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One of the unquestionably positive results of the Russian Revolution of 1905-1907 was the emergence and establishment of a new political tradition – Russian parliamentarianism. The revolutionary actions of Russian society in the spring and fall of 1905 obliged the autocracy to proclaim the October 17th Manifesto, which signified in essence the end of absolute monarchy in Russia and a transition to parliamentary monarchy. This transition was lengthy and painful, reluctant and forced on the part of tsarism, but irreversible.

As a result a new institution appeared on the Russian political horizon – the State Duma. During the full extent of its existence, from 1906 to spring of 1917, it fulfilled the functions accorded to it by law, but in addition, the State Duma became a podium from which Russian society was able to legally and publicly express its desires, views, and goals and its own positions on various issues. The State Duma was not unitary and unchanging throughout the entire period of its existence; it was changed and transformed (and not always for the better) depending on the demands made upon it by the autocracy on one hand and Russian society on the other. It certainly distinguished itself from a parliament of the classical West European model. In its own way the State Duma was a copy of Russian society of that era. Therefore the study of many of the problems of that period, especially those tied to the formation of Russian society's political culture, is impossible without a careful examination of the history of the State Duma.

Like any "living organism", the State Duma consisted of different parts: factions, blocs, currents, as well as groups, commissions, and committees, the activities of which to a large degree defined the face of the Duma. A significant one among these was the Muslim faction, in which the majority of the Muslim delegates were united who were elected to and worked in the Duma.

The Muslim faction of the Russian parliament was distinct from other factions and groups no less by its goals and tasks than by its composition. Primarily it was constituted on the basis of confessional affiliation at a time...
when the majority of other groups were formed according to party affiliation (the factions of the Kadets, Octobrists, Social Democrats, Trudoviki and others) or more rarely by national (Polsko Kolo) or ethnic and territorial (the Byelorussian-Lithuanian-Polish group) affiliations.

The Muslim faction played a special role in the State Duma, and it occupied a special place in the social and political life of the empire’s Muslim peoples. Its history is interesting in that it allows us to examine the process of the creation and formation of a separate people—the Tatars—as an integral, though unique part of a common Muslim society on the one hand and of a common Russian parliamentary tradition on the other.

During the Soviet era neither the history of the State Duma, let alone the activity of the Muslim faction attracted the special attention of researchers at the regional level. Therefore this work will be one of the first attempts to offer a general overview of the Muslim faction’s activity and to attempt to determine the fundamental tendencies of its development from 1906-1917.1

The First State Duma (April 27th – July 8th, 1906)

The First State Duma was in session for two months and ten days and held a total of thirty-nine sessions. 524 deputies were supposed to have been elected to the First State Duma, but in fact only 478 were elected and came to St. Petersburg. At the end of its activities there were 499 deputies.2 The party of the Kadets gained the greatest successes in the elections to the First State Duma, gaining 161 delegates who, under the influence of the growing revolution, were also quite radical in their demands. Being the largest faction, the Kadets also selected the leadership: S.A. Muromtsev became the Chairman, P.D. Dolgorukov and N.A. Gredeskul became the Deputy Chairmen, and D.I. Saxovskiy became secretary, all of whom were Kadets.3

Over the course of its two months of work the First State Duma practically failed to adopt any bills. Basically its activities were centered around criticizing ruling policies and specific members of the government, the selection of commissions, and the drafting of replies to the tsar. The central issue of the First State Duma was agrarian.4

Already during the month of May information began to circulate among the lawmakers about the intention of the government to dissolve the State

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3 Vitenberg, "Gosudarstvennaya Duma," 611.
4 Ibid, 611.
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Duma "in case of causing tensions surrounding the agrarian question." And it was implemented on these grounds. The dissolution of the Duma with the July 9th Manifesto was based on the fact that "those elected by the people, instead of working for the establishment of legislation, are leaning into an area outside of their authority."5

Since the Duma was dissolved and access to the Tauride Palace was blocked, on July 9th and 10th a large group of delegates gathered in the city of Vyborg (a suburb of St. Petersburg on Finnish territory), deliberated, and resolved an appeal "to the people from the people's representatives" better known as the "Vyborg Declaration."

The declaration called upon "the citizens of all of Russia" to not to give "a single kopeck to the treasury or a single soldier to the army" until the re-convocation of the Duma. The appeal to passive resistance had as a goal the staving off of a potential revolutionary outburst brought about by the dissolution of the Duma and directing the indignation of the masses into a "constitutional channel." It is true that this action did not have any particular success and the people remained silent. One of the most active participants in the drafting of the declaration, M. Vinaver, a member of the Kadet faction, described the mood of those days in the following way: "not only the capital, but the whole country already knew of the dissolution. And there was no active repercussion from anywhere: the people remained as silent as a tomb... Before us was the naked and cheerless reality."6

The declaration's text was printed in Finland on July 10th as a pamphlet in Finnish and Russian with a press run of ten thousand copies, and then was reprinted abroad. According to some data, around 180 deputies signed the "Vyborg Declaration," and later another 52 people joined it.7

On the 16th of July 1906 a capital case was raised against the subscribers "for spreading a declaration within the borders of Russia on the basis of a conspiracy, thereby summoning the population to resisting the law and the legal instructions of the government." From December 12th to the 18th, 1907, the so-called Vyborg trial was held and the "a special session of the Petersburg Palace of Justice" convicted the 167 deputies to three months in prison (on the basis of a statute that deprived them of their electoral rights

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5 Ibid., 611.
6 M.N. Vinaver, Viborgskoe vozvzanie – Vospominaniya, Petrograd 1917, 47.
7 V.M. Ševirin, "Viborgskoe vozvzanie," Enciklopedičeskij slovar', tom 1. M.N. Vinaver writes that the exact number of subscribers to the Declaration is difficult to determine, since the original version of the text was immediately concealed and those who signed it later did so on appended sheets or even on printed forms. Therefore among those brought to trial were quite random individuals, while several avoided prosecution. Cf. Vinaver, Viborgskoe vozvzanie, 37-38.
in the elections to the Duma, as well as of other social and electoral duties).  

Six Muslim deputies signed the Vyborg Declaration (cf. table 2). Although one of the Muslim deputies, Abü梭ğul Axtämov, was acquitted ("for special circumstances")¹⁰, nevertheless three of them, Abü梭ğul Axtämov, Säyid-Gäräy Alkin and Ismaïl Ziyadxanov were dismissed from practicing law for a period of time, and five of them (excluding Axtämov) spent the full term in prison. But the most negative result of this action was that practically all of them were deprived of the possibility of further participation in the work of the Duma in the capacity of those chosen by the people. Without a doubt, as a consequence this impoverished and weakened the Muslim faction.

What then did the Muslim deputies conceive for themselves and what were their activities during the First Duma, besides their participation in the final protest of the First Duma’s legislators?

A total of 25 Muslim deputies were elected to the First Duma, representing the largely "Muslim" regions of the country: the Volga-Ural region, the Caucasus, Semireč'e, and Turkestan (cf. table 1). Since in the Caucasus, the Steppe Region, and Turkestan, elections were somewhat delayed, at the opening of the session there were primarily Tatar deputies from Kazan, Ufa, Orenburg, and Vyatka provinces.

The idea of forming a Muslim faction appears to have arisen almost at once, but some time was needed for effecting this. Fuad Tuqtarov wrote about the futile attempt of Säyid-Gäräy Alkin to unite the Muslims into a faction within a few days after the start of the Duma’s work.¹¹ What was the cause of the failure? Was it a lack of a program among the deputies, disagreement over actions, or Säyid-Gäräy Alkin’s lack of authority? It is difficult to give a clear answer. One has to assess that the Muslim Deputies, one after another, joined the Kadets’ faction (see table 2). Therefore it is no coincidence that in the materials of the First Duma the existence of a separate Muslim faction is not mentioned, at the same time as the repre-

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⁸ The press, including the Tatar press, reported in detail on the course of the trial. The newspaper Bâyân-el-xaq for example, described the mood of the accused: “those found guilty did not retreat from their convictions, and said that they will go to prison with the realization of having fulfilled their duty.” Bâyân-el-xaq 1907, No. 261, December 23.

⁹ It is worth noting that the last of these came to St. Petersburg only on the eve of the dissolution of the Duma and right away went to Vyborg, where he took an active part in the drawing up of this document. In point of fact, his activities as a deputy were limited to this.

¹⁰ Vinaver, V. V., Vborgskoe vozvstanie, 16.

¹¹ M.-F. Usal, Berekçe, ikençe vi děcenče durada müsulman deputatlar hili məsulalı gilgân cəllərə, Qazan 1909, 92.
sentatives of the western borderlands (Lithuania and Poland) are creating their own associations practically during the first days. Moreover, in many of the publications concerning the First Duma, data on the Muslim deputies are given in the context of the members of the Kadet faction. Among the Kadets were also the six Muslim deputies who were tried in the Vyborg Trial.

The situation began to change only with the arrival of deputies from the Caucasus, and especially with that of All-Murad Topčebašev. In fact, he was the first to unite all of the Muslim deputies. The goals of the faction were the preliminary discussion of issues on the agenda, the training of orators, and the agreement in the positions of all Muslim deputies. In other words, purely coordinational tasks stood before the faction.

However, the brevity of the First Duma’s work did not allow even the consummation of this organizational process, and therefore at this point the faction was not formed and was not officially registered.

*The Convocation of the Second State Duma (February 20th, 1907 – June 2nd, 1907)*

Elections for the Second Duma took place at the end of 1906. In all 518 deputies were elected and took part in its work. It sat for one term and held 53 sessions.

The Chairman was F.A. Golovin (Kadet), the Deputy Chairmen were N.N. Poznanskiy (Non-Party Left) and M.E. Berezin (Trudovik), and the Secretary was M.B. Čelnokov (Kadet).

In comparison with the former one, this Duma was more radical and more to the left in both its composition and in the character of its activity. The Kadets, who lost in the elections (their number declined from 161 deputies to 98) promoted the slogan "Save the Duma" and withdrew a series of their more radical demands; they attempted to create an alliance on the right with nationalist groups, and on the left with the Trudoviki, who counted more than a hundred members within their ranks. The Kadets rejected the slogan "Responsible Government." The Duma removed from the agenda the demand for political amnesty as well as the abolition of the death penalty, and it did not disclose any political assessment of the government's actions. The agrarian question remained the central one, and

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13 Vyborskyy process, Sankt-Peterburg 1908, 263.

