

**What was the attitude of Jadid intellectuals towards the  
conquest of Turkestan by the Russian Empire in the late of  
19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries?**

**Student:** Shokhrukh Ibragimshikov

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**Advisors:** Dr. Daniel Beben and Dr. Rozaliya Garipova

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## **Introduction. The Jadid Movement**

The late of 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries were turning point in the history of Turkestan (Central Asia). It experienced transformations and transitions with the conquest of Russian Empire. During this period Jadidism movement led by local Central Asian intellectuals, who sought to change social and political conditions in their society, gained a lot attention both from local and Russian elites. Jadid is an Arabic word for “new” which came from “usul ul jadid” method appeared as a response to “usul ul qadim”, meaning “old.”<sup>1</sup> In the beginning, proponents of “usul ul jadid” shared an idea of implementing educational reforms in their society with respect to the Russian rule. Jadids, who were advocates of that “new” method school regarded themselves as reformers and modernizers of their population in their way of revising and altering Islamic education with secular education.<sup>2</sup> Jadid intellectuals were mostly graduates of foreign universities from Europe, Egypt, Istanbul, and etc. They were mostly influenced by scholars of that countries who already started to implement reforms with regard to religious knowledge. However, many Central Asian Jadids in their diaries accepted that they were firstly affected by Tatarian scholar Ismail Bey Gasprinski, who was owner of “Terjumon” newspaper.<sup>3</sup> During their travels Turkestani Jadids saw advancements in all spheres of Europeans, which they believed was the result of good educational system. Hence, they wanted to awaken their society by making reforms in their teaching areas as well. However, by these actions they questioned

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<sup>1</sup> Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 89.

<sup>2</sup> Adeeb Khalid, *Islam after Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia* (University of California Press, 2022).

<sup>3</sup> Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, 90.

traditional way of teaching and qadimists, where ulama and religious leaders were main actors, also made some efforts to preserve that old school method.<sup>4</sup>

### **Introduction. Jadids vs Ulama**

Jadids, in their battle against ulama saw an opportunity in Russian Empire's intervention. They believed that the Russian Empire expertise and resources can assist them to make modernization in their society. Since, the Russian in the face of Kauffman set a policy of decreasing the impact of Islam on Turkestan society.<sup>5</sup> Russian's viewed ulama and other religious leaders as fanatics and a threat to their aim in establishing a new social order in Central Asia.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, both Jadids and Russians aimed at taking mutual advantage of each other in fighting with the same "enemy". This can be viewed as an initial response of Jadids to the presence of Russians in their regions. Firstly, Jadid intellectuals critiqued and challenged the traditional educational system as outdated and religion-oriented and tried to establish their own educational system by focusing on secular knowledge, yet not expelling Islamic education. Hence, in the beginning Russian conquest of Turkestan was regarded by Jadids as a positive sign to implement those policies with their resources and expertise. This was a primary phase of the Jadidism movement which was mostly focused on educational concerns within a Turkestan society.

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<sup>4</sup> Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, 99.

<sup>5</sup> Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, 54.

<sup>6</sup> Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, 60.

## Introduction. Jadids vs the Russian Empire

Once, Jadids started to gain power and support from their citizens, their areas of interest also got different patterns. The concept of national identity gradually became a main agenda of Jadids.<sup>7</sup> In this period the attitude of Russian officials to Jadids started to change, where it firstly was “advantageous” consistently altered to enemies of Tsarist imperial rule. In their next phase of development Jadids wanted to awaken their society as Turkic and Uzbek nation, not a Khivan, Bukharan or Khokandian. Later, these ideas rose to creating a nation based government as well. The main source of Jadid writings and sharing of their thoughts were local newspapers created by them. Tsarist officials tried to minimize threats by intellectuals by closing their newspapers and theaters<sup>8</sup>. Starting from this period it can be noticed how the rhetoric of Jadids towards the Russian Empire changed utterly. In “Hurriyat”, “Ayina”, and “Irshod” newspapers can be observed that Jadids such as Munavvar Qari, Zafariy and Fitrat called their population to unite and how they are sad with infidel’s ruling over their country.<sup>9</sup> By reading their writings, on which my research is mostly structured, it can be derived that their responses towards the Russian conquest of Central Asia initially regarded as a negatively, as in the beginning Jadids hoped to create a community within imperial rule. But, after some years of being subject to Russia they understood that it is impossible and they returned to their initial positions where they criticized the presence and the rule of Russia in their territories. In this research I want to argue that Central Asian Jadid intellectuals had not had a positive attitude towards the conquest of Turkestan by the Russian Empire. Yet, they wanted to take advantage of the Tsarist government

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<sup>7</sup> Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, 283.

<sup>8</sup> Holboyev, S, *Jadidlar. Munavvar Qori Abdurashidxonov* (Yoshlar Nashriyot Uyi, 2022), 53.

<sup>9</sup> Holboyev, Jadidlar, 64, and Boltaboyev, H, *Jadidlar. Abdurauf Fitrat* (Yoshlar Nashriyot Uyi, 2022), 82

to implement educational and social reforms and to take assistance of Russia in their fight against traditionalists. Consequently, with the fall of Tsarist rule in Russia created chance for Jadids to express their feelings towards the Russian Empire and infidels rule in total. This was accompanied with the respect to having democratic atmosphere in Russia and its colonies, even it was lasted for very short time period. Therefore, it is argued that Turkestan Jadids had a negative view of the conquest and rule from the beginning. To support this argument, the research firstly discusses the historical context of the Russian colonial rule in Central Asia. Consequently, it analyses the reaction of intellectuals, ulama, and population to the first military revolt, which is known as Andijan Uprising, against the Russian Empire. Lastly, the responses of Jadid intellectuals such as Munavvar Qari, Fitrat, and Zafariy to the presence and the conquest of the Russian Empire of Turkestan would be considered.

