A study of Ibrahim's political activities in the Young Turk era is important in several respects. First of all, it sheds light on the Aslanist policy to which Ibrahim subscribed and upon which he agreed with his Japanese friends. For the Ottomans, it was difficult, if not impossible, to employ Aslanist policies in the turbulent and catastrophic political atmosphere of the Young Turk era. Second, a study concerning Ibrahim's activities during this period helps to augment our knowledge of the political nature of Tatar pan-Islamism that was embodied in Ibrahim's thought and personality. Despite the fact that many Tatar pan-Islamist intellectuals and activists came to the Ottoman Empire and contributed to the Islamist and Turkist atmosphere of the Second Constitutional Period, this interaction has attracted little academic interest. In this paper I intend to highlight the ideas and activities of a small Tatar pan-Islamist group, led by Ibrahim, which was in contact with Unionist circles. Moreover, a study of Ibrahim's activities in this period also sheds light on the basic political motives that marked his political career in his later life, especially during his time in Japan in the 1930s and 40s.

Ibrahim was a political activist who dedicated his life to the endless struggle for the Islamic cause against Russian and British colonialism. His political personality was shaped, to a great degree, by the social and historical experiences that Russian Muslims had gained during the last decades of the nineteenth century. During this period, the competition between the rising Tatar merchant bourgeoisie of the Volga-Ural region and Russian capitalism generated a reactionary Muslim cultural reformism, called jadidism. Tatar jadidism was transformed from a cultural framework into a political one in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Ibrahim, with his

From Asianism to Pan-Turkism: The Activities of Abdürrespêd İbrahim In the Young Turk Era

Nadir Özbek

Abdürrespêd İbrahim (1857-1944) is well known for his travels to Japan in 1908 and for his connections there with important Japanese political figures. Although the details of this stay are known due to his memoirs, Alemi Islam, and to some recent studies, his political activities following his return to Istanbul have not been studied extensively. In this paper, Ibrahim's activities within the intellectual and political atmosphere of the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918) will be investigated. In the Ottoman capital, Ibrahim was expected to pursue the Aslanist policy that he had agreed on with his Japanese friends. However, the Aslanist emphasis in his political thinking gradually weakened and was replaced by pan-Turkist ideological themes. This shift might seem paradoxical, since the image of Japan as willing to cooperate with the Ottoman Empire was highly popular among all segments of the Ottoman intellectuals and gained momentum, especially with Ibrahim and Yamaoka's appearance in Istanbul, in 1910. I will investigate this seemingly paradoxical shift and try to draw some general conclusions from it as they relate to Ibrahim's political career.
open struggle against the Tsarist autocracy, played a leading role in this transformation. Ibrahim represented a particular version of jadidism which included a pan-Islamist approach, a universalistic political notion, and an anti-colonialist spirit. All these characteristics led him on a search for a strong supporter, an imperial backer, for the struggle of Turco-Muslims of the Russian Empire; among his choices were Ottoman Empire, Japan or Germany. As such, he was pushed not only towards the inner circles of conspiratorial world politics, but also towards indefinite ideological positions. In this sense, at the ideological level, any 'pan' strategy of Islamism, pan-Islamism, Turkism (or any combination thereof) would work for him.

The Turco-Muslim intellectuals of the Russian Empire considered the rivalry between Japan and Russia in the East to be beneficial in their political struggle against Tsarist autocracy. This rivalry had broader political implications, especially for Islamist intellectuals like Ibrahim. They believed that the Japanese success against Russia in the war of 1904-5 increased the possibility and sustainability of an Asian coalition against Russian, British, and Dutch colonialism that could emancipate all Muslims from colonial chains. This coalition might be led either by the Ottoman Caliphate or by Japan, if Japan would accept Islam as its national religion. A theory like this seems unrealistic; however, Islamist ideologies enjoyed high levels popularity in the political conjuncture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. What is unique to Ibrahim’s version is its incorporation of Islam within Ottomanism.