14 "Responsible Government" means the demand that the government be elected by and be responsible before the Duma (and not the Czar).
on this issue the Kadets softened their positions. But despite this it was clear that the Stolypin reform plan would not pass. As a result, the government was decisively set against the Duma; on June 3rd it published a decree dissolving it, as well as a manifesto in which the Duma was blamed for dragging out the examination of bills and the state inventory of income and expenditures, and also for the fact that a number of its members (Social Democrats) participated in a conspiracy against the government. At the same time a new electoral law was promulgated which limited the access to the Duma of several categories of the population, including on the basis of an ethnic and territorial basis. Indeed, it is generally accepted to equate the dispersal of the Second Duma with the end of the revolution and the beginning of political reaction.

For the Muslims the Second Duma was the most favorable in both its quantitative, as well as highly distinct qualitative aspects. In all 36 Muslim deputies were elected to the Second Duma. They were organized into two factions, and sent one of their own representatives to the leadership – Sadri Maqṣūdī was elected as one of the five deputies of the Secretary of the State Duma.¹⁵

As was already mentioned, the tumultuous political events in the country, the polarization of Russian society, resulted in the shattering of the Muslim deputies' shaky unity, and almost immediately they divided themselves into two groups, and around each of these like-minded deputies gathered.

– The majority were organized into a Muslim faction under the chairmanship of All-Mūrīd Topčibašev (formally he was not a deputy, but he lived at that time in St. Petersburg and exerted a strong influence on the activities of the faction on the Muslim deputies as a whole).

– Six individuals formed a separate bloc under the name "Muslim Labor Group," which officially joined the Trudovik faction.¹⁶

The Muslim faction adopted the program of the "Muslim Union" (Möselman ittifaqı),¹⁷ while the Muslim Labor Group "Islamized" the program of the Trudoviki. Both factions held several joint sessions.


¹⁶ According to the unconfirmed data of Mūsāmīd-Ḥay'ūx Iṣṣāqū, nine people made up this group. Cf. Yul'ňa mišili put'ia, February, 1929, No.2 (129), 12.

¹⁷ Some members of the Central Committee of the Muslim Union lived at that time in St. Petersburg and had the opportunity to work with the faction, such as All-Mūrīd Topčibašev, Skyid-Gāršī Ağač and others. In addition, Sadri Maqṣūdī, who had been elected to the Central Committee, was a Duma deputy.
The Muslim Labor Group consisted of three mullahs, one merchant, one teacher, and one worker. Its activity is described in detail by Fuad Tuqtarov, who at that time was in St. Petersburg and in fact was one of its founders and leaders. Despite the spontaneous nature of its creation, Tuqtarov gives a mediocre evaluation of its activity. In his words, in their standard, capabilities, and training, the members of this group were not capable of either legislative work or of even reading and evaluating bills or of other activities: "They were happy to work, the desire existed, but the possibility and ability -- alas!" In addition, this group was not a faction in the strict sense of the word, since it did not have its own program. The sole purpose of its creation, in the words of Tuqtarov, was the intention to disseminate and propagate the ideas of the Trudoviki among the Muslim population. As a result, the members of the group actively discussed the questions that were for the Trudoviki the most important -- the agrarian question, the position of workers, etc. For the dissemination of this information the members of the group began to publish a weekly newspaper entitled Duma (April 21st to May 30th, 1907), with one member of the group, Kālimullah Xāsānov, as the official publisher and editor. However, only six issues came out and the newspaper was banned by a special decree of the Governor of St. Petersburg. Duma was published with the private means of the group's members, but of these, only Xāsānov was at all capable of writing to the point on issues, when the rest were themselves in need of preparatory explanations and lectures. According to the account of Tuqtarov, "of the six deputies, three do not know Russian, one knows neither Russian or Tatar. All six are incapable of writing a line in Russian, and four do not in the least understand the content of the orator's speeches. What is more, the majority of them can only with difficulty read the newspaper they themselves publish." Thus, the single

18 Ustal, Berenche, ikecord v ocheni demada momesnman deputatlar, 54. It is true that one can only conditionally call Zeynal Zeynalov a worker. His activity as a laborer began with this.

19 Muxtamad-Cgas Isqaq later wrote that during the elections to the Second Duma the Tatar Socialist-Revolutionaries (Tangists) took the decision to nominate their own representatives. In the Cistopol district these became Muxtamad-Cgas Isqaq and Fuad Tuqtarov. However, thanks to the efforts of the government organs, both were kept back from the second round of voting. Muxtamad-Cgas Isqaq was arrested and found guilty of article 129, which deprived one found guilty of the right to elective office, and his colleague was kept away on the basis of some formal pretext. As a result, Tuqtarov was later specially delegated by the Tangists to St. Petersburg to take part in the organization of that special group. Cf. Yalta milli yul, 1939, No.2 (129), 12.

20 Ustal, Berenche, ikecord v ocheni demada mumesnman deputatlar, 59.

21 Muxtamad-Cgas Isqaq identifies Tuqtarov as the editor of this newspaper; cf. Yalta milli yul, 1939 No. 2 (129), 12.

22 Ustal, Berenche, ikecord v ocheni demada momesnman deputatlar, 59.
result of the activities of the members of this group was the brief publication of a newspaper and the translation into Tatar of some brochures published by the Trudoviki. And indeed, these were immediately confiscated by the authorities, without achieving such wide dissemination.23 Obviously, all members of the group later joined the Federalists' alliance.24

The Muslim faction likewise was formed and began to function during the work of the Second Duma. Its members elected a chairman and two secretaries, rented an apartment, and appointed the time for a session every Friday. Within the faction a number of commissions were set up for the examination of bills relating to questions of the education and position of the empire's Muslim population. However, a series of unpropitious factors made itself felt in their work: the lack of a single leader (the non-deputy Topčibašev partially fulfilled this role), the insufficiency, or lack, of capable members of the faction (both bills were again the result of the actions of the non-deputies Topčibašev and Alkin), disagreement in the actions of the Muslim deputies (the presence of local and group interests), the financial indiscipline of the members (the membership dues of ten rubles a month were paid very irregularly, and in practice the faction lived at the cost of private donations), and so forth.25

The faction prepared and presented two bills "On changing the rules of March 31st" (regarding issues of education) and "On making Fridays a day off," however, they were not even brought to a general discussion.26

Already during the sitting of the Second Duma special delegates would often come to St. Petersburg, which were sent by the Muslims of Kazan, Ufa, Orenburg, Turkestan, and other cities and regions of the Russian empire. As Fuad Tuqarow wrote, in the halls of the Muslim faction one could meet quite varied individuals, "merchants, mullahs, the wealthy, representatives of the clergy, peasants, Persians, Uzbeks, Tatars, Bashkirs, and others" who appealed to the members of the faction for aid, who brought petitions from their localities and so forth. Therefore, from this perspective the Muslim faction of the Second Duma had the character of an All-Muslim center.27

23 Ibid., 62.
24 Yestä milli jyl, 1939, No. 21 (129), 12.
25 Usul, Berençe, ikmen ve öcençe damatıa mülislman deputatlar, 52-53.
26 Ibid., 52.
27 Ibid., 62-63.
The Convocation of the Third State Duma (November 1st, 1907—June 9, 1912)

The Third Duma was unique in that it fulfilled its full term as prescribed by law. In all it convened five sessions from 1907 to 1912. The Duma considered 2,432 bills.

The chairman were N.A. Xomyakov (Octobrist, 1907-1910), (Octobrist, 1910-1911), M.V. Rodzyanko (Octobrist, 1911-1912). The Deputy Chairmen were V.M. Volkonskiy (Moderate Right, 1907-1912), A.F. Meyendorf (Octobrist, 1907-1909), S.I. Skilovskiy (Octobrist, 1909-1910), M.Ya. Kapustin (Octobrist, 1910-1912). The Secretary was I.P. Sozonović (Right, 1907-1912).

442 deputies were elected to the Third Duma, and of these only ten were Muslims, a result of the discriminatory character of the new electoral law. In its party composition the Third State Duma was considerably more to the right and more moderate in comparison with its predecessors. The party composition of the Duma displayed a strong influence on the character of its activities. The lack of a single-faction majority resulted in the fact that the fate of voting depended on the Octobrists, who were established as the "Party of the Center." If they voted with the Right, it created an Octobrist-Right majority (around 300 deputies); if they voted with the Progressives and the Kadets, it created an Octobrist-Kadet majority (more than 250 deputies).

The activities of the deputies of the Right and Left wings (to the left of the Progressives and Kadets) consequently practically always came to naught. The majority of the bills they proposed were either overturned by the Duma or blocked by the State Council (Gosudarstvenny Sovet).

The Tatar press noted that before the elections the attitude of Russia's society as a whole, and Tatar society in particular, toward the future Duma was rather apathetic and neutral, and in order to change this mood, it was necessary to transform the words of the "Manifesto of October 17th, 1905," which in fact the government was in no hurry to do. Already rather quickly the press noted that "the Third Duma in its moral appearance has already surpassed even the most pessimistic expectations..." The press also expressed itself quite critically regarding the Muslim deputies. In particular the newspaper Qazan məxbire wrote that the Muslim deputies

26 Vitenberg, "Gosudarstvennaya Duma," 613.
28 Ibid., 613.
29 Vitenberg, "Gosudarstvennaya Duma," 612.
30 Bâyyan-el-xaq, 1907, No. 234, September 25.
31 Bâyyan-el-xaq, 1908, No. 278, February 7.
evidently endorsed the political platform of the Octoberists' faction, following after them "like blind men" in all issues. In the opinion of the author of this publication the Tatar deputies elected from Kazan province were especially consistent in this. But this tactic was doomed to failure, for the Octoberists were by no means given to considering the opinion of the tiny Muslim faction.\(^{33}\)

Of the ten Muslims elected to the Third Duma, at first only eight joined the Muslim faction. Two of them, the Crimean Isma'il Möftü-Zadä and the Daghestani Ibrâhimbîk Xäýdarov refused. The first joined the Right faction, while the second joined the faction of the Social Democrats. However, the latter nonetheless worked with a number of the members of the Muslim faction and under its name entered into a series of the Duma's committees.\(^{34}\) And in 1909 Xäýdarov finally quit the faction of the Social Democrats.\(^{35}\)

As a whole the Third Duma was more to the right than the previous ones, and it is possible that for this reason Gaysa Yenikeyev refused to enter into the Presidium and take the position of Deputy Secretary that had been offered to him.\(^{36}\)

The members of the Third Duma, like their predecessors, remained in close contact with the non-deputy members of the Central Committee of the Muslim Union. Two members of the latter organization spent the whole winter of 1907-08 in St. Petersburg, helping the former in their legislative activity. The non-deputies, or deputies of earlier Dumas, Sultan Vaxid Qaratayev, Säýid-Gäräy Alkin, Ali-Märdän Topçibaşëv, Fätali Xän-Xayskiy, and others took an active part in the work of the committees formed under the Muslim faction, and dealt with religious questions, issues of education, and the inspection of old laws touching upon the live of Muslim society.