## **Literature Review**

Adeeb Khalid is one of the scholars who is obsessed with the history of Central Asia and he dedicated many articles and books to the history those territories. They include mostly colonial, soviet and modern period of Uzbekistan. Adeeb Khalid tries to depict cultural, social, and political landscape of these regions based on Muslim perspectives. Consequently, careers and lifestyle of Central Asian Jadid intellectuals is the most relatable, if not only, tool to learn colonial and postcolonial chronology of Central Asia. Based on this method, Khalid by examining works and literatures of Central Asian Jadids portray the relationship between Turkestan and the Russian Empire. However, his works are mostly focused on educational and cultural movements that Jadids brought to Turkestan. He highlights the importance of Jadid movement that shaped almost all spheres of local people. Khalid's literatures include political aspects of Jadids, however they are written about the Soviet period and lack of data about

colonial period. Moreover, Khalid has a little information on the response of Jadid intellectuals to the conquest of Turkestan by the Russian Empire. The reason behind of this issue is the absence or inaccessibility of newspapers of that period. As it was only tool for Jadids to express their thoughts to the public. Yet, he writes about the struggle of Jadids with Russia to implement reforms which is helpful to illustrate the attitude of Jadids to Russian presence in Central Asia. Therefore, they are used in this research to demonstrate indirect mindset of Jadids to the conquest.

The attitude of Turkestan people to the conquest can be read in Hisao Komatsu's works. However, he writes the responses of Muslim intellectuals such as ulama and sufi and did not mention about Jadid's view of conquest. Based on his works it can be understood that Turkestan Muslim intellectuals had a two kind of views, where one group welcomes the Russian Empire existence in "Dar al Islam" and other is negatively accepted it. It is associated with his area of research, where Komatsu studied the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century of Central Asia mostly.

Edward Allworth's studies like Adeb Khalid concentrated on Central Asia, precisely postcolonial period. He also writes about cultural, political, and social atmosphere of Turkestan in late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries based on Jadid's works. Nevertheless, his work also lack of Jadid's response to the Tsarist government. Allworth's studies are derived from the literary and fictional works of Jadids such as Abdurauf Fitrat and etc. He in details describes Jadid's attitude towards the fall of imperialism and establishment of Soviet rule in Russia. Additionally, the topic of communism is one of the main concerns of his works. It can be stated that the absence of topics concerning Jadid's response to the conquest in the works of above mentioned scholars is the unavailability of materials from those periods.

Recently published books in Uzbekistan under the “Jadidlar” theme, which includes Jadids such as Fitrat, Munavvar Qari, Bekhbudi and etc, is very helpful in my research. Since, these books contain various topics based on Jadids diaries and articles published in newspapers of colonial period. Some of the collections of poems by Jadids in those works directly depicts the attitude of them to the conquest of Turon or Turkestan by the Russian Empire. Hence, they are main primary sources of this research. However, a topic of the conquest and responses of Turon people both intellectuals and citizens are less studied area and further research needs to be done. My contribution to this field can be seen in the analyses of secondary and primary sources, which in turn, both written in English and Uzbek literatures. This approach is helpful to stay in middle of both looks and to be free from biases.

### **Historical Context of the Russian rule in Turkestan and Bukhara**

In the beginning of the Russian colonial rule in Central Asia they classified all population of Turkestan and Bukhara, who were not subject of the Tsar until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as “tezemcy” (natives)<sup>10</sup>. This was done to differentiate them from “inorodcy”, who were mostly nomadic and semi-nomadic people from Kazakshtan, and implement different policies in a newly conquered areas. Turkestan was different from other subjects of the Russian Empire as the impact of Islam and ulama in political and social life of local people was enormous in this region. Hence, Turkestan was viewed as a “fanatic” place and general Chernjaev wanted to deal with them carefully. As the result he promised local religious leaders not to intervene religious aspects of city life and accepted the authority of “qadi-kalan<sup>11</sup>.” Adeeb Khalid examined that from the early on, Russia lacked intention or had restricted purpose of intervening in society. James Pickett also

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<sup>10</sup> Adeeb Khalid, *Culture and Power in Colonial Turkestan*, (Institut Français d’Études sur l’Asie Centrale, no. 17/18, 2009), 419.