Ibrahim started looking at Asia, and particularly at Japan, at a very early date. He was in Japan in 1902 and 1903, and is believed to have been involved in anti-Russian propaganda there, which eventually led to his deportation at the request of the Russian consul. Though not much is known about Ibrahim’s earlier visits to Japan, his trip in 1908 is well documented. We know, for example, that he was in contact with important figures from the government, such as Prime Minister Ito, Count Okuma, the liberal-nationalist Tokutomi Soho, and some members of Kokuryūkai, like Uchida Ryōhei and Toyama Mitsuru. During this trip, Ibrahim’s main purpose was to examine the possibility of an Islamist-Asian coalition against Russia and Britain. On his way to the Ottoman capital, Ibrahim’s mission was to convince local Muslim leaders that establishing unity among Muslims was the primary political task, and that Japan would support the Muslim struggle against British and Flemish colonial rule. We understand from Ibrahim’s memoir, that though he was not very successful in China, his connections in Singapore were productive. From Ibrahim’s point of view, the crucial point in his mission was first, the Ottoman Middle East and later, its capital Istanbul, which will be examined below.

In 1910, already a well-known Muslim traveler and Islamist activist, Ibrahim found himself within circles of the Islamist intellectuals of the Ottoman capital. Islamist intellectuals and some segments of the Ottoman iqtaμa inclined, particularly from 1908 onwards, towards reformist political thinking and activity which, they hoped, would allow them to recover their prestige and social status that had eroded under Hamidian rule. The basic means used by these Islamist intellectuals for their political activities included organizing public meetings and conferences, delivering sermons in mosques, and most importantly, publishing periodicals. Siyāṣa Miṣṭuqām, a well-known periodical published primarily by liberal Islamists close to the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), is an important example of these. Ibrahim, even before he arrived in Istanbul, had sent letters and articles
to this journal from Japan. Mehmed Akif, the Islamist poet, and one of the most influential writers of **Sırat-i Mustakim**, popularized Ibrahim’s memoir with his famous poetic composition, Süleymanije Kârşisinden. Of course, Ibrahim, once a member of the Muslim Religious Administration in Orenburg, and later one of the leaders of the Muslim Iltifat Union movement in 1905-1906 in Russia, did not need much advertisement to get the public’s attention in the Ottoman capital.

Abdülhamid II approached Ibrahim with caution and did not favor many of his active Islamist and Asianist policies. With the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, Ottoman Islamist circles began to pay more and more attention to Ibrahim and his political projects. In this context, the link between the modernist **ulema** and the CUP, which was made possible as a result of the societies directly affiliated with the Committee, helped Ibrahim to participate in direct political activity in the Ottoman Empire. One of the most important and well-known societies Ibrahim affiliated himself with was İttifak ve Terakki Şehzadebaşı Kulübü (the Club of Şehzadebaşı). This club provided important political leverage to Unionist leaders; with the help of the **ulema** who were members of the club, the CUP first tried to eliminate the negative image of the Party as alien and even hostile to Islam, and second to neutralize the opposition of some sections of the **ulema** against the Committee, especially the liberal opposition organized around Cemiyet-i İlimîye-i İslamiye.

The **İlimîye** of the club organized numerous conferences and public speeches that were delivered in a popular discourse similar to that of the religious sermons. Ibrahim, due to his recent observations of Japan and the Muslim world, was an indispensable figure at these conferences. He consistently described the miserable political condition of the Muslim world and its colonial status. The basic message of all his speeches was the necessity of unity and solidarity among Muslims of the world against colonialist policies and regimes.

Designed for propaganda purposes, the ritualistic aspects of Ibrahim’s speeches were as important as the messages delivered. The first conference was organized by the **Russkiy Islam Telebeleri Cemiyeti**, the Organization of Muslim Students of Russia, on the evening of March 22, 1910. Ibrahim was introduced to a large audience and the background about his struggles in Russia was explained. Abdülhamid II’s impatience concerning Ibrahim and his actions was also discussed. His activities during the 1905 Russian Revolution were described as an attempt to establish unity between the Sunnis and Shiiites of Russia. Hacı Ömer Yamaoka, one of the founders of **Asiya-Çi-Kay**, was also present and gave a short speech in Russian. His presence there, as a representative figure of the Japanese interest in a political coalition with the Ottoman Empire, strengthened the ceremonial and symbolic aspect of the meeting. Another conference was held again at the same club on April 15, 1910, at which Ibrahim was presented to the audience by Musa Kazım, the well-known and highly respected **Şehîh-i İslâm** who was closely connected to the CUP and also a prominent contributor to Sırat-i Mustakim. Ibrahim later gave similar conferences at the İlimîye Kulübü (İttifak ve Terakki Kulübü) of Bursa, a city that hosted a considerable number of Crimea Tatar immigrants. In addition to the conferences at the İlimîye Kulübü, Ibrahim also delivered sermons at the Camii Kebir (Ülu Camii), the famous mosque of Bursa.