Gaysa Yenikeyev, who was in the commission on issues of popular education, and who worked on a restructuring of the respective project, should be mentioned first among the Muslim deputies who were actually occupied with legislative activity. Yenikeyev regularly reported to the press on his work and his activity on a given project. It is likely that he was the most eloquent in presenting the environment and atmosphere in which the members of the Muslim faction came to work.\(^{37}\)

\(^{33}\) Qazan möxhib, 1908, No. 268, February 25.
\(^{34}\) Gosudarstvennaya Duma - Spravočnik, vyp. 2, soživ III, sessiya III, Sankt Peterburg 1910.
\(^{35}\) Obninskiy, "Členi Gos. Dumë pervogo, vtorogo i tret'ego soživa," 57.
\(^{36}\) Bâyân-el-qaq, 1907, No. 250, November 27th.
\(^{37}\) A large article was included in Numbers 637-639 (8-13 July, 1910) of the newspaper Bâyân-el-qaq, by the member of the Commission on Popular Education, Gaysa.
Nearly all of the members of the faction spoke from the podium of the Duma, but Sadri Maqoudi can be especially distinguished, as he gave a long speech in March of 1912 in defense of the Muslim population against the charge of Pan-Islamism.38

_The Fourth Duma (November 15th, 1912 – February 25th, 1917)_

442 deputies took part in the Fourth Duma; there were five sessions, which, however, were frequently interrupted by unscheduled recesses. The Chairman was M.V. Rodzyanko (Octobrist, 1912-1917); the Deputy Chairman were D.D. Urasov (Progressive, 1912-1913); V.M. Volkonskiy (no party affiliation, 1912-1913); N.N. L'vov (Progressive, 1913), A.I. Konovalov (Progressive, 1913-1914), S.T. Varun-Sekret (Octobrist, 1913-1916), N.V. Nekrasov (Kadet, 1916-1917), A.V. Bobrinskii (Nationalist, 1916-1917); the Secretary was A.I. Dmiatyukov (Octobrist, 1912-1917).39 Among the five deputies to the Secretary there was also one Muslim, Gaysa Yenikeyev.40

In the Fourth Duma the Octobrists maintained for themselves the role of the center, but the faction was numerically reduced and changed its composition by more than three fourths compared to previously, and they

Yenikeyev, on the course of the discussion of a project on primary education in this commission, which was begun in November 1907, and only completed in spring of 1910. The author describes in detail the activities of the commission and the arguments that accompanied the discussion of the project, especially concerning the issue of the language of instruction. In No. 681 (October 28, 1910) of the same newspaper, the contents of the speeches of Yenikeyev and Sadri Maqoudi on the discussion of the issue of primary education at a session of the Duma on October 23, 1910 were printed (i.e. concerning their steadfastness and arguments for native-language instruction; this discussion lasted several days in the Duma (October 29 and November 2) and its course was illuminated in detail by the newspaper (No. 683, November 2, No. 684, November 4). And finally, in No. 693 (November 25) a telegram was published which was sent to Tatar newspapers in which Yenikeyev and Maqoudi told of the completion of debate on the bill on primary education, together with the happy news that native language instruction was included in primary schools for the nine "literate" peoples of Russia (including the Tatar people). Yet this bill did not take on the force of law.

38 Gosudarstvennaya Duma – Tretiy sovet, stenografičeskii očet. 1912 g. Sessiya pyataya, čast’ III, zasedanija 84–119 (c 5 marta po 28 aprelja 1912 g.), Sankt Peterburg 1912, 976-990. The speech was given on March 13th, 1912. Subsequently Sadri Maqoudi’s speech was translated into Tatar and published in a series of Tatar publications: Yeldiz (No. 809-812, March 22-29, 1912) and Veşit in April of 1912 (No. 955). In our times the speech was reprinted twice. In Russian (from the stenographic report) in the newspaper Kazankie kraya, No. 6-8, March-April 1993, and in the Tatar version in the journal Miras 1994 (No.3), 59-66.


40 N.N. Olšanskij (ed.), Cvetotlet Cvetottannoy Duma – Portret i biografii, Sankt Peterburg 1913.
formed a bloc with the Kadets. In this Duma those opposed to the government more often formed the majority (especially after the autumn of 1915). In its turn the government traveled the path of submitting to the Duma insignificant bills (in 1912-1914 more than 2,000), while simultaneously practicing extra-Duma legislation. In addition, the First World War had an influence on the character of the activities of the Fourth Duma. In point of fact, during the Fourth Duma's term of work, only the first two sessions were of value. Beginning in the summer of 1914 the war brought its own correctives to the activities of many institutions, including the Duma. On July 26th 1914 a one-day extraordinary session was convened on the issue of granting the government war credits. The Third Session was of extremely short duration – January 27th to 29th 1915. The work of the Fourth Session (July 19th, 1915 to June 20th, 1916) was interrupted by quite long recesses, from September 3rd 1915 to February 9th 1916. Nor was the work of the Fifth and final session continuous. It was opened on November 1st, 1916 and already on December 16th the deputies were again dismissed for a recess until the announcement of an permanent recess in February of 1917.41

In addition, with the advent of the war the publication of what had up to this point been regularly published surveys of the activity of the commissions and of the Duma as a whole ceased. This similarly complicates the analysis of the legislative activities of the parliament during the years 1914-1916. Moreover, fundamental legislation was carried out by the government without taking into account the Duma, which ever more was being turned into a legal pulpit of the opposition.

The Muslim faction of the Fourth Duma consisted of six people and was led by Qotilg-Muxammad Tafkilev; its Secretary was Ilniyamin Astamov. One of the Muslim deputies, Muxammad Dalgat did not join the faction, but was registered instead as a Progressive. However, the faction as a whole was close to the "Progressive Bloc." Because of the small number of members in the faction and its "helplessness" the question of the coordination was raised among the members of the faction: which of the blocs or factions in the Duma should the Muslim faction support without sacrificing its own interests, the interests of the Muslim population, and without remaining isolated? After discussions within the factions, which made their way onto the pages of the newspapers, they decided to establish themselves with the "Progressive Bloc."42 If one compares the faction's

41 Vitenberg, "Gosudarstvennaya Duma," 613.
42 The Kazan newspaper Qoyaf published an article of Mamad-Yousif Casarow, a member of the faction under the heading "the Progressive Bloc and the Muslim Faction," with a similar tactic; Qoyaf 1915, No. 861, December 5.
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positions with those of previous Dumas, especially with the First, then a sharp cooling of sympathies with the Kadets is observable, and it was called forth by the party's position, especially its imperial "anti-Turkish" policy during the First World War. The member of the faction İliniyamin Axtimov was one of the owners of the newspaper Millät, which was published in St. Petersburg in the Russian and Tatar languages from December 1913 to February 1915 and in effect was the press organ of the Muslim faction.

As a result of disagreement in their activities, the Tatars of Kazan were left without representation in the Fourth Duma. Because the Kazanis were unable to agree on a single candidacy, Sadri Maqsudi and Şiyex-Gatter Imanayev contended for the mandate, and neither one of the candidacies gained a sufficient number of votes.43

General Characteristics of the Muslim Deputies of the First to the Fourth Dumas

In the four Dumas a total of 78 Muslim deputies were elected: 25 to the First, 36 to the Second, ten to the Third and seven to the Fourth. Since several of the deputies were elected several times, and one, Qotliq-Moxammad Täfkilev, four times, then in all four Dumas there were 67 individual Muslim deputies. Among the Muslim deputies only one participated in the activities of the Duma throughout the period of its existence. Not more than one of the Muslim deputies was able to pass the boundaries of three Dumas, and only eight were elected twice (Garif Badamshin, Axmâd Biremğanov, Taştemir İldırım, Şahmordan Köşçeğulov, Sadri Maqsudi, Şahxâydâr Sîrlanov, Möxammad-Şakir Tuqayev, Xâlibâk Xasmamedov and Çayxa Yenikeyev; cf. table 1).44

In speaking about the educational level of the Muslim deputies, then the following picture appears. From among the 67, 33 had secondary or higher educations (12 and 21 respectively), or about half of the total number. Of the 21 deputies with a higher education, eleven had law degrees and were

43 Adile Ayda, the author of the biographical work Sadri Maqsudi Arsal, maintains that dyed-in-the-wool reactionaries and Russian chauvinists interfered with elections to the Fourth Duma (Adile Ayda, Sadri Maqsudi Arsal, Moskva 1996 [Russian edition]. p. 81; first published in Ankara 1991). Without denying this, it should be mentioned that this was not the sole cause of failure in the elections.

44 Gosudarstvennaia Duma - Spravočik. vyp. 6, 1913, IV soz. 1 sessiya, Sankt Petersburg 1913. If one speaks about the Duma as a whole, then for the entire term of its existence, in all only eight people were elected four times; i.e. those who were deputies in all four convocations. Of these, three represented Poland (J. Garusewicz, Parczewski and Jaromski), one South Russia, primarily the Cossacks (K. Bardil, Denyanović and Khalamov), one St. Petersburg (F. Rodićev), and one the country's Muslim population.
lawyers (cf. table 1). Comparing the various Dumas, a sharp increase in the proportion of those Muslim deputies with European-style educations becomes manifest: in the First Duma, 50 percent; in the Second Duma, 35 percent; in the Third Duma 70 percent, and in the Fourth Duma 80 percent.45

An especially high proportion of educated deputies came from the Caucasus region: of nineteen deputies, ten had a higher education, five had a secondary education, and the status of the remaining four is unknown. The largest number of deputies who lacked a European-style education were sent from Turkestan, and partially from the Volga-Ural region. These were primarily representatives of the Muslim clergy (numbering fifteen people) and of the peasantry (five to ten people, since some were simultaneously peasants and mullahs). Of course, among the latter were some highly respected, worthy, and quite educated people (Hadi Atlasov, Muxammad-Zakir Ramiyev, Abderrahim Qari and others), but their advantages and virtues were not in demand in the Duma, where other skills were needed, such as legal training, oratorical skills (and consequently a good knowledge of Russian), and a clear position as well as the ability to move away from it. The Muslim population often sent to the Duma people who did not sufficiently possess these skills and who were obliged, in the words of Säyid-Gäriy Alkin, "to use other people's scripts."463 Thus, the faction had a perpetual deficiency in those activities which were necessary for effective legislation, and was often forced to run for help to former deputies.