<sup>11</sup> Khalid, *Culture and Power in Colonial Turkestan*, 422-423.

highlighted that with the conquest the role of ulama was not shifted, however they continued to influence on “tuzemcy” and judiciary system was under their control<sup>12</sup>. In 1890<sup>th</sup>, even though the Russian government implemented policy to solve “Muslim question” in Empire, they did not touch Central Asia, yet it was aimed at Orenburg and Crimean Muslims<sup>13</sup>. The “fanatism” of Turkestani people was always the main problem of the Russian officials. Additionally, Khalid states that the Russian government feared of the power of “fanatic” people, thus they did not realize strict policies in Turkestan to prevent undesired outcome. General Kaufman, who was the general governor of Turkestan, carried out policy of “ignorirovanie” to eliminate “fanatism” and believed that without support the role of Islam and ulama would decay in the region<sup>14</sup>. However, the next general governor Dukhovskoj accepted the fallacy of Kaufman’s ideas and emphasized that Islam is the part of Turkestan and they have to take into account its power. Therefore, Dukhovskoj reforms were built on the strict control of religion and it resulted in bureaucratization of Islamic institutions in Turkestan, but not in Bukhara<sup>15</sup>. Bukhara, which was not officially subject of the Russian Empire, enjoyed privileges offered by the Tsar government. From the start of 19<sup>th</sup> century amirs of Bukhara were facing strict opposition by ulama, for their corrupt and tyranny regimes. Hence, Bukharan Amir made a deal with Russians to control stability and be guarantee of keeping “fanatics” away from politics, whereas Russians ensured Amir in succession issues<sup>16</sup>. In Turkestan the presence of the Russian Empire in religious areas was very limited, while they have not intervened in Bukhara in general. Russians believed that

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<sup>12</sup> James Pickett, *Polymaths of Islam: Power and Networks of Knowledge in Central Asia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020), 241.

<sup>13</sup> Khalid, *Culture and Power in Colonial Turkestan*, 424.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, 422.

<sup>15</sup> Khalid, *Culture and Power in Colonial Turkestan*, 424. and Pickett, *Polymaths of Islam: Power and Networks of Knowledge in Central Asia*. 241.

<sup>16</sup> Adeeb Khalid, Society and Politics in Bukhara, 1868-1920, (*Central Asian Survey* 19, no. 3-4, 2000), 370.



they were representatives of European culture in Central Asia and when local people start to see and feel positive changes happening to them, they will begin to assimilate into their civilizations. One of their strategy to bring them closely to European culture was to establish “russo-tuzem” schools<sup>17</sup>. Later, Jadid intellectuals also started to open “new method schools” which was very similar to the Russian schools. Firstly, the Russian officials did not want to allow them to open such schools because they considered that they represent “fanatism” ideologies. However, later the Russian officials being aware of curriculum in those schools welcomed their initiatives, since it was very close to their teachings in “russo-tuzem<sup>18</sup>” schools. Later, the establishment of Jadid schools in Bukhara gained a lot popularity in that part as well and it resulted in increase of dissatisfaction with local rulers.

### **Andijan Uprising and local population’s views of the Russian Empire.**

In the beginning of the colonial period, the majority of the Central Asian population perceived the conquest by Russia as an evil event. They believed that Muslims cannot be a subject to kafir (non-Muslims) rulers. Several revolts and uprisings took place against the Russian empire presence in Turkestan regions. Russians viewed these events as an outcome of fanaticism where religious leaders and ulama had significant impacts.<sup>19</sup> Andijan Uprising led by Dukchi Ishan is one of the big revolts which followed by severe punishment and death of about 600 men. This revolt is the well-studied and widely known armed resistance by local people against the Russian Empire presence in Turkestan. The leader of this movement Muhammad Ali

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<sup>17</sup> Khalid, *Culture and Power in Colonial Turkestan*, 425.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 431.

<sup>19</sup> Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, 64.

Khanifa was a sufi head and teacher who could rule and lead masses.<sup>20</sup> Hence, taking advantage of this, Dukchi Ishan with other two thousand people on 18 May of 1998 attacked Russian troops in Andijan.<sup>21</sup> Their primary reasons was to establish Muslim state in Ferghana Valley and get rid of infidels rule. However, it ended unsuccessfully to them and they were easily defeated. This event is only documented case in history of colonial Turkestan where population's response to the conquest can be seen. Other category of Turkestan population such as Jadid's attitude to the conquest took an indirect form. They favored to depict their responses in their writing materials such as newspaper articles and literary works. The Andijan Uprising was accepted very critically by Russian officials and they associated it with fanatic Muslims, especially Sufism. Therefore, Kauffman general governor of Turkestan implemented policies to mitigate religious influence in Central Asia. The negative view of the Tsarist government to the revolt was obvious, but the response of local Turkestani people was different from that. Ta'ib was a muslim intellectual who described the revolt in his "The Life of Alimqul". Ta'ib depicted it in a very negative way by referring to Dukchi Ishan as a corrupt thinker.<sup>22</sup> The Andijan Uprising was viewed as a struggle for freedom and jihad against non-believers. However, Ta'ib portrayed the land of Turkestan as Dar al-Islam, where Muslim ulama and qadis had a lot power.<sup>23</sup> Hence, there was no need to going against the Tsar. Moreover, Ta'ib accepted the military advance and technical opportunities of the Russian Empire and resisting against it unreasonable. Erkinov gives other

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<sup>20</sup> Hisao Komatsu, "From Holy War to Autonomy: Dār al-Islām Imagined by Turkestani Muslim Intellectuals", (Cahiers d'Asie centrale, 17/18. 2009), 458.

<sup>21</sup> Komatsu, *From Holy War to Autonomy*, 458.

<sup>22</sup> Komatsu, *From Holy War to Autonomy*, 460.

<sup>23</sup> Komatsu, *From Holy War to Autonomy*, 462.

examples of the views of poets and writers about Dukchi Ishan movement.<sup>24</sup> All of them criticizes him for opposing against “Aq Pashsha” (White Tsar) and accuses him for raising fitna among population. Furthermore, they regarded him as “qizilbash”, the term used for shi’i people in a negative way, as most of the Turkestani population were Sunnits.<sup>25</sup> Later, Soviets also viewed it as a national uprising against the Russian Empire and as a national liberation movement, hence they restricted to talk and write about it. Since, it would encourage local people to go against their rule as well.