One may get the impression from the conferences, articles, news and letters published in the early issues of Sırat-i Mustakim, and later in **Tearif-i Müslüman**, that a pan-Islamic policy, and even a political coalition between Japan and the Ottoman Empire against Russian, British and Dutch colonialism was an issue of the near future. For example, according to the letters published in **Tearif-i**
Muslimin, Muhammed b. Muhammed, Ibrahim's friend from the Indonesian islands, assisted some Japanese that Ibrahim had previously recommended to him. This letter demonstrates that Ibrahim's assistance was crucial for the Japanese activists' penetration of Southeastern Asia. There are also other signs, such as various correspondences between Ibrahim's Japanese friends and the Sheikhuslamade, indicating ongoing contact between the Japanese and Ottomans. Yet, the content of these correspondences, some of which were published in Terciif-i Muslimin, was no more than expressions of best wishes.

If we put aside these minor achievements, and, also the propagandist aspects of Ibrahim's discourse, the fact that Ibrahim was not actually very optimistic about the feasibility of an Asianist-Islamist project, at least for the time being, becomes clearer. Ibrahim believed that the fate of his Asianist-Islamist strategy depended totally on the Ottoman state's direct interest in such a strategy. Regarding the Ottoman government's approach in 1910, Ibrahim received a negative response while in Hejaz, even before he arrived in the capital. The Ottoman Hejaz was home to a considerable number of Kazan Tatars, most of whom were students and scholars in the religious schools and members of some Sufi sects. With the help of these people, along with members of the local İmam ve Terakki Kulübü, Ibrahim tried to organize conferences and meetings during the pilgrimage of 1910. However, as he described in detail in Alem-i Islam, Ibrahim and his friends' pan-Islamist propaganda and organizational activities were prevented both by the Governor of Hejaz and by some Unionists there. It seems that the Ottoman central government was very sensitive to such activities in the Hejaz province and therefore carefully monitored the Tatar students. To that end, the Council of Ministers passed a decision to prohibit the establishment of societies in Medina by Tatar students from Kazan. Though these decisions do not target to Ibrahim personally, he was, no doubt, the figure behind these organizational activities. Later, Ibrahim admitted in a letter to his daughter Fevziye Hanum that as a result of Talat Pasha and Cavid's pro-British policies, he was unable to fully pursue pan-Islamist and Asianist policies in 1910.

What all these points reflect is that, despite the popularity of an image of a Japan which would possibly accept Islam or at the least back the Muslim world against British and Russian colonialism and cooperate with the Ottoman state, the Ottoman government and Unionist leaders were far from subscribing to such an Asianist policy. As a result, Ibrahim became increasingly eager to reconsider his political strategies. As time passed, Ibrahim saw that his only choice in the short run was to give up Asianist policies and adopt the relatively narrow political agenda of the CUP. As will be discussed below, this search would lead Ibrahim to subscribe to the pan-Turkist policies of Enver Pasha.

His shift from an Islamist policy to a pan-Turkist one implies that Ibrahim preferred nationalism to religion. This shift was to end in a conflict that Ibrahim had been aware of from the time of the İmfaq movement in Russia. He had discussed this issue with Prince İto in 1909. Ibrahim claimed that while religion could unite a broader mass of people, the idea of nationhood was usually divisive. Yet, he agreed that nationalism was gaining ground worldwide, and that it might even be considered progressive. He believed that Islam could be used as an ideological tool to mobilize Muslim masses of the Ottoman Empire, Russia, and Southeast Asia against colonialism. As he mentioned to İto, Ibrahim preferred Islam since it had a broader unifying potential. However, for Ibrahim, the conflict between a policy based on religion and nationalism was
not an issue of the principle, but of the strategy of the anti-colonial struggle. As such, Ibrahim preferred to incorporate both ideologies into one and benefit from both whenever possible. This loose pragmatic position would allow Ibrahim to easily switch from one strategy to another whenever political conjuncture required it. This is exactly what happened during his time in the Ottoman capital.

