June 1886.

M.G. Chernyaev was appointed as the first military governor of the Turkestan Governor General. The main goal of the interim government was «... to establish peace and security in the new Russian property by defining general principles of governance». All power was concentrated in the army, and administrative authorities were entrusted with control over the Turkic peoples (Otchot po Revizii..., 1910: 6).

Since the 90’s of the XIX century, the territory of Turkestan has become an integral economic part of the Russian Empire. Railways, telegraph lines were built here, cotton was grown, and agriculture was developed. Russian peasants began to inhabit fertile lands under the pretext of the rapid coloniza-
tion of Turkestan.

In accordance with the «Resettlement Project» of 1869, 30 tithes were given to every Russian settler, settlers were exempted from paying taxes for 15 years and loans were granted (not more than 100 rubles per family). By 1910, there were 326 Russian settlements in Turkestan, in which 248,500 people lived (Mission to Turkestan..., 1964: 3).

With the establishment of Russian power in Turkestan, the tsarist administration began to strengthen control over Muslim education and the ideas of unity of the Turkic peoples. The tsarist administration tightened control over the entry and propaganda of Turks from Anatolia, who allegedly conduct propaganda of Muslim education and anti-Russian sentiment. In this regard, in this article, based on archival data, the policy of the Russian Empire against Turkish nationals in Turkestan is investigated. A comparative analysis of undercover information, conclusions and attempted expulsion, denunciations was done.

Anti-Turkish Measures of the Tsarist Administration in Turkestan

The administration of the Russian Empire in the early twentieth century cautiously opposed the arrival of Anatolian Turks in the Turkestan region. According to the current study, the number of visitors from Iran and Turkey has increased significantly: in the years 1901-1910 there were 708,000, in the years 1911-1915 this figure increased to 543,000. This information was reflected in the intelligence information of the tsarist administration. For example, documents collected in the 3rd fund of the Orenburg Historical Archive testify to the growing political influence of the Turks in Turkestan. During this period, the tsarist government noted the influence of the Turks on a number of regions of Russia. Tsarism linked the political activities of the Turkic-Muslim peoples with the arrival of Anatolian Turks in the region and came to the conclusion that the revolutionary ideas of «Young Turks» and «Pan-Turkism» began to appear.

The fears of the tsarist authorities over the influence of the Anatolian Turks were not groundless, therefore the special services sent their agents to areas with a Muslim population that reported «Pan-Turkist» and «Pan-Islamic» activists. For example, in 1870, the governor-general of Western Siberia was informed of the order of a Caucasian immigrant, Haji Ahmed Efendi, who had deliberately arrived from Turkey for political purposes and had previously been deported to Kharkov to be exiled to Siberian Tyumen. In 1876, the city of Turkey was opened on the territory of Akmola region, its passport and documents were confiscated. This type of person was sent to the governing body of the Akmolinsky region with a view to returning to the confiscated documents and a passport, as well as to apply to the Russian, to the unreliable subject. In connection with these requests, the police department ordered the Governor-General of Western Siberia to send the Turkish «subject» to Odessa, and then withdraw him from the border. No information was found regarding the seized documents (ORHA, 13353: 2-8).

The situation of the Turkic-Muslim population in the Russian Empire attracted special attention of the Ottoman state. In the period from 1876 to 1909, under the Ottoman Sultan II Abdul-Hamid, a political system was created aimed at protecting the Muslim population throughout the world and overseeing the situation of Muslims. In Russia, local police reported suspicious reports from the Tsar’s gendarmerie that Ottoman officials were collecting information through a mosque in St. Petersburg. The actions of the Anatolian Turks in Turkestan were alarmed by the Russian government and sought to expel them from the empire more quickly. This is evidenced by documents sent to the Governor-General of Western Siberia in 1872. It says that a Turkish citizen (a resident of Istanbul) conducts Muslim religious sermons among Kazakhs, teaching them Islam and healing Islam, with a passport issued by the Tobolsk governor since 1872. The tsarist government in the
second half of the XIX century came to the conclusion that the attitude of the Kazakhs towards Muslims was weak, that they opposed the religious sermons of the Tatar, Uzbek and Turkish imams and ishans in the Kazakh steppes, and even believed that mullahs and doctors were not needed. His passport was sent to the military governor of the Akmola region, and he was invited to be expelled from the Kyrgyz (Kazakh) steppe to ensure peace and stability in the region. The police chief of the Tobolsk province demanded that these measures be taken on the Russian issue, which he considered dangerous for the political stability of the state. In response to these requests, the Governor-General of Western Siberia stated that there were no obstacles to the expulsion of a Turkish citizen from Russia (Kabuzan, 1998: 350). The Ministry of the Interior has requested the deportation of an unreliable Turkish citizen from the Russian state and a list to continue prohibiting his entry into the empire.