In 1880-90 years munajat, which is the type of prayer practiced by Central Asians, delivered by local or ordinary population carried a negative attitude towards the Russian Empire.<sup>26</sup> “*God, destroy this infidel with your power*”<sup>27</sup> – lines clearly demonstrates how locals were not happy with colonizers.<sup>28</sup> They were praying for God to eliminate those non-believers from their lands. However, in the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century it can be observed that matters has changed and locals started to pray for Tsar. “*God, save our King (Tsar) from all evils*”<sup>29</sup> – it was munajat during Russo-Japan war and locals were supporting their kings in it.<sup>30</sup> The reason for a change in their response to colonizers can be a result of change of religious leaders’ perception. In the first decades of imperial rule in Central Asia ulama were against them, and were encouraging and leading people to make revolts and uprisings. Nonetheless, their attitude to the

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<sup>24</sup> Aftandil S. Erkinov, *The Andijan Uprising of 1898 and Its Leader Dukchi-Ishan Described by Contemporary Poets* (Tokyo: Department of Islamic Area Studies, Center for Evolving Humanities, Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology, the University of Tokyo, 2009), 44.

<sup>25</sup> Aftandil Erkinov, *The Andijan Uprising of 1898 and Its Leader Dukchi-Ishan Described by Contemporary Poets*, 47.

<sup>26</sup> Aftandil Erkinov, *Praying for and against the tsar prayers and sermons in Russian dominated Khiva and Tsarist Turkestan* (Schwarz, 2004), 3-4.

<sup>27</sup> “*Oz qudrating bilan yo’q qil ul kafirni*”

<sup>28</sup> Erkinov, *Tsar Prayers*, 10.

<sup>29</sup> “*Har afatingin asra ul podishahimizni*”

<sup>30</sup> Erkinov, *Praying for and against the tsar prayers and sermons in Russian dominated Khiva and Tsarist Turkestan*, 33.

Russian rule in Turkestan also changed and even some khutbas were recited with the name of Tsar.<sup>31</sup> The Russian Empire in their efforts to minimize the influence of Islam and fanatics on Turkestan society found a solution in Jadid's programs. Since, they also were having troubles with a religious elites and ulama and Russians in their fear of massive revolts in the case of direct policies of regulating religious impact took advantage of local intellectuals – Jadids. Jadids by using press and theaters portrayed religious leaders and ulama as corrupted and a source of backwardness of their citizens.<sup>32</sup> Owing to these cases the essence of religious leaders in society was reduced and people stopped to follow all their guidelines. Moreover, with regard to Jadid's depiction of the Tsarist government as advocates and funders of their new method schools, press, and theaters, the local population gradually altered their view of Russia from tyranny to ally. Accordingly, ulama in a fear of losing all their power and control of society had to change their responses to imperial rule and it resulted in reciting Tsars name in Friday khutbas.<sup>33</sup> Hence, Jadids were not limited for having an affirmative stance for the conquest, yet they extended it to the local population as well. Consequently, this event demonstrates how the initial positive attitude of Jadid intellectuals to the Russian Empire assisted the Russians to take control of Central Asia.

### **Munavvar Qari. The need for educational reforms**

Munavvar Qari is a Jadid from Tashkent and regarded as a leader of the Jadidism movement by other intellectuals in Central Asia. Munavvar Qari also emphasized the importance of reforms in social spheres, especially in education.<sup>34</sup> Hence, he opened new method schools

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<sup>31</sup> Erkinov, *Tsar Prayers*, 40.

<sup>32</sup> Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, 103.

<sup>33</sup> Erkinov, *Tsar Prayers*, 40.

<sup>34</sup> Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, 96.

and he is the founder of the modern system of primary, secondary, and high school in Turkestan regions. Munavvar Qari as one of the leaders and head of the Jadid movement in Turkestan understood the detrimental effects of being under the Russian Empire. From the beginning of his career, he never had a positive view of the conquest, yet he did not call citizens to go against it as well. Instead he believed that without transformations in a society they cannot obtain freedom and independence from Russia.<sup>35</sup> He outlined the power of knowledge and only it would help them to be free from the Russian Empire rule. Evils of society which were brought up because of their pre-colonial corrupted and bad rulers and ulama who enjoyed dominance provided by those rulers for their “fatwas” have deep roots.<sup>36</sup> Dissatisfaction and revolts without proper knowledge which was implemented by Jadids, would cause other issues. Hence, Munavvar Qari believed that before making revolutionary claims society should know about their nation and its values. *“Reform begins with a rapid start in cultivating sciences conforming to our times...If we ignore this now, it will be too late”* - otherwise, after some years of colonial rule they are going to be swallowed and assimilated by the Russian culture and lose their national identity.<sup>37</sup> Delay of reforms now, would lead to destruction of the Turkestan nation. Since, Munavvar Qari stated that ignorance and negligence, which are direct causes of poor knowledge, is the reason for the loss of their regions: *“The Europeans, taking our advantage of our negligence and ignorance, took our government from our hands, and taking our crafts and trades.”*<sup>38</sup> Munavvar Qari in this passage regarding Russians as Europeans highlights that they have taken power and freedom from their country. This can be a great example of how one of the representatives of the Jadid movement responded to the conquest. He implies that these events happened because of their

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<sup>35</sup> Holboyev, Jadidlar. *Munavvar Qori Abdurashidxonov*, 24.