Ibrahim pursued his new pan-Turanist strategy, a mixture of pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism, among the Tatar émigré societies of Istanbul, Bursa and Eskisehir. These were the major areas of the Ottoman Empire where immigrants from the Balkans, Caucasus, and Crimea had settled. Istanbul hosted a considerable number of Tatar students and intellectuals from all parts of Russia. Most of these intellectuals advocated a Turkist discourse and were united around pan-Turkist journals and organizations like Türk Derneği, Türk Ocağı, and Türk Yurdu. However, Ibrahim clearly distinguished himself from these Turkist circles, and tried to build a separate Tatar pan-Islamist/pan-Turkist political network. In a sense, the political split of the Muslim congresses of 1905-1907, the split between the Turkist and the Islamist approaches, voiced by Yusuf Akçura and Abdürrreşid İbrahim respectively, reoccurred within the political conjuncture of the Young Turk era. At this time, while Akçura and his colleagues, both domestic and émigré intellectuals, were trying to establish the foundations of Turkish-nationalism, Ibrahim and his Tatar Islamist friends first sided with the liberal Ottoman Islamists, and then established separate political organizations and periodicals.

To pursue his political strategies, Ibrahim gathered a team of students and intellectuals around himself, mostly of whom were of Tatar origin, among them were Ahmed Taceddin, a Siberian Tatar student from Troitsk, later a student of the American College in Beirut; Yakup Kemal, a Crimean Tatar student and a graduate of the Theological Faculty of Istanbul University; and Osman Cudi, the son of a Crimean Tatar immigrant who had been the director of the Akmeçit Rüşdiyesi in Crimea. For Ibrahim and his young friends, Tatar Cemiyeti Hayriyesi, the Tatar Charitable Society, founded by the Crimean Tatars living in Istanbul, provided an organizational basis. Aware of the extensive social and political functions carried out by charitable societies in Russia, Ibrahim's small activist group greatly exploited this organization for political goals. Although this society seemed to be simply a charitable one and reflected an apolitical stance, in fact, it served as an umbrella organization for Tatar émigrés such as Osman Cudi, Yakup Kemal, Ahmed Taceddin, and Abdürrreşid İbrahim, who followed an active pan-Islamist and pan-Turkist policy. Despite the apolitical language of the program of the society, the facilities served as a base for Cudi and Ibrahim. These two men coordinated their publishing activities from Tatar Cemiyeti Hayriyesi Panşiyonu, the dormitory of the society. Moreover, with the help of this society, Ibrahim even planned to extend his influence to include the Tatar immigrants living in Anatolian cities like Eskisehir. In 1913, at a congress of the society, Ibrahim was elected, for the second time, as executive director. Osman Cudi was a member of the Executive Board.

Ibrahim and his friends began to publish Tercüf-i Mülüzmm, their first periodical in Istanbul, on April 15, 1910. This journal was to draw attention to the problems of Muslims worldwide, especially to those of the Russian Turco-Muslims. Although it was not openly stated, in each issue Ibrahim wrote the first article as if he were the editor-in-chief. No doubt, the first and foremost readers of the journal were Muslim immigrants from Russia, in particular the students who had already rallied around Rusyał İslam Talebeleri Cemiyeti; other readers included Muslim peoples in Russia. According to one account
"[Tearıfti Müslüman] enjoyed a wide circulation among the Muslim Turks in Russia, and as an Istanbul journal, its influence there could be compared only to Sıratı Müstakim and Türk Yurdu."23

Ibrahim’s publishing activities did not last long. After 32 issues, Tearıfti Müslüman was closed in February 1911. Two years later Ibrahim and Cudi founded another journal, İslam Dünyası, just two months after the Unionist coup of 1913. This time Ibrahim was named editor-in-chief, while Cudi was, again, the director. The life of İslam Dünyası was also short, after 27 issues it too was closed.

Ibrahim’s political activities in this era reached their most expressive form with his direct contact with Enver Pasha, the man behind the pan-Islamist and pan-Turkist policies of the Young Turk regime. It is possible that Enver hoped to employ Ibrahim, among others, in his pan-Islamist and pan-Turkist policies focusing on Muslims, in general, and the Muslims of Russia, in particular. Due to his charismatic personality and his popularity among the Russian Muslims, Ibrahim had attracted Enver’s attention as early as 1910; and from then until Enver’s death in 1922, the two men remained in contact. In this respect, it is quite likely that Ibrahim functioned as an active member of Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa, ‘the special organization’, which was established by Enver as early as 1911 to coordinate intelligence activities and deliver propaganda against Russian and British colonial rule in various parts of the Muslim and Turkic world.24 Accordingly, Ibrahim appeared to be one of the most important agents of pan-Islamist and pan-Turkist policies conducted primarily by Enver and his ‘special organization’, and took part in important activities especially during Enver’s political and military encounters in the Arab regions and Central Asia. Following the occupation of Tripoli by the Italians in 1911, for instance, Ibrahim went there with some of his friends from Tatar Cemiyeti Heyrnesi, including Osman Cudi, and accompanied Enver in his resistance against the Italians.25

