EMIGRATION OF TATAR MUHAJIRS FROM VOLGA-URAL REGION
TO THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Vadim Faritovich Uzbekov ¹, Gamirzan Mirgazyanovich Davletshin ¹, Marat Salavatovich Gatin ¹, Rail Ravilovich Fakhrutdinov ¹

¹ Kazan Federal University, Institute of International Relations, History and Oriental Studies

e-mail: vadimuzbekov94@gmail.com
Tel.: +79872359486

ABSTRACT
This paper considers the reasons and the preparatory stage of the emigrant movement from the Volga-Ural region to the Ottoman Empire, called the Muhajir movement, on the basis of Russian and Turkish sources, as well as the works of previous authors, including foreign ones. The Muhajir movement, in which, in addition to representatives of the peoples of the Volga region, the peoples of the Crimea and the Caucasus took part, seriously changed the ethnic map of the above-mentioned regions, and also left a great imprint in the history of Turkey, where today there are several million descendants of Muhajir, who became an integral part of the Turkish nation. For the chronological scope of our study, we take the 1850-1890-ies, and our choice is due to the fact that it is in this period that mass migration from the territory of the Volga-Ural region to the Ottoman Empire took place. The materials of the study, which were put into use for the first time, make it possible to highlight the previously unknown pages of this emigrant process, and also to fill some gaps in Tatar history. In addition to analyzing archival sources, this study analyzes the etymology of the term Muhajirs and traces its semantic transformation.

Keywords: History, Muhajirs, Ottoman Empire, Tatars, Migration.

INTRODUCTION
The Muhajirs movement, which was a mass migration of the peoples of the Crimea, the Caucasus and the Volga region to the Ottoman Empire, despite its scale and its importance, has long been a poorly explored phenomenon, and only in the last decades domestic researchers began to pay attention to it. However, if a number of works have already been devoted to the Muhajir movement of the Caucasian peoples and the Crimean Tatars, the emigrant processes from the Volga-Ural region, despite the abundance of sources, are still obscured. In our opinion, the analysis of such events will help to uncover hitherto unknown pages of Tatar history and to understand all the processes that took place inside the Tatar society at the end of the 19th century. Besides, let's not forget about the influence that the Muhajirs had on the history of Turkey: already during the time of the Ottoman Empire, the immigrants were included in the socio-economic system of the state, and then their descendants took part in the formation of the modern Turkish nation, becoming an integral part of it. The aforementioned will explain the relevance of this work.

METHODS
When working with this topic, we identified and used the written sources of the archives of Russia and Turkey, most of which had not previously been published. In the course of working with source material, we used the following analysis methods: critical analysis, discourse analysis, etymological analysis.

RESULTS
When studying any emigration (migration) process, which the Muhajir movement is, first of all, it is necessary to pay attention to the reasons that caused this process. In terms of causality, the Muhajir movement is a unique phenomenon containing both religious and socio-economic aspects. However, often the Muhajir movement of the peoples of the Russian state into the Ottoman Empire is treated as a religious outcome, and thus other reasons for these migrations lying outside of religion, are automatically elevated to the rank of secondary, which in our opinion is incorrect. Therefore, before we start to cover the Muhajir
movement in the Tatar community, we need to understand the causes of this phenomenon and, importantly, with the etymology of the word Muhajir (Muhajir movement).

The term "Muhajir " has undergone a serious transformation over the centuries of its existence, and from the religious term originally used to designate immigrants-Muslims who lived for a long time under the rule of the non-Muslim majority and moved to the Islamic state, turned into a purely social term, equivalent in meaning to the term "migrant" (regardless of its religious affiliation). Such a transformation is particularly noticeable in modern Turkish where the word "muhacir" is used as the equivalent of the word "göçmen". Moreover, in one of the documents relating to 1797, we find mention of certain Jews-Muhajirs who moved from Nemchin to Khotyn [6], what gives us the right to assert that the term Muhajir in the Ottoman Empire period we studied, was used to denote all immigrants, regardless of their religion. However, already in the 50's of XIX century, Ottoman government began to speculate this term for the purpose of propaganda, putting religious overtones in it. The use of the religious factor by the Ottoman government is quite understandable in that the formation of the identity for a person of a traditional society was based on a religious worldview, which in turn allowed the peoples to feel themselves as a whole while divided territorially. So, for example, despite the fact that the Volga (Kazan) Tatars, which at that time for several centuries were inside the Russian (Orthodox) state, they did not lose their identity and maintained contacts, sometimes underground, with other Muslim societies, including with Ottoman one. As for the Ottoman Empire, it certainly had its own interests in resettling the Muhajirs to its territory, expressed primarily in the desire to use the settlers as colonizers of new lands.

The reasons that spurred large masses of people to migrating laid mainly in the political or socio-economic sphere, and the special role of the Islamic factor is noted only in the Muhajir movement of the peoples of the Volga region. Indeed, the mullahs and pupils of religious institutions, who made such relocations, as a rule, under the guise of a hajj, took a major part in the first migrations from this region [1].