<sup>36</sup> Holboyev, Jadidlar. *Munavvar Qori Abdurashidxonov*, 19.

<sup>37</sup> Adeeb Khalid, *Islam after Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia*, 41.

<sup>38</sup> Adeeb Khalid, *Islam after Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia*, 40.

ruler's ignorance by enjoying their lives and not being ready for external threats. Moreover, he outlines that Russians have taken out their essences to live – trade and craft which are the main source of income of pre-colonial Central Asians as long as agriculture. Imperial powers share almost similar inhumane and disrespectful rule in their colonies. According to Munavvar Qari, the Russian Empire's presence in Central Asia was also characterized in that way which was mostly dominated by exploitation of resources of local citizens rather than will for increasing the welfare of them.

### **Abdurauf Fitrat and his initial response to the Russian Empire.**

Abdurauf Fitrat was one of the leaders of Jadidism in Central Asia and he originally was from Bukhara. He was born to a wealthy family and had an opportunity to travel and study abroad. He also was a proponent of a narrative that pointed out the backwardness of their societies linked to incompetent and oppressive leaders.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, Fitrat as other Jadids entered the fight against conservative religious leaders who totally did not approve reforms and changes. According to reforms, positions of ulama and mullah (another term for religious servants) would be under question. Hence, some ulama and imams denounced Fitrat and other Jadid intellectuals as kafirs or unbelievers.<sup>40</sup> Fitrat's regarded the conquest of Turkestan and Bukhara (this city was not "formally" subject of Russians, however many scholars argue that policies in Bukhara was controlled by Tsarist government indirectly) happened because of poor and corrupted khans and officials that enjoyed their lives and were not ready to external pressures.<sup>41</sup> Army, science, and agriculture were undeveloped and needed radical changes.

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<sup>39</sup> Boltaboyev, *Jadidlar. Abdurauf Fitrat*, 45.

<sup>40</sup> Edward Allworth, *Evading Reality* (Brill 2002).

<sup>41</sup> Allworth, *Evading Reality*.

Accordingly, education was the primary concern of Fitrat. Reforms in other areas are impossible without changes in the knowledge system. Consequently, those despot leaders manipulated religious leaders to make advantageous norms for them which are basically not allowed by religion.<sup>42</sup> Thus, both state leaders and religious officials were both the main sources of poor conditions of their territories. Fitrat encouraged his society to go back to the true path of Islam, which are Quran and Hadith, and get rid of superstition and fantasy which are not part of Islam.<sup>43</sup> In his article in TVG (Turkiston Viloyatinin Gazeti) writes: *“Islam is our religion, the basis of all our victories. The reason why we are so ignorant is that our holy Homeland has been destroyed...”*<sup>44</sup> Our ancestors who ruled our territories wisely relied on the true path of Islam and enjoyed their freedoms. Fitrat states that our homeland was “destroyed” by others due to our inclination from right Islam. This line depicts that Fitrat was not happy with the conquest of Central Asia, however he implies that the conquest is the destruction of their territories.

### **Fitrat’s attitude towards the conquest**

Fitrat’s story about the debate between a teacher from Bukhara and Europe is a portrayal of criticism towards both Bukharan and Russian governments. Even though, story was written to highlight the essence of both religious and secular education in community, it touches social and political topics as well. Firstly, it portrays how Bukharan government is far from social and educational reforms; representatives of intelligentsia (both religious and secular teachers) are stopped from developing; and extreme poor social condition of population.<sup>45</sup> Secondly, he outlines that Bukhara became a colonial state and Russians are taking advantage of their wealth.

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<sup>42</sup> Allworth, *Evading Reality*.

<sup>43</sup> Adeeb Khalid, *Islam after Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia*, 42.

<sup>44</sup> *“Islom dinimizdir, g’alabamiz boisi. Bu qadar g’afatda o’tirganimiz, muqaddas vatanimiz poymol etilishi...”* - Boltaboyev, *Jadidlar. Abdurauf Fitrat*, 41.

<sup>45</sup> Allworth, *Evading Reality*. 56.

*“Oh, loving father of the Bukhara nation! Understand and have mercy on the population, serve the bright Sharia of the Almighty, sent to the prophet Muhammad and follow the bright thoughts of your fallen nation and accept the progress of enlightenment”*<sup>46</sup>- is the call for Bukharan Amir to take a control (from the Russian conquest) of their homeland and start modernization of social spheres. Moreover, in other passage Fitrat writes that about 300 million Muslims are currently under control of infidels, which depicts that Fitrat viewed the Russian Empire’s rule over Turkestan as the unbelievers’ rule. Consequently, “Munaza” invoked dissatisfaction in Bukhara and Russia since it criticizes both of them, and as a result it was banned to print and read this work in those regions.<sup>47</sup> Fitrat’s “Munazara” is the portrayal of his opinion about the Russian Empire dominance in Central Asia and it carried a critical view than favorable.