As an influential Muslim leader with fluent Arabic, Ibrahim was able to deliver pan-Islamic propaganda to Muslim tribes in the mountains surrounding Tripoli. During the First World War, Ibrahim traveled to Germany in order to organize a battalion from a group of Muslim soldiers captured by the German army, to fight in the Jihād, or Holy War, against the British forces on the Eastern Front.26 After the armistice of 1918, Ibrahim participated in İslam İtilāfı Cemiyetleri İttihatı, The Union of Revolutionary Muslim Societies, Enver’s secret organization for pan-Islamic and pan-Turkist activities, which was, in fact, a successor of Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa. In the Second Congress of this organization, held in Berlin, Ibrahim was the representative from Russia.27 This time Ibrahim and Enver were to voice an Asianist and Islamist strategy in accordance with the revolutionary enthusiasm created in the east by the Bolshevik Revolution. However, Ibrahim’s new stance, which would not last long, is beyond the focus of this paper.28

Ibrahim’s affiliation with Enver and with his political priorities, a mixture of pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism, a policy which would be used especially against Russia in the Caucasus and Central Asia and to some extent against the British forces in India and Afghanistan, shaped the very essence of Ibrahim’s viewpoint and his projects during the Second Constitutional Period. Hence, Ibrahim, though continuing to spread pan-Islamist ideas, shifted to a pan-Turkist or pan-Turanist position that resonated with the CUP’s, or more particularly Enver’s, policy concerns.

Beyond his activities mentioned above, Ibrahim’s new position found its most explicit expression in the pages of Tearıftı Müslüman. Though a pan-Islamic tone was carefully preserved in most of the journal’s articles, most of Ibrahim’s articles concerned pan-Turanism. In these articles, Ibrahim tried to legitimize the slight shift in his
line of thought from Pan-Islamism towards Pan-Turkism. His main concern was to prove the compatibility of the two policies. Pan-Turanism, in his view, did not mean a departure from Pan-Islamic policy; on the contrary, Pan-Turanism should be understood as the very first step towards global Islamic unity. According to Ibrahim, the unification of Muslim Turks, of those who shared the same ethnic origin and the same language, should be the primary political task. The unity of all the Muslims of the world would then follow.

The content of the journal also reflected the pre-eminence of the Pan-Turkist approach. For instance, the agenda of Alem-ı İslam, one of the most important parts of the journal, was dominated by news and comments concerning mainly the problems of Russian Turks, though it had been declared that equal attention would be paid to all parts of the Islamic world. Tearif-i Müslüman’s failure to keep this promise should be considered evidence of the fact that this journal was established for spreading Pan-Turkist propaganda to Russian Muslim Turks. This shift in strategy suggests that first, the Turkish Islamist émigrés had easily become affiliated with the CUP’s, particularly Enver’s, pan-Turkist political priorities; second, despite their inclination towards pan-Turkist policies, these activists maintained their distinction from the Turkish-nationalist émigrés at the ideological level by blending the new approach with a pan-Islamist discourse.

The catastrophic results of the Balkan War of 1912-13, however, made it clear that, apart from following an active pan-Islamist or pan-Turkist policy, the Ottoman state was far from being able even to defend its borders. This political turmoil found its reflection among Ibrahim’s Tatar activist group. Accordingly, it became impossible to discern any signs of pan-Islamist or pan-Turanist ideas in the pages of Ibrahim’s second periodical, İslam Dünyası. Instead, what we see is a pessimistic critique of the

Ottoman ulama of Ottoman intellectuals, and of the Ottoman bureaucracy as being responsible for the worsening political conditions of the Empire. Within this negative atmosphere, the only remaining alternative to employ in İslam Dünyası was the implementation of the jadisist model of modernization to the Ottoman society. To this end, some of the goals included the modernization of schools and medresses, the deliverance of sermons in the mother tongue, the simplification of the language, and the call for an Islamic intellectual reformation. By 1914, however, the signs of a world war were on the horizon. By late 1914, the Ottoman Empire found itself involved in World War One. On November 14, the Şeyhülislam officially declared jihad. In this new period, there emerged more urgent political tasks for Ibrahim, some of which have been mentioned above. In time, all the criticisms and accounts made by Tatar êmigré Islamists did not go beyond the pages of İslam Dünyası.