This problem was reflected in the Muslim press. In one edition of the Kazan newspaper Bâyân-el-xaq (No. 307, April 15th, 1908) Säyid-Gäriy Alkin, who was frequently in the capital and supported the faction with his constant contact, appraised the effectiveness of its activity highly critically. He wrote that during the Easter recess the task of examining and preparing for debate a series of bills sat on the desk of the faction. First of all among the problems concerning Muslim society he noted the government's colonization policy and the related problem of Kazakh lands, and secondly, the

45 Presumably this index corresponds to the average showing for the Duma as a whole. Thus, in the Third Duma, out of 487 deputies, about 75 percent (364) had a secondary or higher education. Cf. Obzor deyateľnosti Gosudarstvennoy Dumy treće go soživa, 1907-1912, čast pervaya: Obšëye svedeniya, Sankt Petersburg, 1912, 8-9.

46 Bâyân-el-xaq, 1908, No. 307, April 15th. In this article Säyid-Gäriy Alkin offered as an example a case in which the non-deputy Ali-Märdän Topçubašev was obliged to write the texts of speeches for many orators in the Second and Third Dumas. Fuad Tugtarov described a similar case in his pamphlet where he composed by the request of Gannaletdin Qurbanin a speech which was left unheard. Cf. Ušal, Berenče, ikcenče val öckenče dumada minčelcin deputatlar, 120-129.
reform of religious organizations, including the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly. Alkin noted the impotence of the faction, which was incapable of coping with these problems. Of course, a certain amount of help was offered by former deputies, mainly Sultan-Vaxid Qaratayev and Ali-Mardan Topčibašev. The role of the latter was especially important, since he prepared many documents and wrote speeches for a series of orators. Yet despite his significant contribution, Ali-Mardan Topčibašev alone clearly did not suffice for solving all of the problems. Later, also in the newspaper Bâyân-el-xaq (No. 418, January 13th, 1909), the letter of the deputy Xâlibîk Xas-Mamedov to Sâyid-Girîy Alkin, a member of the paper’s editorial board, was published. The letter concerned the problems of the faction, which was in need of the help of educated fellow Muslims, since the faction could not cope by its own means alone. Of course, the members of the faction had appealed to Ali-Mardan Topčibašev with a request that he come to St. Petersburg, however, much was held in check by financial problems as well. Similar reports are frequently encountered on the pages of other Tatar publications.

In all likelihood, there was no Tatar-language publication that did not print materials concerning the activity of the State Duma, and especially of the Muslim faction. It is true that none of the Tatar newspapers, not even the largest ones, offered financial, or any other support to maintain their own correspondent at the Duma. The only exception to this rule is the newspaper Nur, whose owners, Gataullah and Muxammad-Safa Bayazitov, had their own seat in the Upper Gallery which was assigned in the hall of the Duma to representatives of the press. But Nur had advantages over the other Tatar newspapers; first of all, it was published in St. Petersburg, and secondly, it had a reputation as a loyal publication, and its owners had the necessary broad connections within government circles. None of the other Tatar publications enjoyed these advantages, and they often had to make do with reprints of accounts from the official publications and of excerpts from stenographic accounts. The deputies themselves (including former ones) often took on the role of correspondents for the other newspapers, as did Tatars who happened to be in the capital for various reasons frequently or for extended periods. For instance, Yosif Aqça reported to Qazan mõxbire on the work of the First Duma, and nearly all of the seriously analytical articles were his own. In spring of 1907 Sâyid-Girîy Alkin, who would go quite often to St. Petersburg on official matters, gave his consent to become a correspondent for the newspapers Bâyân-el-

47 Bâyân-el-xaq (1908), April 15, No. 307.
48 Bâyân-el-xaq (1909), January 13, No. 418.
49 Gosudarstvenaya Duma – spravočnik; vyp. 1, 1909, III soživ, II sessiya, 160; vyp. 6, 1913, IV soživ, I sessiya, 290.
xaq and Qazan möxbire. And indeed, soon after, the detailed observations of the Duma's activities that he sent from the capital were published in a series of issues. During the work of the Third Duma, the deputy from Kazan province, Gaysa Yenikeev, whose candidacy the newspaper had supported quite actively, reported regularly on his own activity and on the work of the faction. Beginning in February and March of 1908, articles signed by Isaxq Biq'uri began appearing more frequently in these newspapers along side the articles on Yenikeev and Alkin, and he in effect was transformed for several months into these newspapers' permanent correspondent. The Kazan newspaper Yoldız, whose editor was Axmüli-Hadi Maṣqudi, the brother of Sadri Maṣqudi, also devoted more attention to the activities of the faction and its various members. In addition, the members of the faction would send public appeals to the leading Tatar papers appeals, and would also inform them on their activities.

In the fall and winter of 1915 Muslim society again began to show great concern with the activity (or more precisely, the inactivity) of the faction "which is not reflecting or standing up for the interests of twenty million Muslims." In the press reports appeared concerning how the Muslims of various cities intended to send from every major city, including Kazan, one representative from among the most experienced and educated public figures to offer help to the faction. Among those from Kazan Fuad Tuğtarov expressed the wish to be delegated, according to the information of the Police of Kazan guberniya (Kazansko Obrasnoce Zandarnsko Upravlenie), which monitored the public's mood. In addition, Sadri Maṣqudi, who was not sent to the Duma, was considered as such a delegate-assistant. Yet not a single one of them managed to reach Petrograd. Nevertheless, dissatisfaction with the activities of the Duma remained as significant as before.

It is evident that circumstances forced Fuad Tuğtarov, who was observing the work of the faction in the Second Duma "from inside," to speak about the benightedness and ignorance of the Muslim deputies and

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50 Bâyán-æ-xaq 1907 No. 144, March 22.
51 Bâyán-æ-xaq 1907 No. 108, April 2; No. 149, April 3; No. 152, April 10; No. 154, April 15, and others.
52 Bâyán-æ-xaq 1907 No. 261, December 23. In this issue Yenikeev's report on the first month and a half's work of the new Duma was published.
53 Cf. for example, in the newspaper Yoldız, the articles of Sadri Maṣqudi "The Bloc and our Fraction," (No. 154, 1915, October 29), "Our most important national matters" (No. 1553, 1915, November 19) and others; in the newspaper Qoyaš the anonymous "The Situation of the Muslim Fraction," (No. 48, 1913, February 15), "Letters from Petrograd" (No. 859, 1915, December 1) and others.
54 NA RT, fond 1, opis' 6, delo 1209, folis. 1, 4.
the inactivity that flowed from this. As a result he reached the rather radical conclusion that it was futile at the present moment for Muslims to have their own faction, and that the Muslim deputies needed to work in conjunction with the general Russian factions and groups and accumulate experience in parliamentary and political activity, and that the creation of an independent Muslim faction must be a matter for the distant future.\textsuperscript{55}

\textbf{The Work of the Muslim Deputies in the Commissions of the State Duma}

In order to understand more clearly and evaluate more fully the activity of the Muslim deputies, it is undoubtedly necessary to familiarize oneself more closely with their legislative activity and the work of the Duma commissions. And although this work was often concealed from public view and little was reported about it in the press, it is very significant, since it included the very essence of the Duma's work. In fact the activity of the commissions transformed the Duma from "the rostrum of democracy" into a legislative organ.

As a rule, the Duma (and in particular the Third Duma) sat in general assembly four days a week, for five to six hours, and the whole rest of the time the Duma participants were occupied in the commissions.

Since there are no published materials on the commissions' activities for the First Duma and for the third through the fifth sessions of the Fourth Duma, only the work of the Muslims in the commissions of the Second and Third Dumas and of the first two sessions of the Fourth Duma (i.e. 1907-1914) will be analyzed.

Thus, in the Second Duma 22 commissions and one conference of the Presidium with a series of commissions were formed. In the Third Duma the number of commissions grew from 31 in the first session to 45 in the fifth; and finally in the Fourth Duma 32 commissions were formed in the first session and 37 in the second.\textsuperscript{56} Of these only seven or eight were permanent, and the others were temporary; in other words, they were selected by a special enactment of the State Duma for the examination of a group of bills or for some other issue.

The Muslim deputies joined several commissions. In the Second Duma Muslim deputies were in eighteen of them, in the Third they were in seventeen, and in the Fourth they were in thirteen commissions (see tables 2-5).

\textsuperscript{55} Usal, Bereače, ikanče wî očençe dumada mûsûknum deputatlar, 55.

\textsuperscript{56} Gosudarstvennaya Duma — Obzor deyatelnosti komissiy i otdelov, sozvi II, Sankt Petersburg 1907; sozvi III, 1907-1912, časti pervaya: Obščes svedeniya, Sankt Petersburg 1912; sozvi IV, sessiya I, Sankt Petersburg 1913, sessiya II, Sankt Petersburg 1914.
In the most significant commissions (those concerning religious matters, popular education, agrarian issues, the workers' issue, colonization, and others) there were almost always representatives of the Muslim faction.

According to "The Act of the Establishment of the State Duma," the legislative activity of the Duma was structured in the following fashion. Bills could only be introduced either by Ministers (or Heads of Administrations) or by the State Council, or by the Duma's commissions (point 33). Bills introduced by ministries could be taken back by them until the time that they were approved by the Duma (point 47). The members of the Duma could "raise proposals on changing or altering existing laws promulgating new laws, with the exception of the Fundamental State Laws" (point 32), that is, they could come out with legislative proposals signed by no less than thirty members of the Duma (point 55). Then, within a specified period of time this proposal would have to be either rejected or introduced into the Duma as a bill by the respective ministries, and in case of the ministries' refusal, by a specially formed commission (point 57).