Later and more massive migration waves which occurred in the 90s of the XIX century combined both religious, and socio-economic and political factors. Thus, the closure of the madrasas, control over maktabs, opening of Russian schools in the places of residence of the Tatar population, gave rise to suspicions in the minds of the Tatars about the beginning of a new wave of Christianization. These assumptions were reinforced by rumors, mostly distributed by mullahs, that the Russian government began to hold all the troublemakers to justice, trying to stop unrests in society.

But nevertheless, in our opinion, the more important reason for the emigrant processes laid in the social and economic life conditions. Drought and crop failures of 1891-93 pushed many Tatar peasants to migrate to the Ottoman Empire. For example, due to the drought in 1891-1892, migrations from the Samara province began. Residents of two villages Mevlık and Emirkhan, consisting of 450 families, while still in their homeland, appealed to the Ottoman government through the Kazan Vekil Yusuf bin Husamedetdin to resettle them on the territory of the empire and allocate the necessary amount of land [7]. The commission on Muhajirs decided to settle them in the Ankara district.

In the documents of the commission on Muhajirs, we can find a reference to 1894-1895 concerning migrants from the Orenburg, Samara and Ufa provinces. In the same years, about 220 families moved from Bugulma and Menzilimsk to Turkey, they were also resettled in the Ankara vilayet [8]. In June 1894, 200 Tatar families from the Orenburg region reached Rostov, and then reached the Ottoman Empire across the sea [9]. In addition to the common people, rather wealthy people moved to Turkey. Thus, for example, a certain Nasfredin Nasyrov moved from Orenburg to Istanbul; there were about 400 thousand rubles in his "pocket" [10].

We see data about a large number of migrants from the Kazan province. It should be noted that both local mullahs and Turkish agents played a significant role in these emigrant processes, under the pretense of
bargainers or workers who came to these areas and were engaged in propaganda. There are many archival documents that documented the arrival of suspicious Turkish citizens which were immediately reported to the office of the Kazan governor. Thus, in 1898, three Turkish loyalists arrived in Chistopol district; they explained their arrival by the desire to engage in small-scale trade and black work in Chistopol. During the investigation, it was found out that two of them had previously studied at a madrasah in Turkey, and were actually going to be engaged in teaching activities in local madrassas and mosques in the Tatar community [18]. In addition to Turkish agents, local mullahs, and even some peasants called for emigration. For example, "the inhabitants of Karamysheva village, Surarethdin Khisamutdinov, Khalilullah Idiatullin and Afletun Vakhitov strongly inclined their community members to resettle in Turkey, and the latter collected from them money which were supposedly required for an application for this case". [19] Similar situations developed also in other provinces. In a document of 1894 it was written: "At the beginning of this year, the Ministry of Internal Affairs received information that false rumors spread among Muslims in the Ufa, Samara, Orenburg and other provinces about their supposed conversion into Orthodoxy under a governmental order. The mullahs and muezzins prompted the Tatars to sell their property and move to Turkey, where several people were sent to look for places for settlement and to get permission from the Sultan to accept migrants as his subjects". [20] The agitation used not only religious appeals, but also the advantages that the Ottoman government promised to the settlers, expressed in allocating fertile lands, exemption from taxes and service in the army. [21]

A great role in agitation for emigration was played by letters from those relatives of Tatars who have already moved to Turkey, in which they tell in detail about life in the Ottoman Empire. One of these letters and its translation, specially made for the office of the governor, we managed to find in the National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan. Thus, this letter tells about the life of the Muhajirs in their new homeland and about the indulgences and privileges that the state provides to the migrants [22]. The letter itself was clearly propagandistic in nature, and it is unlikely that all the information placed in it corresponded to reality.

Of interest is the document that mentions a certain list of 363 residents of the Kazan province who applied for emigration to Turkey: "a copy from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been received from the note of the Turkish Ambassador arriving in St. Petersburg in which Gusni Pasha reports that the Ottoman Government allowed 363 Muslim families to move from the Kazan province to Turkey according to their petition" [23]. On other pages of this case, there was even a list of names that applied for migration. During the investigation, it was found that such a petition had taken place; it was written in 1892 and sent to Istanbul through a merchant Ahmed Abdulvahit Karimov, who managed to transfer this petition to the Ottoman government only after a few years. [24] The answer from the Turkish government came only in 1897, when the majority of the applicants had already changed their minds about leaving.

Before leaving their homeland, the emigrants, as a rule, began to sell all their property, and they spent on travel expenses the money received. So, for example, the aforementioned peasants received 50 rubles each from the sale of houses and plots [25].

The composition of the emigrants was not homogeneous. So in one of the cases we found a list consisting of 18 people who intended to move to Turkey, and even started all preparations for that purpose, but at the last moment they refused this idea. 17 people from this list were peasants; one was a mullah [26].

The Kazan Muhajirs traveled to Turkey either by sea through the port of Batum, or through the Caucasus Mountains. So, for example, 20 Kazan immigrants reached the eastern border of the Ottoman Empire, crossing the Caucasus [1].