In this paper I have tried to summarize Ibrahim’s political career during the Young Turk era, when he gave up his Asianist policies and temporarily subscribed to a pan-Turkist strategy. At this critical juncture, Ibrahim’s political thinking was shaped, to a great extent, by the realities of the Ottoman Empire. The catastrophic political conditions faced by the Ottoman Empire did not allow any space for an Asianist policy. Hence, the only option for Ibrahim was to affiliate himself with Enver and to participate in his pan-Islamist and pan-Turkist propaganda activities. However, this did not mean that Ibrahim gave up his great Asianist ideals: he would go to Japan in the 1900s and start from where he had left off in 1909.

Regardless of the political strategies that he subscribed to, whether Asianism, pan-Islamism, pan-
Turkism, or a particular blend of these policies, anti-colonialism remained the persistent motif in Ibrahim's political thinking. In other words, establishing a political coalition between Japan and the Ottoman Empire and mobilizing the Muslim masses around the world for a struggle against British and Russian colonialism was the centerpiece of his political thinking. As his career shows, he was ready to serve even Japanese expansionism in the Muslim southeast to achieve his goal against Russia and Britain. In this sense, the shift from Asiamist-Islamist to pan-Turkist policy simply constituted a temporary turning point for him. As is well known, he later subscribed to Asiamism while in Japan in the late 1930s and 1940s.

Ibrahim's career in the Young Turk era sheds some light on the diverging political trajectories of the two sections of Tatar jadism, Islamism and Turkism, both of which contributed to the intellectual atmosphere of the Second Constitutional Period. While Tatar Islamists, like Ibrahim, associated themselves with the expansionist section of the Young Turks, the others combining their fate with the newly emerging Turkish nationalism of the Republic of Turkey. The Tatar Islamists' affiliation with Ottoman pan-Turkist and pan-Islamist expansionism was personified in the acquaintance of Ibrahim and Enver, while the Tatars with Turkist preferences incorporated themselves to the Kemalist nationalist project. The historical course of the twentieth eliminated any chance of survival for the broader projects of Enver and Ibrahim. Enver died in 1922 in Central Asia, and Ibrahim returned to Japan to try his chance once more.

1 Thanks to the recent interest in his life, more sources on Abdurrezak Ibrahim are now available. The special dossier in two issues of Toplumsal Tarh, a Turkish historical journal, is the first place to look. See Toplumsal Tarh v. 4, no. 19 and 20, which include 7 articles. For a detailed account of his life, see Ismail Tunkoglu, Sibahat Mihtar Seyyid Abdurrezak Ibrahim (Ankara: Turkiye Duyanet Vakfi Yayinlari, 1997). In English, see Mahmud Tahir, “Abdurrezak Ibrahim, 1857-1944”, Central Asian Survey, v. 7, n. 4 (1988), pp. 135-146; and Nadir Ozpek, “Abdurrezak Ibrahim (1857-1944), The Life and Thought of a Muslim Activist”, (Master's thesis, Bogazici University, Istanbul, 1984). For more bibliographic information see the bibliography in the dossier of Toplumsal Tarh given above.


3 For Yamaoka and Ibrahim, see Tsuchi Sakiyama, "The First Japanese Hadji Yamaoka Kötarı ve Abdurrezak Ibrahim”, paper presented in this symposium.

4 Though we know a great deal about the contribution of Turkic-Muslim intellectuals to the formation of Turkish nationalism and about their influence on the intellectual atmosphere of the Second Constitutional Period, academic interest in the Tatar pan-Islamists and their connections with Ottoman liberal Islamism remained low though many Tatar pan-Islamist intellectuals and activists came to Turkey and participated in the Islamic atmosphere of the Young Turk period. The causes of this neglect are many—some more immediately apparent than others. Since the Second Constitutional Period has been generally perceived as an introductory era to the secular and nationalist Republican regime, studies on secularism, westernism and Turkish nationalism are encouraged, while studying the Islamic atmosphere of the same period was discouraged. Furthermore, the presence of a conventional belief that for Russian Muslim Turks pan-Islam and pan-Turkism were complementary ideologies is another factor preventing the specific study of Tatar pan-Islamism.