Thus, preferences in legislation were granted to government organs (ministries and departments). The members of the Duma were basically occupied with examining bills which had been submitted. Moreover, while initiatives on the part of the Duma were not excluded, it was only realized on very rare occasions. Small factions, such as the Muslim one in the Third and Fourth Dumas, were for all intents and purposes deprived of the right to make use of their legislative initiative without securing the support of larger factions or groups of deputies. Bearing in mind the right-wing nature of the majority in the Third and Fourth Dumas, it was very difficult to do this.

Among the issues debated in the State Duma, probably the most important for Muslims were religious legislation, issues of popular education, colonization policy and the situation in the national borderlands, and finally, the issue of holidays. And in reviewing these issues in the commissions and in the general debate on the floor of the Duma we see unity among the members of the Muslim faction. For example, upon debating the bill "On normal time off for commercial employees" the most controversial point became the issue concerning time off on Sundays and holidays, since it was complicated "by conflicting economic and religious

57 *Svod zakonov*, 1906, tom 1, Sankt Peterburg, čast II.
58 *Zakonodatelle akty pervuchogo vremeni, 1904-1908 gg.* – Sbornik zakonov, manifestov, ukazov Pr. Senata, resheniy i položeniy komiteta ministrov, otnosnya k preobrazovanuia gosudarstvennyia stroya Rossii, s priloženiem slávnitogo predmetnogo ukazaniya, izd. 3-e, pod red. pr.-doc. N. I. Lazarevskogo, Sankt Peterburg 1909, Priloženie IV "Ustredzenie Gosudarstvennuy Dumi."
interests.\textsuperscript{59} When the Duma rejected an amendment of the Kadets (194 to 101) who had proposed that for Jews and Muslims Saturdays and Fridays respectively be made days off, the members of the Muslim faction walked off the floor of the Duma in protest.\textsuperscript{60}

The members of the Muslim faction also acted with unity of purpose in the debate on another difficult issue, namely the government's colonization policy. A series of speeches by members of the faction, such as Sadri Maqsudi, Ibrahimbäk Xäydarov, and others are known. These speeches were in opposition to specific actions on the part of the authorities causing permanent dissatisfaction among the frontier peoples, and especially the Kazakhs.\textsuperscript{61} In addition, according to some data the faction prepared two bills "on local self-government in the Caucasus" and "on the position of Kazakh lands" (the author of the latter one was apparently Sultan-Vaxid Qaratayev)\textsuperscript{62} which however both remained unintroduced. Also, the members of the faction Ibrahimbäk Xäydarov, Xälibäk Xas-Mamedov, Sadri Maqsudi and others were the initiators of a series of inquiries against abuses of power by the authorities in the Caucasus.\textsuperscript{63}

On a series of issues the members of the Muslim faction acted in alliance with the representatives of other national groups, primarily with the "Polsko Kolo," which was most clearly evident in the debate concerning the bill "on the introduction of general primary education in the Russian empire."\textsuperscript{64} Specifically the united and persistent forces of the members of the national groups resulted in the adoption by the Duma of a bill recognizing for nine peoples in Russia (including the Tatars) their native languages as the principal medium of instruction in primary school.\textsuperscript{65}

If one is to speak about the changes in religious legislation brought about by the State Duma, then one must recognize the full disparity of results compared to initial plans. The State Duma should have brought legislation on this issue into conformity with the principles of freedom of conscience which were declared in the decree "on the strengthening of the principle of

\textsuperscript{59} Obzor deyatelnosti Gosudarstvennoy Dumi tre'tego soziva, 1907-1912 gg., čast' II: Zakonodatel'nyaya deyatelnost', Sankt-Peterburg 1912, 380.

\textsuperscript{60} Býyan-èl-xaq, 1910, No. 304, May 6.

\textsuperscript{61} Regarding Sadri Maqsudi's speeches in protest against the colonization policy of Adîle Ayda, Saddri Maqsudi Arsal, Moskva 1906, 65, 290.

\textsuperscript{62} Býyan-èl-xaq 1908, No. 304, April 8.

\textsuperscript{63} Obzor deyatelnosti Gosudarstvennoy Dumi tre'tego soziva, 1907-1912 gg., čast' I, Sankt-Peterburg 1912, 191-193; priloženie 15a, 17a.

\textsuperscript{64} Obzor deyatelnosti Gosudarstvennoy Dumi tre'tego soziva, 1907-1912 gg., čast' II, Sankt-Peterburg 1912, 423-426.

\textsuperscript{65} See footnote 57. However, this bill was rejected by the State Council in a session of June 5, 1912, and as a result did not go into law. Obzor deyatelnosti Gosudarstvennoy Dumi tre'tego soziva, 1907-1912 gg., čast' II, Sankt-Peterburg 1912, 426.
religious tolerance" (April 17, 1905), in the October 17th Manifesto and in
a series of other documents of that time. That is, the Duma should have re-
moved from legislation all articles of a restricting nature which contravened
the principles of freedom of conscience.

The First Duma, in the person of fifty members of the Kadet faction
introduced on May 12th 1906 a rather radical bill with the title "Basic status
of the bill on freedom of conscience," containing seven points from which
were formulated the underlying principles of freedom of conscience.66 But
this bill remained unrevised. The Second Duma, while it accepted this
document as a basic guiding principle for its further work, nonetheless
rejected the proposal of imparting to it the force of law, and embarked on
reworking eleven separate bills submitted by the Ministry of Internal
Affairs. But as a result of the brevity of the Duma's work, not one of these
bills came to be reviewed and all of them passed to the Third Duma. Alone
of the four Dumas, the Third worked through its entire term and during
these five years managed to review and approve eleven bills, including
seven secondary bills which were awarded "the highest confirmation."67
However, the most fundamental among these ("On changing legal statuses
concerning the conversion from one faith to another") were rejected by the
State Council and sent back to the Duma for a second examination in the
conciliation commission, or else others were taken back by the legislative
inspectors of the Ministry of Internal Affairs ("On the relationship of the
state toward several faiths" and "On what is called for by the proclamation
of October 17, 1905 concerning freedom of conscience and changes in the
area of family law").68 And finally, during the work of the Fourth Duma
the government sent back another five bills (including "On communities
and societies of the non-Orthodox and non-Christians"). And several bills
regarding private issues were left to the scrutiny of the religious
commission.

The second task facing the Muslim deputies included the need to reform
the organizations of religious administration, and primarily the Orenburg
Spiritual Assembly, in keeping with the needs and demands of the Muslim
population. However, this problem was not resolved, despite the fact that
representatives of the faction frequently addressed this issue.

Here are only a few examples. In spring of 1908, during a debate
concerning the budget of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the president of

66 Gosudarstvennaya Duma – Obzor deyatelnosti komissiy i otdelov, sozv II, Sankt
Peterburg 1907, priklenie, 548.
67 Obzor deyatelnosti Gosudarstvennoy Dumi tretego soziva, 1907-1912 gg., cast II,
Sankt Peterburg 1912. 66.
68 Ibid., 54.
the Muslim faction, Qodliq-Muxammad Tufakliev, raised the question of the status of the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly, stressing that the government was attaching no importance to improving the material condition of the Muslim clergy. At the same time the orator expressed the wish that "a reorganization of the Muslim organs of administration in keeping with the needs of the Muslim clergy" be conducted.69 Muxammad-Sakir Tuqayev, a member of the religion committee in the Second and Third Dumas published in June of 1912 a pamphlet with a summary of this commission’s work, at the end of which he expressed regret that the government did not introduce the bill on the reform of the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly, which the Muslim population of the country was anxiously awaiting.70 In 1915 representatives of Kazan’s Muslim community sent a telegram to the Muslim faction in St. Petersburg with the urgent demand to introduce to the Duma the bill "on the establishment of an elective foundation for the appointment of the mufti."71

Besides defending supposed exclusively "Muslim interests," representatives of the Muslim faction worked quite actively on other issues. As an example, one can present the activities of the Muslims in the Third Duma, which has the best published sources of all the Dumas.

A total of ten Muslims were elected to the Third Duma, of which nine joined the Muslim faction,72 and they constituted 2.03 percent of the total number of deputies.73 Of the 487 deputies who worked in the Third Duma (since a few deputies died or were denied office, and new ones were elected in their place, the overall number of deputies surpasses the total number of sitting deputies, which was always permanently 442), 93 never spoke from the rostrum, including one member of the Muslim faction. At the same time, the maximum number of speeches goes to a deputy of the Right faction, who raised himself to the rostrum 374 times.74

Three of the nine members of the Muslim faction spoke with reports, that is, presented to the general assembly a bill approved by his commission:75

69 Qazan mukhtari, 1908, No. 278, May 8th.
67 Cf. Ikonēs va bësche Dëllit Dumasënda aksel islam mäkhse xisabi, Orenburg, 1912.
71 Cf. NA RT, fond 1999, opis’ 1, deko 950, p.207.
72 It should be mentioned that the members or the Muslim fraction were quite disciplined. During the work of the Duma they missed 92 sittings, and nearly all for honorable reasons (on average one deputy would miss 15.5 sittings: the 441 members of the Duma missed 6,285 sittings).
73 Obzor deyatchnostey Gosudarstvenny Dumi tre’tego sorova, 1907-1912 gg., chast’ I, pribolzenie 4a, 98-99.
74 Obzor deyatchnostey Gosudarstvenny Dumi tre’tego sorova, 1907-1912 gg., chast’ I, 11.
75 If one makes a comparison with the two other national groups (eleven people for the Polsko Kolo and seven for the Polish-Byelorussian-Lithuanian group) the results are
1) Galiasgar Sirfianov, who was the deputy secretary to the committee on state defense, 2) Sadri Maqspudi, who spoke on behalf of the commission on legislative proposals, and 3) Ibrahimbik Xaydarov, apparently as a representative of the budget commission.76 These three speakers77 proposed ten files (i.e., bills or parts of bills).78 In addition, the members of the faction regularly spoke from the rostrum on various issues. Eight of the nine deputies spoke in this capacity. The most active were Sadri Maqspudi,79 Gaysa Yenikeyev, Galiasgar Sirfianov, Qotliq-Maxammed Tafkilev, and Ibrahimbik Xaydarov.

**Conclusion**

Among the most important results from the activity of the Muslim faction in the State Duma, the following can be distinguished:

- For Muslims, and indeed probably for the empire’s entire population, this was the first such experience ever. And although the Muslim faction was not large, possessed little political experience, and was severely limited in its opportunities, nonetheless, the faction slowly accumulated the parliamentary habits of parliamentary activity which are necessary for any developed society. In addition, every separate region of the country gained a unique experience in electoral culture.