*“Who gave so much fire to this suffering country?*

*Who shed so much blood for this holy work?”*<sup>48</sup>

Fitrat in his poem published in TVG describes events happening in Central Asia. He makes a similarity between the conquest of Turkestan and the fire which can destroy everything in its way. According to Boltaboyev, his analogy is similar to other Jadids portrayals and past intellectuals who constantly used the concept of “fire” in a negative way often to describe evil periods of their community.<sup>49</sup> Fitrat, who was aware of those literatures, by the use of “fire” term tried to show the Russian Empire rule in Central Asia as a trouble happening with them. In the

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<sup>46</sup> *“Ey, Buxoro millatining mehribon otasi! Raiyat holiga tushunib, rahm qilgin, muborak vujudingga Haq taolo tarafidan topshirilgan Muhammadning nurli shariyatiga xizmat qilib, yiqilgan millatningning nurli fikrlariga va maorif taraqqiyotining tavsiyasiga iqdom qil”*

<sup>47</sup> Boltaboyev, *Jadidlar. Abdurauf Fitrat*, 30.

<sup>48</sup> *“Kim bergan bu o’g’irli o’lkaga buncha o’tni? Kim to’kkan bu muqaddas ishga buncha qonni?”*- Boltaboyev, *Jadidlar. Abdurauf Fitrat*, 19

<sup>49</sup> Boltaboyev, *Jadidlar. Abdurauf Fitrat*, 20.



second line of the poem he asks a rhetorical question by saying: “Who shed the blood of people fighting for sacred mission?” In the first decades of the imperial rule some revolts occurred in different regions of modern Uzbekistan and consequences of all these events were the same. It ended with death, imprisonment, and deportations of all participants. Fitrat considers the aim and act of people to go against the Russian Empire as a holy purpose. Therefore, he in a negative tone examines the Tsarist government in killing and eliminating those people, who wanted the freedom of Turkestan from external rule and unbelievers. Fitrat in this verse clearly demonstrates that he is not happy with the Russian rule in Turkestan. He aligns blame to the existence of Russia in Central Asia which in turn is possible to “burn” culture, language, and national identity of those societies. Additionally, Fitrat highlighted the will of people to go against the Tsarist government as a sacred task and only intellectuals who did not favor infidel’s control in his motherland could write it. Hence, it can be stated that Fitrat’s response to the conquest carried an adverse mood.

*“The Turk’s land, contest and Turon fell to foreign hands.”*<sup>50</sup> In writings of Fitrat and other Jadids it can be seen their appeal to Amir Temur (Temirlane or Timur), as Turkestani people regard him as one the best commanders of all time. Amir Temur could unite all lands of Central Asia and was not subject to any dynasties. Hence, Fitrat also uses this method to provoke a feeling of patriotism in population. In this passage Fitrat treats Central Asia as a land of Turks and calls it Turon, which is another name of Turkestan in the past. Since, local newspaper such as TVG, Hurriyat, and Ayina were not popular only in Turkestan, however in Istanbul and Tatar lands as well Fitrat examines Turon as a homeland for all Turks by raising Pan-Turkism ideas. In this call, he tries to unite all Turkic people and illustrate importance of question which is going to

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<sup>50</sup> *Turkning yurti, ulog’i, o’chog’i, Turon yot qo’llarga tushdi” - Boltaboyev, Jadidlar. Abdurauf Fitrat, 25.*

be raised by him. He states that now Turon is in the hands of different people by referring to the Russian Empire.<sup>51</sup> The term “yot” in Uzbek language uses to define someone who completely do not belong to that group, in this case Russia is that “stranger” in Turon lands. “*O great Turan, land of lions! What happened to you? What is your current condition?*”<sup>52</sup> - In this verse Fitrat attempts to describe current state of Central Asia under Tsarist rule, which was written to characterize disadvantageous position of the former.<sup>53</sup> Once again, Fitrat is making reference to Turon to outline Central Asia and he portrays it as a land of lions, which implies the great warrior of the land. Subsequently, Fitrat being aware of all events happening in colonial Central Asia asks it about its conditions to highlight awful life under the Russian Empire. Since, he knows what the answer is going to be look like. Therefore, it is believed that these literatures demonstrate Fitrat’s malevolent response to the Russian Empire.

As mentioned above, Jadid intellectuals used a method of referring to the past with nostalgia where they have enjoyed sovereignty and prosperous life. It is assumed these narratives were used to bring together all tribes living in Central Asia such as Bukhara, Khokand, and Khiva. In the past all these khanates tried to be under one kingdom and they ruled vast parts of Central Asia including India and Afghanistan. Hence, Fitrat in his another article lists personalities that Central Asians obtained in the past to be dominators in these lands, however he mentions that now they have lost all these characters. Consequently, the loss of these personalities and intelligence had resulted in subjugation of them into others' rule. Fitrat states that a powerful nation is currently under oppression of another country. It one more time depicts that Fitrat was in an undesirable attitude towards the conquest of Turkestan by the Russian

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<sup>51</sup> Boltaboyev, *Jadidlar. Abdurauf Fitrat*, 26.

<sup>52</sup> “*Ey ulu’g Turon, arslonlar o’lkasi! Senga ne bo’ldi? Holing qalaydir?*”

<sup>53</sup> Boltaboyev, *Jadidlar. Abdurauf Fitrat*, 25.