At the end of the 19th century, foreign citizens informed the royal police about visiting their relatives and registering them with local authorities as guests. For example, in one of the documents, a citizen of Tashkent asked to join the Kazakhs upon arrival with relatives. This required a certificate of family size, livestock, occupation, and whether he had previously been a criminal. The interim governor of the Kyrgyz region in Siberia said that the Kazakhs are responsible for this person and are ready to answer him if he causes distrust.

The Turkic-Muslim intelligentsia, which studied in Kazakh, Ufa, Tashkent, Samarkand and Bukhara mektebs and madrassas, especially in the Ottoman state in Istanbul, had a significant impact on the Kazakh people. The tsarist administration believed that Turkic Muslims educated outside the Russian Empire contributed to the spread of Islam in the Kazakh steppes. The imperial administration suggested that Turkish-Muslim youth were sent to the Ottoman state for this purpose and claimed that they received Muslim titles. Most Turkic Muslims were often awarded by Turkey for their religious services, among them Turkic-Muslim religious leaders of the Russian Empire. In particular, there is evidence that the mufti M. Sultanov was awarded the Ottoman Order in 1893 (ORHA, 9679: 21-27).

The Turkic-Muslim intelligentsia, and especially the Tatar schools, were declared «carriers of anti-government sentiment». The police department said that the Volga Tatars had a significant influence on Turkic Muslims throughout the country, because they were people who had close contacts with representatives of the Turkic-Muslim world outside the empire. A similar statement is confirmed by a check conducted by the Ministry of Education in Muslim schools, where handwritten literature in the Tatar language does not comply with the Russian government and its policy regarding the Turkic-Muslim population. It was also found that Istanbul publications also have views that are directly opposed to the Russian people and the state. The results of the checks showed that the Mudaris in Muslim schools are sometimes represented outside the empire and are persons without Russian citizenship (Natsionalnaya Politika..., 1997).

It is worth noting that the territories of the Caucasus and Turkestan were controlled by the Ministry of War in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, since the main problem with the Turks was the allegation that they had a religious education outside Russia and their connection with other Turkic-Muslim peoples. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire also paid great attention to the «Muslim problem». The problem was associated not only with the education of Turkic-Muslim citizens of the Russian Empire in the eastern countries, but also with their pilgrimage trips. To this end, the tsarist government issued decrees on the need to control the Turkic-Muslim population, controlling their pilgrimage. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Turkic Muslims found it difficult to obtain permission to leave the Russian Empire. They passed various checks and as a result achieved their goals. This was primarily due to the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina to the holy places. According to the government, the issue of restricting pilgrimage may be associated with the Turkic-Muslim community outside the Russian Empire. As a result, since 1880, restrictions have been introduced on the establishment of educational institutions, especially on the activities of mektebs and madrassas, as well as on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The pilgrimage issue was under special control of the Russian authorities. The 1903 letter on the Masthead establishes the terms and conditions that allow Muslims to perform the hajj. According to the document, it was initially determined that during the pilgrimage Muslims would have to receive special passports issued by the Ministry of the Interior. Secondly, the Turkic-Muslim population was supposed to return only through the designated ports and undergo special medical and sanitary examinations, which will be recorded in their passports. The governor also ordered the pilgrims to appoint medical supervision. Similar requirements were applied to foreign Turkic-Muslim peoples who came through Russia. Pilgrims who refused the requirements, especially young people studying
abroad, were prosecuted by the local police and all sanitary measures (Alov..., 1996: 122). Despite all the restrictions, the pilgrimage system was practically not controlled by the Russian government, and even the pilgrimage movement was not organized properly, which led to a number of problems and the conclusion of those who committed pilgrimage or who left for a Muslim education.

**The Pilgrimage Problem of Turkic Muslims of Turkestan**

Since the end of the 19th century, the pilgrimage of Turkic Muslims of the Russian Empire was widely discussed in foreign affairs agencies, especially in the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Embassy of Istanbul and the consulate of Jeddah. In addition, the heads of mainly Turkic-Muslim regions, the governors of Novorossiysk, Turkestan, Bessarabia and the governors of the Caucasus participated in the discussion of this pilgrimage. The main reason for this was the Caucasian War of 1818-1864 and the colonization of Turkestan territories by Russian immigrants from the regions of inner Russia, where Turkic Muslims live. State authorities demanded that local officials report the situation with the Turks and Muslims in the country, and they decided that this decision would be made. In the end, despite the restrictive measures imposed on the Turkish-Muslim pilgrimage, the government did not want to issue them passports, because the pilgrimage of the Turkic-Muslims brought significant funds to Turkey, and the money collected was used for military purposes.