- The formation of a separate Muslim faction in the Duma, despite all of the problems facing it, testifies to the presence of a large number of general problems which concerned the country’s Muslim population, and demonstrated the possibility of joint coordinated activity. On the political level rather successful attempts at creating inter-regional contacts were undertaken.

- The faction’s activities were illuminated in detail by the entire Muslim press and by the limited specialized literature which for the time being remains practically unstudied. However, it contains rich material revealing the social consciousness of the empire’s Muslim peoples, the common and

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76 Obniansky, "Obzor deyatel’nosti Gosudarstvennoy Dumi tre’tego soziva, 1907-1912 gg., chast’ I, 11-12.
77 Undoubtedly this is not taking into account the similar activity of Ismail Mirza Motti-зади, who was counted as a member of the Octobrist faction.
78 Obzor deyatel’nosti Gosudarstvennoy Dumi tre’tego soziva, 1907-1912 gg., chast’ I, 12.
79 The parliamentary activity of Maqsudi is described in some detail in: Adile Ayda, Sadri Makspudi Arsal, 60-75, 288-295.
the particular within it, and their views on problems of common action on
the part of all the Muslim peoples of Russia in the context of a single
cultural and political movement.

However, this entire positive, and partially negative, experience, accumu-
lrated over the short period of the existence of a parliament in Russia,
was displaced by the events of 1917, which sharply altered the entire
temper of the country and shifted its further development in a completely
different direction.

Appendix: Table I-V

Table 1:
The Muslim Members of the Four State Dumas, 1906-1917.

Table 2:
Activities of the Muslim Deputies of the First State Duma in Commissions
and Parliamentary Groups.

Table 3:
Activities of the Muslim Deputies of the Second State Duma in Commissions
and Parliamentary Groups.

Table 4:
Activities of the Muslim Deputies of the Third State Duma in Commissions
and Parliamentary Groups.

Table 5:
Activities of the Muslim Deputies of the Fourth State Duma in Commissions
and Parliamentary Groups.

The tables are based mainly on these sources:

- Gosudarstvennaya Duma I prizva. Portreti, kratkie biografii i xarak-
teristiki deputatov, ěasti I, II. Moskva: Vozroždenie, 1906, 110 pp. (the
first part of it with portraits of the Duma members).

- Gosudarstvennaya Duma. Vtoroy soziv. Obzor deyatel'nosti komissiy i
otdelov, Sankt Peterburg: Gosudarstvennaya tipografiya 1907, 613 pp.

- Gosudarstvennaya Duma. Obzor deyatel'nosti komissiy i otdelov.
Tretiy soziv. Sessiya 2, 1908-1909 gg., Sankt Peterburg 1909; Sessiya 3,
1909-1910, Sankt Peterburg 1910; Sessiya 4, 1910-1911, Sankt Peterburg
1911; Sessiya 5, 1911-1912, Sankt Peterburg 1912.
— M.-F. Usal, Berene, ikenčë vë oćenčë dumada məsəlman deputatlar həm alarnəñ qəllən əflüre, Qazan 1909.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name, first name, father's name</th>
<th>Duma</th>
<th>Electoral district</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Year of birth</th>
<th>Formation/education</th>
<th>Social position, occupation before election</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Abdulkalilov Tašbulat (Abdulxătilov Tašbulat)</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Turkestan, Samarkand (town and obl.)</td>
<td>Azeri</td>
<td>1863-?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>merchant, public figure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Akberdeev (Axverdov) Abdaximbek (Aqbirdev Abdaximbäk)</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Caucasus, Yeizavetopol' guberniya</td>
<td>Azeri</td>
<td>1870-?</td>
<td>secondary school; free listener in the Oriental Fac. of St. Petersburg University</td>
<td>member of the municipal office of Sula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Alliev Tagi-Maxmet (Muxammed-Tagir) (Aliyev Möxmämed-Tahir)</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Caucasus, Baku</td>
<td>Azeri</td>
<td>1858-?</td>
<td>higher: Petrovsk Agricultural Academy (Moscow)</td>
<td>served in the Ministry of Finance (1883-88), later wholesale merchant (kommersant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Alkin Said-Girey (Alkin Säyid-Gûrây Şâlitämät-úgîr)</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Kazan gub.</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>13.7.1867-1919</td>
<td>higher: Law Faculty of Kazan University</td>
<td>hereditary nobility; land- and houseowner; lawyer (prisvyazny poverevnyy) (1902-17); editor and publisher of Qazan moxbire (1905-08)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Allabergenov Valiulla (Allahbergenov Väliullah)</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Turkestan, Sirdar'ya obl.</td>
<td>Kazakh</td>
<td>1868-?</td>
<td>lower</td>
<td>merchant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Atasov Xadi Miftaxutdinoviç (Atläss Hadi Miftaxetdin-úgîr)</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Samara gub.</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>1876-15.2.1938</td>
<td>lower</td>
<td>peasantry; mullah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Axtamov Abbasgud Abdulxâlikoviç (Äxtämov Âbüsoğud Ğabdexaliq-úgîr)</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ufa gub.</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>1843-after 1916?</td>
<td>higher: Law Faculty of Kazan University</td>
<td>from an axun's family; Secretary of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly (1890s); lawyer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9. Axtiamov Ilniyamin
Abusogudovič (Axtiamov
Ilniyamin Abasogud-ugli)

IV Ufa gub. Tatar 6.11.1877-?
higher: Fac. for
Natural sciences (1907) and Law Fac.
of St. Petersburg
University (1910)
lower

son of an official; assistant to a
lawyer in Kazan and later in Ufa

peasantry; merchant

10. Badamšin Garif
Sirzetdinovič (Badamšin
Garif Sirzetdin-ugli)

I, II Kazan gub. Tatar 1865-1939 secondary; four years
of study on the
Medical Fac. of Kazan
University lower

peasantry; private medical practice
(doctor's assistant); secretary of a
Muslim Benevolent Association

11. Bayburin Zigangir
Hurgalievč (Bayburin
Čhangir Nurgali-ugli)

III Orenburg gub. Bashkir 20.3.1859-?

peasantry; small landowner; elder
(starsina) of a volost' (1904-1907);
member (glamty) of the zemstvo-
assembly of Belebey uyezd; in charge
of recruitment and horse supply
(since 1908); book-keeper of the
volost' administration

12. Bayterekov Gabdul-
Latif Xabibullovič
(Bayterekov Abdal Latif
Xabibullah-ugli)

IV Ufa gub. Tatar 29.3.1873-?

peasantry; small landowner, elder
(starsina) of a volost' (1904-1907);
member (glamty) of the zemstvo-
assembly of Belebey uyezd; in charge
of recruitment and horse supply
(since 1908); book-keeper of the
volost' administration

13. Beremžanov Axmed
(Bireöganov Axmad)

I, II Steppe region,
Turgay obl. Kazakh 1870-?
higher: Law Faculty
of Kazan University

investigating judge, hereditary
justice of the peace

14. Biglov Muxammed-
Akram Muxamedžanovič
(Biglov Muxammad-Akram
Muxammadjan-ugli)

II Ufa gub., city of
Belebey Tatar 1871-1919 secondary; finished a
course in a Military
Academy

nobility; in military service; zemskiy
načalńik, chairman of the zemskaya
uprava of Belebey uyezd; landowner