Empire. Additionally, Fitrat stimulates others to fix the situation by going against the Tsarist government and taking their freedom back. Fitrat: this passage was mentioned in his work – “Temur sag’anasi”: “...*what happened that the descendants of a once honorable and brave nation are now under the oppression of another nation? Fix the country!*”<sup>54</sup> One of the other examples of Fitrat’s reaction to the presence of the Russian Empire in Turkestan can be read in Hurriyat newspaper issued in 1917 on 15th of April: “*I saw, traveled, and heard, read. Among the countries, there is no country as unhappy as our Turkistan. It was the old Russian government that benefited the most from us and had a bigger advantage...*”<sup>55</sup> In this article Fitrat makes a conclusion from his experience of travelling to some countries. As it was mentioned in this essay, Fitrat was from a rich family and had an opportunity to travel, and he states that he has been to other territories and observed that there is no poor country like the Turkestan region. Moreover, since he read newspapers of other countries such as Istanbul, Egypt, and Crimea, where the same Jadid movements are happening, he emphasizes that the most terrible conditions are in Central Asia than those states. This article was written after the revolution in Russia and the establishment of Bolsheviks rule. Thus, Fitrat examines that the awful state of Turkestan was the result of the benefit of other parties. The “old ” Russian government or Tsarist government profited most from their sufferings. The gains can be material such as extraction of gold and other resources or taking the will of Turkestani people to fight for their freedoms. These lines clearly depict that Fitrat had a negative view of the Russian Empire and he regarded it as a last beneficiary of the existing situation.

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<sup>54</sup> “...*ne bo’ldiku bir zamonalr sharaflı va jasur bir millatning avlodlari hozir boshqa bir millatning zulmi ostida qolmish. O’lkani tuzatingiz...*” - Boltaboyev, *Jadidlar. Abdurauf Fitrat*, 49.

<sup>55</sup> “*Ko’rdim, kezdim, eshitdim, o’qidim. Mamlakatlar orasinda Turkistonimiz kabi baxtsiz bir mamlakat yo’qdir. Bizdan ko’proq foyda ko’rgan, kattaroq osig’lang’an eski Rusiya hukumati edi...*” - Boltaboyev, *Jadidlar. Abdurauf Fitrat*, 26.

In 1917 on 27<sup>th</sup> November, they established Turkestan autonomy with the efforts of many Jadids including Munavvar Qari, Bekhbudi, and Fitrat etc. In that event Fitrat gives one of his powerful speeches Fitrat: *“We have been oppressed and humiliated for fifty years. Our hands were tied, our tongues were cut, our mouths were covered, our land was trampled, our property was stolen, our honor was destroyed, our honor was usurped, our rights were violated, our humanity was trampled underfoot - we stood patiently. We were patient. We didn't give a single opinion, we kept it simple, wrapped it in our beliefs.”*<sup>56</sup> In this passage Fitrat describes how almost 50 years of colonial rule existed in Turkestan. Firstly, he states that during those years the population of Central Asia suffered and was violated. The Tsarist government by conquering Turkestan has taken out the primary rights of the population such as the right to speak their own language. Then, he highlights that their wealth and resources were removed. All these events characterizes how Russia did inhumane action with them by questioning their qualities of human beings. Lastly, Fitrat examines that even in these conditions they have not betrayed their motherland and waited for good times as he initially viewed Bolsheviks rule as something fair and beneficial for their nation. Repeatedly, this quote from Fitrat defines that from the beginning of the conquest of Turkestan by the Russian Empire was considered as evil happening to them.

### **Munavvar Qari's view on the conquest**

Munavvar Qari in one of his articles to TVG states: *“Freedom is not given, it is taken. It cannot be taken with anything, except blood and sacrifice.”*<sup>57</sup> In this passage Munavvar Qari

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<sup>56</sup> *“Ellik yildan beri ezildi, tahqir etildi. Qo'limiz bog'landi, tilimiz kesildi, og'zimiz qoplandi, yerimiz bosildi, molimiz talandi, sharafigimiz yemirildi, nomusimiz g'asb qilindi, huquqimizg'a tajovuzlar bo'ldi, insonligimiz oyog'lar ostiga olindi – to'zimli turdik, sabr etdik. Yolg'iz bir fikrni bermadik, yashunturdik, iymonlarimizg'a o'rab saqladik.”* - Boltaboyev, *Jadidlar. Abdurauf Fitrat*, 28.

<sup>57</sup> *“Hurriyat berilmas, olinur. Hech narsa ila olib bo'lmas, faqat qon va qurbon ilagina olub bo'lur”* - Holboyev, *Jadidlar. Munavvar Qari Abdurashidxonov*, 17.

examines that freedom or sovereignty is not a thing that should be given, however it should be taken. Freedom and independence that the Central Asian population enjoyed before the conquest of the Russian Empire is the priceless gift that had to be preserved. However, he claims and encourages citizens of Turkestan not to adjust to colonial rule, yet they have to take their freedom back. In writings of many Jadids it is a common descriptive to depict their ancestor's courage and hurriyat (freedom). Munavvar Qari also by using these stories stimulates the population to follow the steps of their ancestors to protect and fight for freedom. He highlights that freedom can be taken only with the means of battle. It is obvious that it would include deaths and sacrifices, but this is the inevitable part of the fight for independence. It is believed this passage depicts the attitude of Munavvar Qari to the conquest of Turkestan. Munavvar Qari regards the conquest as a loss of freedom for Central Asian citizens. He believes that they have to struggle for it and take it back. Thus, it can be stated that Munavvar Qari did not accept the presence of Tsarist dominance in Turkestan and made undesirable responses. *“Denying uprisings and riots, he encouraged the cultural-educational, ideological and ethical, reformist, peaceful democratic struggle”*<sup>58</sup> - Laziz Azizzoda, who was one of the first students of Munavvar Qari and he was Jadid as well, in his diary writes that Munavvar Qari had never welcomed colonial rule in Turkestan. He was always in search of ways of to be from Russia. Nonetheless, Munavvar Qari did not favor revolts and uprisings in struggle for sovereignty because he was aware that military capabilities of them in disadvantageous position with regard to Russia. After the conquest the Russian Empire took control of all military equipment and soldiers by not leaving chances to military revolts. Hence, Munavvar Qari preferred and promoted citizens to achieve the freedom by ideological, reformative, and democratic ways. Munavvar Qari believed that the