Archival documents also show concern over statistics provided by the Russian administration regarding the pilgrimage. According to this information, in 1898, 1795 Muslim Turks visited Mecca. In addition, most of them came from the rebellious region of the Syrdarya, Zhetysu, Samarkand and Ferghana valleys of the Turkestan Governor General. The Russian authorities could not stop the pilgrimage process, as the pilgrims still went to Mecca without a passport. Many agents of the tsarist government show that Turkic Muslims were repeatedly attacked by Arab nomads and Afghan scammers. Turkish newspapers also published on their pages, accusing the tsarist administration of not providing passports, describing the plight of the Turkic-Muslim peoples in the Russian Empire (ORHA, 4291: 56-76).

A number of information materials on the pilgrimage of Turkic-Muslim peoples were published in the newspaper «Tarzhiman». For example, in a newspaper on July 26, 1905, reported that in 1904, 385 people went to Mecca from the Syrdarya region, of which 144 were residents of Tashkent (Abdrasgidhanov, 2011: 155). Researcher V.I. Massalsky wrote that «among the many Muslims making the pilgrimage, the Turkic-Muslim population of Turkestan is much larger». The modern orientalist R.G. Landa said that «9-10 thousand Muslims visit Mecca and Medina every year. At least a third of them are pilgrims from the Ferghana Valley» (Landa, 1995: 132). Former resident of Turkestan M. Mashanov wrote that in 1910 about 20-25 thousand Muslims were sent from Russia to Mecca. Soviet historian T.S. Saidbaev agreed with his opinion, noting that about 20,000 people were pilgrims from Russia to Mecca in the pre-revolutionary period, but also that among the Russian pilgrims were «mostly pilgrims from the Turkestan regions» (Saidbaev, 1978: 107). The above statistics of the pilgrimage of Turkestan Muslims to Mecca is directly related to the question of its political aspect. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the objective process of increasing the Turkic-Muslim religious consciousness in Turkestan as a national motive should evaluate the contribution of clergymen from the Ottoman Empire in the promotion of Pan-Islam and Pan-Turkic ideas in the region.

**Intelligence on Political Activity and Assistance of Turkic-Muslims of Turkestan of Turkey**

Cooperation of Turkic peoples in Turkestan at the beginning of the 20th century is evident from the archival materials of the tsarist administration. On March 20, 1913, S. Beletsky, director of the police department of the Ministry of the Interior, released figures to the heads of the gendarmerie in Turkestan, especially in Zhetysu and Ferghana regions, reporting Turkey’s failure in the Balkan War and Russia’s assistance to the Slavs. At this time, the national liberation uprisings of the Turkic people against the Russian government intensified. The Turkic-Muslim peoples of the Turkestan region spoke of a possible war between Russia and China and sympathized with the Uyghur people in China. Anatolian Turks traveled to Japan and China and called for war against Russia. Beletsky wrote that the ideas of consolidating the Turkic-Muslim peoples of Turkestan are growing, and the «Tus» newspaper publishes a list of financial aid providers to Turkey twice a week. The police department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs demanded that every effort be made to prevent such actions and not to publish information in the Muslim press without the consent of the authorities (CSA PK, 15799: 2-3). July 26,
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1913 in his report to the military governor of Samarkand region, the governor-general of Turkestan A.V. Samsonov was told that recent actions in the war in the Balkans once again inspired Turkic Muslims, who began to raise funds for the Turkish fund. The collected money was brought to Turkey by a former deputy of the First State Duma, Samarkand merchant Tashpulat Abdykalikov, who reported to the Turkish authorities after his arrival in Istanbul (CSA PK, 15799: 10-13).

The period under consideration, a large number of archival materials show that among the Turkic-Muslim population, work was carried out regarding the wide and successful implementation of fundraising for Anatolian Turks (SHA RF, 470). The Turkestan administration could not stop the fundraising campaign, claiming that there were not enough local police officers. Fundraising was active before and during World War I. For example, on February 28, 1914, the head of the Samarkand region in his report to the regional administration sent information that local Turkic Muslims were raising funds for the Balkan war to help Turkey, which had failed in 1913, and that Turkish agents were operating in its area (CSA RU, 979: 29-35). The headquarters of the Turkestan military district on October 18, 1914, the military governor of the Ferghana region, Major General A.I. Gippius sent intelligence that «the Turkish agent Khatib Omar Kazhibek, who used his powers, provided charitable assistance to the Turkic-Muslim peoples for military needs Turkey» (CSA RU, 2: 13-17).