Initially, the Kazan Muhajirs settled mainly in Western Anatolia, in the Khudavendigar region, but over time these immigrants moved to the Eskishehir and Kutahya regions, where the Kazan Tatars lived who had moved to Turkey earlier. Sometimes the settlers remained unhappy with the land they had received.
For example, 157 families of Kazan Tatars settled in Malatya were asked to move them to the sanjak Karahisar referring to the poor state of the land and the inability to conduct agricultural work there. 111 Kazan Muhajirs allocated in Samsun, left unhappy with the conditions they granted, and then they decided to return to Russia, which was notified to the Commission on Muhajirs. Only after such a desperate step, the government allocated 235 hectares of land to those Muhajirs in the Vezikopri region and organized the construction of housing [2].

Kazan Tatars have been settled in small towns where immigrants from the Crimea and the Caucasus had already lived before. Similar orders can be found in the Turkish archival documents, where the decrees of the Ottoman administration are given on the joint settlement of Dagestan, Crimean and Kazan Tatars [11]. Some Kazan Muhajirs asked the government to resettle them in places where their relatives and acquaintances arrived earlier. So, for example, several Kazan Muhajirs filed petitions to settle them in İzmit, due to the fact that their families are there [12]. A similar statement was made by the Kazan mullah Haji Mehmed, who wanted to move to Eskişehir where his relatives lived [13]. On the way to Turkey, there were family tragedies. So, for example, in one of the documents we find mention of a certain boy Ali, who was left an orphan, and they eventually decided to place him in an art school [14].

All arrived Muhajirs were given land for use, and temporary benefits were granted. In general, similar measures were taken to equip both Caucasian and Crimean immigrants and immigrants from the Volga-Ural region. Thus, most of the Tatar settlers, being peasants, continued to engage in agriculture in Turkey. In total, in the second half of the 19th century, about 10,000 Muhajirs resettled from the Volga-Ural region.

DISCUSSION
Unfortunately, the problem of the Muhajir movement still remains poorly studied among the Kazan Tatars, what presents some difficulties in describing the historiography of this topic. First of all we would like to mention a study by I.K. Zagidullin placed in his book "The Tatar national movement in 1860-1905" and dedicated to the migration of Kazan Tatars to the Ottoman Empire [3]. The papers of Yu. N. Guseva "The Emigrant Movement of the Muslims of the Samara Province to Turkey in the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century" are of interest; the researcher examines there the Muhajir movement of the inhabitants of the Samara Region, based on local archival materials [5].

The migration of the peoples of the Volga and the Urals region remains the least studied topic in Turkish historiography and is represented by papers by Arzu Kılıç Ojakly ("The migration of peoples from the Idel-Ural region to Anatolia") and I. Tirkoglu ("The migration from the Volga-Ural region to the Ottoman Empire and its causes") [1, 4]. These papers describe in sufficient details the Muhajir movement of Kazan Tatars, its causes and the periodization of this movement. The authors of the papers used Turkish archival materials, shedding light on the life and arrangement of the Kazan Tatars in the Ottoman Empire.

SUMMARY
1) The Muhajir movement was conditioned not only by religious factors. An important role in this process was played by the reasons lying in the political and socio-economic spheres; 2) The social composition of the migrants was heterogeneous, and included both peasants and students of religious institutions, as well as a prosperous part of the Tatar society; 3) A major role in the migration was played by the propaganda of the Muslim clergy and Turkish agents.

CONCLUSIONS
Over the centuries of its existence, the term "Muhajir " has undergone a serious transformation, and from the religious term used originally to designate emigrants-Muslims who lived for a long time under the rule of the non-Muslim majority and migrated to the Islamic state, turned into a purely social term, equivalent in meaning to the term "immigrant" (regardless of their religious affiliation). Indeed, the Muhajir movement was not a purely religious movement, but was also conditioned by socio-economic factors.
Analyzing the emigrant processes committed in the Ottoman Empire from the territory of the Volga-Ural region, we are convinced of the above. Religion was the driving force only for the first migrations from this region, in which the mullahs and students of the madrassas took part, while the same migrations, the most massive ones, were mostly carried out by peasants and caused by social and economic factors. A huge role in the emigrant process was played by the propaganda activities of the mullahs, who were often the initiators of a migration, and Turkish agents whose traces were found in the places of compact living of the Tatars. Their contribution to propaganda was also brought by the letters home of the Muhajirs, in which they called for migration of their fellow villagers or relatives and deceived them with a new life in Turkey. At the end of the migration, which took place in several stages the Muhajirs, having reached the territory of the Ottoman Empire, settled in different places of the state, where they were immediately included in the socio-economic life of the state. In total, in the second half of the XIX century about 10 thousand Muhajirs migrated from the Volga-Ural region.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
The work is performed according to the Russian Government Program of Competitive Growth of Kazan Federal University.

REFERENCES
[22] National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan- Fund 1. Inventory 3-9602. List 83-85