5 Azaide Ayse Rotich, The Volga Turks: a Profile in National Resilience (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1986), p. 236, n. 15. According to Rotich, there is some evidence that Ibrahim's connection with Japan began even prior to his trips in 1902 and 1903.

6 His long memoir presents a detailed account of his activities and political connections in Japan and the Muslim East.

7 Esenber, p. 20.

8 Ugas, p. 17.

9 Ismail Tunkoglu, Islamic skłonнос в Islam uomo (Istanbul: İz Yayınlari, 1994).

10 After being deported from Japan in 1904, Ibrahim came to Istanbul, where he was arrested by the police, handed over to the Russian consul, and
imprisoned in Odessa. See Türkiye. Though Abdürrahim followed a pan-Islamist policy, he was careful to keep good relations with the Russians, so his policy towards Ibrahim is quite understandable. For a broader political account of the Ottoman authorities' attitude towards Russian Muslims during the late Hamidian era see Selim Deringil, "The Ottoman Empire and Russian Muslims: Brother or Rivals?", Central Asian Survey, v.13, no.3 (1994), pp. 403-416.

22 For the relationship between the ulema and the CUP see Kara, pp. 62-91; and for some activities of İttihat ve Terakki Şehzadebağı Kilübü see Kara, pp. 91-93.

23 Some of these conferences were published by the Club as a book under the title of Menvuz-i Diniye. The two volumes of such books include 21 articles by the outstanding religious figures of the time in the style of sermons. Four of those sermons belong to İbrahim, Kara, pp. 81-93.

24 Most of these talks were published in the pages of Sıratu Müstakem. These talks did not differ in content from the material in his book, Alem-i İslam; however his discourse, full of propaganda and agitation, calling Muslims to care about matters all around the world, is important. See Sıratu Müstakem (Mecit A. Yamacık, Abdürrahim İbrahim), Şehzadebağı Kilübî Konferansları, no. 52 (March 1923); "İhsan-i Alem-i İslam Hakkinda (Konferans)", no. 84 (April 1923); "İhsan-i Alem-i İslam Hakkinda, Musa Kazım ile Birlikte Konferans (Şehzadebağı Kulübü)", no. 85 (April 1923); "İhsan-i Alem-ı Musulmân ve Ulema Hakkinda (Burada iki İmam Külbü)", no. 87 (April 1923); "İhsan-i Alem-ı Musulmân ve Ulema Hakkinda (Bursa'da İki İmam Külbü)", no. 88 (April 1923); "İhsan-i Islam: Şairin İlahı ve İlahvâ Hakkinda (6. Konferans)", no. 91 (May 1923); "Şairin İlahı ve İlahvâ Hakkinda (Bursa İlahvâ ve Terakki Külbü Konferansı)", no. 93 (June 1923); "Milliye Ruhu Millet İmam Hakkında" (5. Konferans), no. 94 (June 1923); "Milliyanın Kimiyası ve İlahvâ Hakkinda (Konferans)" (Şehzade İlahvâ ve Terakki Külbü), no. 95 (July 1923); "İsrail'de Terakki (Abdürrahim Enderi'nin Nüshası)", no. 155 (August 1923).

25 This conference was published in Sıratu Müstakem, no. 82 and 83 (March 1925).

26 Abdürrahim İbrahim, "Mevzu: Müslümanları İlahvâ Davet Hakkinda (Bursa'da Gamîl Kebiç'de)", Sıratu Müstakem, no. 89 (May 1925).