On September 19, 1914, the Russian General Staff, sent as a center of military intelligence, sent a telegram to the Turkestan governor general and the commander of the Turkestan military district about Turkish «propaganda emissaries» (CSA RK, 16680: 2). The Office of the Governor-General of Turkestan and the headquarters of the Turkestan Military District reporting to the leaders of all regions sent an order. The headquarters of the Turkestan military district on September 24, 1914 instructed the authorities to monitor all Turkic-Muslim peoples by checking their passports, especially the Persian consulate in Istanbul, who informed Colonel Prigar, who was the chief of the 6th division headquarters of the district. The regional authorities were ordered to take «urgent measures» without exerting pressure on the Turkic Muslims of the region.

Considering the relationship between religion and geopolitics in Turkestan, it should be noted that Turkey is a prime example for the Muslim world in how to advance in development in the context of Islamic statehood. The question of the role of religi-

on in geopolitics for the Ottoman state has not only foreign policy, but also internal significance. According to K. Marx, by the middle of the XIX century in Turkey there were 13 million, 730 thousand Greek Orthodox, 2 million. There were 400,000 Armenians and 900,000 Catholics (Marks, 1958: 670). He said in Orthodoxy in Turkey that «the parish priest is at the same time a judge, leader, teacher, performer, tax collector and is involved in all factors of civil life» (Marks, 1958: 771). K. Marx emphasized that comprehensive care, control and intervention of the church under the Turks can be integrated into all spheres of public life. He wrote in Turkey that the separation of the state from the church «does not mean the disappearance of the Muslim population, but it is likely that the Orthodox church will be destroyed in the form that is in the Turkish state». Accordingly, the foreign researcher R. Lewis wrote that the Ottoman state is a Christian state of affairs. He informs the Orthodox patriarch that he was a sign of the power of the Sultans, received the title of pasha and a badge with three horse tails. Any Christian can find power in the Ottoman authorities, in the police, in court, in prisons, etc. what can he trust. Lewis says that «sometimes authorities were involved in protecting community members from abuse, even with their shepherds» (Lewis, 2004: 696). For example, academician V.V. Bartold wrote that in the 18th century the Greeks and Serbs could transfer control of Austria and Venice to Turkey. He said that Turkish Christians do not understand European Christianity and that they «prefer to live in Muslim rule without resorting to military service, freedom of faith, language and self-government and low tax payments» (Bartold, 1966: 785).

It is well known that the Greeks who gained independence experienced economic and other difficulties and did not forget that they lived in the Ottoman state calmly and steadily. Most of them returned to Turkey. In the pre-revolutionary period, tens of thousands of Crimean Tatars and Turkic peoples in the Caucasus moved from Russia to Turkey. The same effect was observed among the Turkic peoples of Turkestan. The Turkic Muslims of the Turkestan Governor General, at the beginning of the 20th century, underwent spiritual colonization of the Russian Empire. As a result of the revolution of 1908-1909 in Turkey, when the «Young Turks» came to power, during the revolution they promoted the motto: social justice, democracy, equality and unity of all the peoples of the empire, regardless of their nationality or religion. Nationalist and secular phenomena in the state system are becoming more and more obvious. This principle was approved in the program.
of the Young Turks party in 1908, in clause 6 of which it says: «Every citizen has equal rights and freedoms, regardless of race or religion» (Guber..., 1982: 560). One of the leaders of the Young Turks in 1913, Zia Gokalp, in an article in the «Three Streams of Consciousness» in a Turkish legal journal, stated that «when Turkish intellectuals came to the Ottoman concept of another ethnic group from different religious communities, they did not feel the need inspire Islam, but when the idea of Turkism arose, I began to feel it» (Mandelshtam, 1947).

**Conclusion**

Thus, it should be noted that in the second half of the 19th century, the Russian Empire entered an important stage of migration processes. The main influx of Turks into the territory of the Russian Empire, and especially into the Turkestan region, came from Muslim states. Russian historiography sought to discredit the political activities of the Anatolian Turks in Turkestan. According to them, «these processes (the arrival of the Turks in Turkestan) aroused particular concern among the state, and the Turkic-Muslim peoples of Turkestan began to unite the antipathy towards the Russian administration». Despite all attempts to limit the influence of the Turks on local Turkic Muslims at the beginning of the 20th century, the tsarist administration did not prevent this. As noted above, various Russian publications published the opinion that “the Ottoman state actively used religion and its institutions in the geopolitics of Turkestan during the period under review.” With the subsequent revolution, civil war and foreign military intervention in the region, the fate of the Turkic-Muslim peoples of Turkestan after joining the new Soviet Russia changed radically. Despite this spiritual affinity, common cultural values showed the viability of the idea of unity of the Turkic-Muslim peoples.

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