15. Bukeyxanov Alixan
Nurmuxamedovič
(Bukeyxanov Alixan
Nurmuçãomad-ugli)

I Semipalatinsk
obl. Kazakh 1870 (1866)-
27.9.1937 higher: agricultural

from a noble (sultanie) family;
statistician and writer
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name &amp; Father's Name</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
<th>Education/Occupation</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Gaydarov Ibrahimbeke</td>
<td>Lezgin</td>
<td></td>
<td>1879-?</td>
<td>higher: Institute for Traffic Engineers</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isabekevič (Xaydarov Ibrahimbäk İsabäk-uğlı)</td>
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<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Dalgat Magomet</td>
<td>Dargin</td>
<td></td>
<td>1849-?</td>
<td>higher: Medical Fac. of Moscow University (1869-73) and of a university in Germany (1873-76)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Magomedovič (Dalgat Möxämnäd Möxänmäd-uğlı)</td>
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<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Džantyurin Selim-Girex</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>Ufa gub.</td>
<td>1864-1920</td>
<td>higher: Mathematical Fac. of Moscow University (1889)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Seidjanovič (Çantürin Sälimgäray Säidjan-uğlı)</td>
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<td>19.</td>
<td>Džafarov Mamed-Yusuf</td>
<td>Azeri</td>
<td>guberniyas of Baku, Yelizavetopol' and Erivan</td>
<td>1885-?</td>
<td>higher: Law Fac. of Moscow University (1912)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Çafarow Mamed-Yosif)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Yenikeev Gaysa</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>Kazan gub. (2nd Duma); Orenburg gub., city of Orenburg (3rd Duma)</td>
<td>2.7.1864-1931</td>
<td>secondary: Orenburg Teacher-College for Non-Russians (Orenburgskaya inorodčeskaya učitel'skaya seminariya)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Xämidullovici (Yenikeyev Gáysa Xämidulliah-uğlı)</td>
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<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Yerevanskiy Agagan (Yerevanskiy Ağagan)</td>
<td>Caucasian, city of Yerivan</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>hereditary nobility; teacher; head of the Russian-Tatar Academy (Rusko-tatarskoje učilišče) (1890-95); employee of the State Bank (1895-1903); after 1903: director of a cloth factory and main organizer of the A. Xusainov educational and benevolent institutions from a distinguished family (son of a khan); official for special tasks under the Viceroy of the Caucasus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name and Title</td>
<td>Region</td>
<td>Nationality</td>
<td>Years of Life</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Profession</td>
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<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Zeynalov Zeynal</td>
<td>Caucasus, Baku gub.</td>
<td>Azeri</td>
<td>1877-?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Caucasus, city of Yeşîzavetopol'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>higher</td>
<td>worker in oil industry (machinist, head of a branch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Ziyadxanov Ismailxan Abdulfat-Xan-úgli</td>
<td>Caucasus, city of ?</td>
<td>Azeri</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>higher</td>
<td>big landowner; assistant (tovarisch) of the public prosecutor of the court of Tiflis okrug (until 1907); lawyer (after 1908)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Teachers' School</td>
<td>teacher (1893-dec. 1903)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Il'darxanov Taşemir (Il'darxanov Tašemir)</td>
<td>Caucasus, Terek obl.</td>
<td>Chechen</td>
<td>1870-?</td>
<td>secondary: Tiflis Teachers' School</td>
<td>lawyer</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ural'sk obl.</td>
<td>Kazakh</td>
<td>1858-?</td>
<td>higher: Law Faculty</td>
<td>teacher in a Muslim school</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ural'sk obl.</td>
<td>Kazakh</td>
<td>1867-?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>mullah</td>
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<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Kalmenev Alpisbay</td>
<td>Caucasus, Daghestan</td>
<td>Azeri?</td>
<td>1875-?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>mullah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turkestan, city of Tashkent</td>
<td>Uzbek</td>
<td>1858-?</td>
<td>madrasa</td>
<td>in state service; Colonel (polkovnik), Titular Councillor</td>
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<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Kardaşev Arslanbek (Qardâšev Arslanbîk)</td>
<td>Astrakhan gub., Inner Kazakh Horde (Bukeevskaya Orda)</td>
<td>Kazakh</td>
<td>1857-?</td>
<td>higher: Oriental Fac. of St. Petersburg University</td>
<td>son of an official; small landowner; chairman of volost' court</td>
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<td>28.</td>
<td>Kariev Abdurauf (Qarî Abderelîfîf</td>
<td>Ufa gub.</td>
<td>Bashkir</td>
<td>1849 (1857)?-?</td>
<td>secondary: Orenburg Cadets School (Kadeitskiy korpus)</td>
<td>mullah</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td></td>
<td>1877-after 1925</td>
<td>lower</td>
<td>mullah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Father's Name</td>
<td>Place of Birth</td>
<td>Nationality</td>
<td>Birth Year</td>
<td>Death Year</td>
<td>Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Maksudov (Makṣyutov)</td>
<td>Ufa gub.</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>1874-1942</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>lower: madrasa and four-year Russian-Tatar School</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saxibzade Davletšinovič (Maqsudov Saxibzadá) Dẕ̌ullatšah-uğlí</td>
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<td>34.</td>
<td>Maksudov Sadredin Nizamutdinovič (Sadri Maksudi) (Maqsudi Sadri Nizametdin-uğlí)</td>
<td>Kazan gub.</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>23-7.1878-20.2.1957</td>
<td></td>
<td>higher: Law Faculty of the Sorbonne, France</td>
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<td>35.</td>
<td>Maksyutov Sāfiullā Tazetdinovič (Maqsudov Sāfiullah Taštédin-uğlí)</td>
<td>Kazan gub.</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>1858-after</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>? madrasa</td>
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<td>36.</td>
<td>Massagutov Xabajrakman (Māṣagutov Xabajrakman)</td>
<td>Vyatka gub.</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>1862-after</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>? madrasa</td>
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<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Maxmudov Şārağutdin Zalyaletdinovič (Māxmuādov Şārağutdin Çalaletdin-uğlí)</td>
<td>Ufa gub.</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>(1853)?-?</td>
<td>lower: Tatar Teachers' School Ufa</td>
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<td>39.</td>
<td>Mediev (Maxdiev) Abdurakman (Rašid) (Māḥdiyev Ābdurakman (Rašid)</td>
<td>Crimea, Taviya gub.</td>
<td>Crimean Tatar</td>
<td>1880?-1912</td>
<td></td>
<td>lower</td>
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<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Mindubaev Feyzel-Kudus (Minlebayev Feyzelqotduš)</td>
<td>Kazan gub.</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>1869-?</td>
<td></td>
<td>? madrasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Place of Birth</td>
<td>Nationality</td>
<td>Year of Birth</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
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<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Minnigaleev</td>
<td>Samara gub.</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>1857-?</td>
<td>? madrasa</td>
<td>peasantry; small landowner; member of the uezd-administration (from 1897), head of a volost' court (from 1898); head of a military district (voenno-konsky učastok) (from 1905), member of the commission for the regulation of the use of land (zemleustroitel'nyaya komissiya) of Belebey uezd (after 1907)</td>
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<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Muradxanov Asadullabek</td>
<td>Caucasus, Baku gub.</td>
<td>Azeri</td>
<td>1866-?</td>
<td>secondary: Transcaucasus Teachers' School lower?</td>
<td>teacher in a Muslim school, then in state service; translator in the chancery of a justice of the peace peasantry; small landowner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Musin Gamer</td>
<td>Kazan gub.</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>1854-?</td>
<td>? madrasa</td>
<td>mullah (axun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Mutinov Šaxšarif (Mutinov Šahšarif)</td>
<td>Orenburg gub.</td>
<td>Bashkir</td>
<td>1856-?</td>
<td>secondary</td>
<td>nobility; landowner; Colonel off duty; head of a Muslim beneficial Association of the Crimea; member of the guberniya- and uezd-zemstvos merchant</td>
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<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Mutfiy-Zadai Ismail Murza (Möfiz-Zadă İsmail Mirza)</td>
<td>Crimea, Tavriya gub.</td>
<td>Crimean Tatar</td>
<td>1841-?</td>
<td>lower</td>
<td>merchant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Muxamedzhanov Salidžan</td>
<td>Turkestan, city of Fergana</td>
<td>Uzbek</td>
<td>1868-?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>peasantry; small landowner; agriculture and trade; mullah (since 1890)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Narakunyev Timergali</td>
<td>Steppe region, Semipalatinsk obl.</td>
<td>Kazakh</td>
<td>1861-?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Nedişmedinov Abdulla Aymaledinovič</td>
<td>Simbirsk gub.</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>1869-?</td>
<td>? madrasa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>
49. Nurberdi-Xanov
Maxdum (Nurberdi-xanov
Makdum)

Turkestan, city of
Ashkhabad;
Zakapiyskaya
obl.

Teke
23.11.1859-
9.10.1921

from a distinguished family
(grandson of a khan); Lieutenant-
Colonel (podpolkovnik) of the
Russian army

50. Ramiev Muxammed-
Zakir Muxammed-Sadikovič
(Ramiyev Muxammad-Zakir
M.-Sadik-ugli)

Orenburg gub.

Tatar

peasantry; agriculture and stock-
breeding

51. Seyfedinov Saxbal
Saxautdinovič (Siyfedinov
Sahlal Slaautdin-ugli)

Orenburg gub.

Bashkir

practice physician

52. Sultanov Baxaldek
(Baxaldek)

Caucasus,
Dagestan obl.
and Zakatal' okrug

1875/76-

higher: Medical
Faculty

53. Sirtilanov Galiaskar
Saxaydorovič (Sirtlanov
Galiasgar Saxhaldar-ugli)

Ufa gub.

Tatar (in
mother's
line; father
was
Bashkir)

higher: Military-Law
Academy

54. Sirtilanov Sax-
Aydar/Xaydar (Sirtlanov
Saxhaldar/Xaydar)

Ufa gub.

Bashkir

secondary: Orenburg
Cadets School
(Kadetskiy korpus)

55. Tagiev Ismail
Zeinalovič (Tagiyev Ismail
Zeynal-ugli)

Caucasus, city of
Baku

1865-

secondary: Realnoe
Utislische of Baku

56. Tainov Mulla (?)

Semireč'e obi.

? madrasa

nobility; major landowner; chairman
of the zemstvo of Belebey uyezd;
member of the zemstvo assembly of
the guberniya; honorary justice of
the peace

wholesale trader, petroleum
specialist

mullah
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and Title</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Years of Service</th>
<th>Education/Profession</th>
<th>Additional Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>Tevelev Kutlug-Muxammed Batırigevici</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>Ufa gub.</td>
<td>4.8.1850-?</td>
<td>secondary: Pažeskiy korpus</td>
<td>hereditary nobility; landowner; marshal of the nobility of Belebeý uyezd; honorary justice of the peace</td>
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<tr>
<td>58.</td>
<td>Topçibaşev Ali-Mardan</td>
<td>Azeri</td>
<td>Baku gub., city of Baku</td>
<td>4.5.1862-8.11.1934</td>
<td>higher: Law Fac. of St. Petersburg University (1888)</td>
<td>hereditary nobility; lawyer; member of the Baku city Duma; writer, editor of the newspapers Kaspîy and Xaya; peasant; mullah (axun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59.</td>
<td>Tukaev Muxammed-Şakir Muxammed-Xarisoğlu</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>Ufa gub.</td>
<td>1862-1932 (1934?)</td>
<td>lower: Teachers' School</td>
<td>traffic engineer</td>
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<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>Tinışbaşev Muxamedžan</td>
<td>Kazakh</td>
<td>Semirech’e obl.</td>
<td>1879-?</td>
<td>higher: Institute for Traffic Engineers</td>
<td>mullah (in Seitovskiy posad)</td>
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<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>Usmanov Xayrulla Abdrazimovichi</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>Orenburg gub., city of Orenburg</td>
<td>1866-?</td>
<td>? madrasa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>Xan-Xoyskiy Fatali Xan Iskander Ogli</td>
<td>Azeri</td>
<td>Caucasus, Yelizavetopol’ gub.</td>
<td>7.12.1875-19.6.1920</td>
<td>higher: Juridical Fac. of Moscow University</td>
<td>assistant of the public prosecutor of Yekaterinodar okrug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td>Xas-Mamedov Xalilbek Gadii Baba Ogli</td>
<td>Azeri</td>
<td>Yelizavetopol’ and Yerivan guberniyas of Baku</td>
<td>1875-?</td>
<td>higher: Juridical Fac. of Moscow University</td>
<td>lawyer, assistant of public prosecutor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64.</td>
<td>Xasanov Kalimulla Gumerovichi</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>Ufa gub.</td>
<td>1881-3.3.1948</td>
<td>secondary: Kazan Tatar Teachers' School (1904)</td>
<td>peasant; teacher (until 1908); editor and publisher of the newspaper Duma (1907); agent of the Russian Insurance Company (since 1915)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
65. Xasanov Muhammed-Sabir Muhammedzanovič (Xasanov Möxümmad-Sabir Möxümmadğan-ugil)