28 See: "İhsan-i Alem-i İslam Hakkinda, Musa Kazım ile Birlikte Konferans (Şehzadebağı Kulübü)", no. 85 (April 1923).

29 See: "İhsan-i Alem-ı Musulmân ve Ulema Hakkinda (Burada iki İmam Külbü)", no. 87 (April 1923).

30 See: "İhsan-i Alem-ı Musulmân ve Ulema Hakkinda (Bursa'da İki İmam Külbü)", no. 88 (April 1923).


32 See: "Şairin İlahı ve İlahvâ Hakkinda (Bursa İlahvâ ve Terakki Külbü Konferansı)", no. 93 (June 1923).

33 See: "Milliye Ruhu Millet İmam Hakkında" (5. Konferans), no. 94 (June 1923).

34 See: "Milliyanın Kimiyası ve İlahvâ Hakkinda (Konferans)" (Şehzade İlahvâ ve Terakki Külbü), no. 95 (July 1923).

35 See: "İsrail'de Terakki (Abdürrahim Enderi'nin Nüshası)", no. 155 (August 1923).

36 Abdürrahim İbrahim, "Mevzu: Müslümanları İlahvâ Davet Hakkinda (Bursa'da Gamîl Kebiç'de)", Sıratu Müstakem, no. 89 (May 1925).

37 "İhsan-i Alem-i İslam Hakkinda, Musa Kazım ile Birlikte Konferans (Şehzadebağı Kulübü)", no. 85 (April 1923).

38 See: "İhsan-i Alem-ı Musulmân ve Ulema Hakkinda (Burada iki İmam Külbü)", no. 87 (April 1923).

39 See: "İhsan-i Alem-ı Musulmân ve Ulema Hakkinda (Bursa'da İki İmam Külbü)", no. 88 (April 1923).


41 See: "Şairin İlahı ve İlahvâ Hakkinda (Bursa İlahvâ ve Terakki Külbü Konferansı)", no. 93 (June 1923).

42 See: "Milliye Ruhu Millet İmam Hakkında" (5. Konferans), no. 94 (June 1923).

43 See: "Milliyanın Kimiyası ve İlahvâ Hakkinda (Konferans)" (Şehzade İlahvâ ve Terakki Külbü), no. 95 (July 1923).

44 See: "İsrail'de Terakki (Abdürrahim Enderi'nin Nüshası)", no. 155 (August 1923).

45 Abdürrahim İbrahim, "Mevzu: Müslümanları İlahvâ Davet Hakkinda (Bursa'da Gamîl Kebiç'de)", Sıratu Müstakem, no. 89 (May 1925).

46 "İhsan-i Alem-i İslam Hakkinda, Musa Kazım ile Birlikte Konferans (Şehzadebağı Kulübü)", no. 85 (April 1923).

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51 See: "Milliye Ruhu Millet İmam Hakkında" (5. Konferans), no. 94 (June 1923).

52 See: "Milliyanın Kimiyası ve İlahvâ Hakkinda (Konferans)" (Şehzade İlahvâ ve Terakki Külbü), no. 95 (July 1923).

53 See: "İsrail'de Terakki (Abdürrahim Enderi'nin Nüshası)", no. 155 (August 1923).

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61 See: "Milliyanın Kimiyası ve İlahvâ Hakkinda (Konferans)" (Şehzade İlahvâ ve Terakki Külbü), no. 95 (July 1923).

62 See: "İsrail'de Terakki (Abdürrahim Enderi'nin Nüshası)", no. 155 (August 1923).

63 Abdürrahim İbrahim, "Mevzu: Müslümanları İlahvâ Davet Hakkinda (Bursa'da Gamîl Kebiç'de)", Sıratu Müstakem, no. 89 (May 1925).
The First Japanese Hadji Yamaoka
Kōtarō and Abdürreşid İbrahim

Sakamoto Tsutomu

Abdürreşid İbrahim is known as one of the internationally distinguished Pan-Islamists in the modern history of Islamic world. In 1857, he was born at Tara village near Tobolsk, a small town located on the eastern outskirts across the Ural mountains in Siberia, under the control of the Russian Empire.

He began to pursue his intellectual career in Islamic studies by entering a local elementary school at the age of seven. Thereafter, he spent long years eagerly seeking for knowledge from one medrese to another around the Volga-Ural region and Kazakhstan until the age of twenty-two.¹

In 1878, he decided to go abroad in order to develop his study fully, because he was not satisfied with the old-fashioned trends of Islam in the Russian Empire. Accordingly he selected the sacred city Medina in the Arabian Peninsula as his new studying site, which had become increasingly one of the intellectual centers since the Wahhabi reformist movements in the modern Islamic world and subsequently had continued to attract the people of the younger generation from all areas.²

After seven years, he returned home and started to take his steps in the direction of reform in the Muslim societies under Russian rule. His activities chiefly centered on Orenburg, Kazan and St. Petersburg. He gradually intensified his attitudes against the Russian government