66. Xusainov Şamsetdin (Xüşeyenov Şamsetdin)

67. Şaxtəxinskiy Muhammed-agha (Şaxtəxinskiy Möxümmad-Ağa)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>II</th>
<th>Ufa gub., city of Ufa</th>
<th>Tatar</th>
<th>1866-after 1917 (?)</th>
<th>madrasa</th>
<th>peasantry; mullah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Vyatka gub.</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>1878-?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>mullah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Caucasus, city of Baku</td>
<td>Azeri</td>
<td>1865 (1851)?-?</td>
<td>higher: University of Leipzig/Germany</td>
<td>writer, editor and publisher of the newspaper Şarg-i Rüs (1903-04), co-worker in several pro-government publications</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: Activities of the Muslim Deputies of the First State Duma in Commissions and Parliamentary Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family and name</th>
<th>Work in commissions</th>
<th>Membership in factions</th>
<th>Vyborg Declaration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ağurski</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Muslim Group, no party affiliation</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zakariyabık</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Aliyev</td>
<td>agrarian</td>
<td>Muslim Group, no party affiliation</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Möxämmed-Tahir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Alkin Siyid-Gürtiy</td>
<td>agrarian</td>
<td>Muslim Group; faction &quot;Narodnaya svoboda&quot; (k-d.)</td>
<td>signed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Aqbirdev</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Muslim Group, no party affiliation</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdükinbïk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Badamšin Çarif</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Muslim Group; faction &quot;Narodnaya svoboda&quot; (k-d.)</td>
<td>was absent in Petrograd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Biremşanov</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Muslim Group, no party affiliation</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Äzmïd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Bukeyxanov</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>Muslim Group; faction &quot;Narodnaya svoboda&quot; (k-d.)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alíxan</td>
<td></td>
<td>no party affiliation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Ildarxanov</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Muslim Group; faction &quot;Narodnaya svoboda&quot; (k-d.)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taštemir</td>
<td></td>
<td>no party affiliation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Kalmenev</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Muslim Group; faction &quot;Narodnaya svoboda&quot; (k-d.)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alïşbay</td>
<td></td>
<td>no party affiliation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Köşçegulov</td>
<td></td>
<td>Muslim Group; faction &quot;Narodnaya svoboda&quot; (k-d.)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Şahimârdan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Maqsudov</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Muslim Group; faction &quot;Narodnaya svoboda&quot; (k-d.)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxibzada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Minkebayev</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Muslim Group; faction &quot;Narodnaya svoboda&quot; (k-d.)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fûyzelqoidus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Muradxanov</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Muslim Group, no party affiliation</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Äsadullahbïk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Mutinov</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Muslim Group; faction &quot;Narodnaya svoboda&quot; (k-d.)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Şahşïřif</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Ramiyev</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Muslim Group; faction &quot;Narodnaya svoboda&quot; (k-d.)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Möxämmed-Zakir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Party Affiliation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Sirdlanov</td>
<td>Muslim Group;</td>
<td>faction &quot;Narodnaya svoboda&quot; (k.-d.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Şakhiydar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Tainov Mulla</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>was absent in Petrograd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Topçibaev Ali-Mardan</td>
<td>faction &quot;Narodnaya svoboda&quot; (k.-d.); organizer and chairman of the Muslim Group</td>
<td>signed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Täfkilev Qotliq-Moxammad</td>
<td>Muslim Group;</td>
<td>was absent in Petrograd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>faction &quot;Narodnaya svoboda&quot; (k.-d.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Xurumshin</td>
<td>Muslim Group;</td>
<td>didn't sign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Çamaletdin</td>
<td>faction &quot;Narodnaya svoboda&quot; (k.-d.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Xosilyenov</td>
<td>Muslim Group;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Samseddin</td>
<td>faction &quot;Narodnaya svoboda&quot; (k.-d.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Yerevenskiy</td>
<td>Muslim Group, no</td>
<td>signed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ağaxan</td>
<td>party affiliation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Ziyadenov</td>
<td>Ismitlikan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Äxterov</td>
<td>Muslim Group;</td>
<td>signed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Äbüsoğud</td>
<td>faction &quot;Narodnaya svoboda&quot; (k.-d.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Çantuirin</td>
<td>Muslim Group;</td>
<td>signed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sallingärliy</td>
<td>agrarian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3: Activities of the Muslim Deputies of the Second State Duma in Commissions and Parliamentary Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Membership in commissions</th>
<th>Membership in parliamentary groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Abduballilov Ta’bihali</td>
<td>agrarian</td>
<td>Muslim Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Allahbergenov Vā’ilullah</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>Muslim Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Atsasov Hadi</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>Muslim Labor Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Badamšin Garif</td>
<td>budget</td>
<td>Muslim Labor Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Biglov Möxūmmid-Ākrām</td>
<td>budget</td>
<td>Chairman of the Muslim Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Biremğanov Äxmid</td>
<td>on the reform of the local Muslim Faction courts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on the abolition of provost martialsa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Ildarxanov Taštemir</td>
<td>agrarian</td>
<td>member of the Muslim Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to local government and self-government</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>elaboration of standing orders</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Kulbakov Şirāfetdin</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>Muslim Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Kulmanov Baxvagātly</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>Muslim Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Köşehegulov Šahimārdań</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>Muslim Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Maksutov Sefullah</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>Muslim Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Magṣūdī Sadr</td>
<td>tovarîč (deputy) of the Duma’s Secretary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>financial</td>
<td>Muslim Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on freedom of conscience</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on the reform of local courts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Musin Gōmär</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>Muslim Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Māhdiyev Abderraxman (Rāşid)</td>
<td>on the inviolability of the Secretary of the Muslim individual Faction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on public education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on labor legislation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Māṣāqūtov Xābiraxman</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>member of the Muslim Faction and of the Muslim Labor Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Māxmarudov Şirāfetdin</td>
<td>on public education</td>
<td>Muslim Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on the question of unemployment benefits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Mōxźūmmidğanov Saliğan</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Narakunev Turgalı</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Nurberdixanov Māxđilim</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a: provost marshall
20. Nâğmetdinov Abdullah  
in none  
Muslim Labor Group
21. Qaratayev Sultan-Vaxid  
- agrarian  
- on freedom of conscience  
- for the review of inquiries  
- on the inquiry into correspondences
Muslim Faction
22. Qardâyev Arslanbâk  
none
Muslim Faction
23. Qarî Abderrâîf  
none
Muslim Faction
24. Sultanov Baxbalde  
none
Muslim Faction
25. Sâyfeddinov Şâhbal  
- agrarian
Muslim Faction
26. Sîrîlânov Şahxüydâr  
- on state registers of revenues and expenses
Muslim Faction
27. Tağıyev Ismail  
none
- on freedom of conscience
Muslim Faction
28. Tuçayev Mûxâmmâd-Şâkir
- on labor legislation
Muslim Faction
29. Tâfizilev Qotîg-Mûxâmmâd
- on food supply
Muslim Faction
30. Xan-Xoyskiy Fütâli Xan  
- financial
- on the inviolability of the individual
- ... 55 members... of the Duma (Secretary of Commission)
Muslim Faction
31. Xas-Mamedov Xâlibbâk  
- on state registers of revenues and expenses
- to local government and self-government
- for the review of inquiries
Muslim Faction
32. Xâsimov Kâlimullah
- on food supply
Muslim Labor Group
33. Xâsimov Mûxâmmâd-Sâbir
none
Muslim Faction
34. Zeynalov Zeynal
- agrarian
- on labor legislation
Muslim Labor Group
35. Gosmanov Xîyûrullah  
none
Secretary of the Muslim Faction
36. Şahaftinskiy Mûxâmmâd-ağa  
- on food supply
- agrarian
first member of the Muslim Faction, later moved to the Rights
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Work in commissions (number of sessions)</th>
<th>Membership in parliamentary groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bayburin Ėlimgir</td>
<td>- budget (1-2)</td>
<td>Muslim Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- on land (1-5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maqaud Sadr</td>
<td>- on bills (1-5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- on the inviolability of the individual (1-2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- financial (3-5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikrënov Širëfeddin</td>
<td>- on state registers (1-2)</td>
<td>Muslim Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- on public education (1-5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- on the labor question (4-5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- on the grain trade (5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Müfû巨-Zade Ismail Mirza</td>
<td>- on resettlement (переселение) (1-2)</td>
<td>Octobrista’s Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- on affairs of Faith (1-5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- on state registers on revenues and expenses (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- on supply with food (5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirntanov Guliangar</td>
<td>- on state defense (1-5, deputy товариет of the Commission’s Secretary)</td>
<td>Muslim Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- on the inviolability of the individual (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- on resettlement (1-2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- on local self-government (2-5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- on secondary schools ( gimnazii ) and preparatory schools (4-5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Täfiklev Qotilg-Möxämmed</td>
<td>- on land (1-5)</td>
<td>Muslim Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- on affairs of Faith (1-5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- on peasants’ obligations (1-2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tugayev Möxämmed-Šakir</td>
<td>- on the project of addresses (1)</td>
<td>Muslim Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- on claims (1-5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- on resettlement (1-2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xas-Mamedov Xalibat</td>
<td>- on court reforms (1-2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Activity of the Muslim Faction of the State Duma

9. Xaydarov Ibrahimk - on land (1)
   - on the labor question (1-3)
   - on questions of traffic (1-5)
   - budgetarian (3-5)
   - on fishing (4-5)
   Faction of the Social-Democrats (sess. 1-2);
   Muslim Faction (3-5)

10. Yenikeev Gilyas - on questions of public education (1-5)
    Muslim Faction

Table 5: Activities of the Muslim Deputies of the Fourth State Duma in Commissions and Parliamentary Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Work in commissions (number of sessions)</th>
<th>Membership in parliamentary groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baytirikov Abdellatif</td>
<td>on land (1-2)</td>
<td>Muslim Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gafarov Mamed-Yusif</td>
<td>budgetarian (1-2)</td>
<td>Muslim Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on resettlement (1-2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on claims (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalgat Muxammad</td>
<td>on land (1-2)</td>
<td>Progressive Block</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on trade and industry (1-2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on the issue of bills (1-2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on resettlement (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnegaliyev Minhagdzin</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>Muslim Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafikov Qofig-Muxammad</td>
<td>on local self-government (1-2)</td>
<td>Chairman of the Muslim Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on military and naval affairs (1-2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on food supply (1-2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yenikeev Gilyas</td>
<td>on public education (1-2)</td>
<td>Deputy (kovari) of the Secretary of the State Duma; member of the Muslim Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on affairs of Faith (1-2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acxamov Ibniyilmom</td>
<td>on court reforms (1-2)</td>
<td>Secretary of the Muslim Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on the Press (1-2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on investigations (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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