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<sup>58</sup> *“Qo'zg'alon va g'alayonlarni inkor etgan holda madaniy-marifiy, g'oyaviy va mafkuraviy, islohotchilik, tinch demokratik kurashni avj oldirdilar”* - Holboyev, Jadidlar. *Munavvar Qori Abdurashidxonov*, 29.

knowledge of local people about ideologies and political concepts are weak and firstly they should get proper education. In his new method schools and later colleges he wanted to raise these issues. However, political landscape of the Russian Empire was changing constantly that peaceful method of Munavvar Qari achieving independence was in trouble. In the first passage it can be seen that Munavvar Qari is calling for military battle against the Russian Empire, yet his student Lazizzoda highlights that he did not accepted idea of martial combat and favored ideological and democratic methods of fighting for sovereignty. However, in both cases the unacceptable attitude of Munavvar Qari towards the conquest of Turkestan can be observed.

### **Ghulom Zafariy's response to the conquest**

In 1917, after the fall of Tsarist government Jadid intellectuals started openly express their political ideas. During the imperial period Jadids were limited with educational and cultural concerns, even though they always had a political aims as well. The limit was due to having a fear of imprisoning or deporting, since there were some cases of it. Munavvar Qari and Bekhbudiy examined that Turkestan do not have enough military potential to fight with the Russian army. Hence, they had to firstly implement reforms in educational, cultural, and social spheres to teach the nation concerning enemies. The lack of political agendas in Jadid's writings and newspaper articles during the Tsar period does not mean the absence of those ideologies, in contrary, with the establishment of Soviet rule and hope of democratic values Jadids started to criticize the colonial period. However, the price of this courage would be paid by their lives starting from mid-1920th. Soviet or communist rule is the fear of raising nationality ideologies and divisions deported and killed most of Jadid intellectuals. As Jadids were the main drivers of creating uzbek national identity and to form a rule based on this idea. Zafariy was one of those Jadids, who started to reflect his ideas about the conquest and colonial rule in Turkestan, which

lasted for 50 years. Unlike some other Jadids, Zafariy was an intellectual and ulama. Before starting his Jadid career, he worked as an imam in one of the Khokand masjids.<sup>59</sup> Later, he became qozi and served until 1916. Zafariy's responses about the conquest and the colonial rule in Turkestan can be seen in "Ishchilar Dunyosi" newspaper where he worked as a main redactor. In one of the articles to this newspaper he states:

*"Our sovereignty has been declared,  
We were wished from before.  
He expects service from us now,  
Take up arms, workers!"*<sup>60</sup>

This poem demonstrates that Zafariy was not happy with the colonial rule in Central Asia. He depicts freedom or sovereignty as a thing or phenomenon for which they have been waiting for so many years. Zafariy also believed that with the creation of Bolshevik's rule other nations are going to get their desired freedom. Hence, he encourages people to take weapons and protect political freedom. In the beginning, he was proponent of living in harmony under the Russian Empire and take advantage of it. Furthermore, Zafariy was against military revolts against the Tsarist government as they were weak and would be easily defeated. However, this time he promotes to take guns on their hands and save the sovereignty with all means. This call is addressed to all level of population of Turkestan; both youngsters and elders. Since, Turkestan did not have trained army and advanced weapons, only by uniting citizens they can try to preserve freedom. Later Zafariy writes another article to the same newspaper under title "Our

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<sup>59</sup> Usmonov Olim, Jadidlar. Ghulom Zafariy (Yoshlar Nashriyot Uyi, 2022), 4-5.

<sup>60</sup> "Bizni tilaganimiz avvaldan edi, Muztoriyatimiz e'lon etildi. Bizlardan xizmat kutar endi, Siloh ustiga otiling, ishchilar!" – Usmonov, Jadidlar. Ghulom Zafariy, 26.

strength is the soldier”<sup>61</sup> where he highlights the need for trained military soldiers to protect the country from enemies. He states that this is the only solution, otherwise they would be crushed and lose an independence. Additionally, Zafariy makes series of announcements to the public to unite and to become powerful: “*“Brave Turkestans! We, the Turk children of Turkestan, declared independence. Now, if we want our autonomy to be stable, we need power. That power is the soldier...”*”<sup>62</sup> In the continuation of this speech he stimulates to support soldiers with all costs and share with their food and even to give them their last food. In other respects, without the power of soldiers they would lose everything. Hopes of Jadids and intellectuals for forming nation-state was crushed in one day. Bolsheviks, after winning battles against the “White Army” and stabilization of political landscape, started to eliminate other enemies. They have smashed and defeated Khokand autonomy. The main reason behind this was the possible division of Central Asia from Russia and join Turks, with whom Central Asians share same national identity than Russians. Zafariy started to criticize Soviet’s rule for mass killings happened in Khokand and raise Uzbek nationalism in his works. Thus, later he was firstly deported and was shot. Zafariy poems and articles portray that he was never happy with the colonial or infidels rule in Turkestan. Hence it can be supposed that he did not welcome the conquest of Turkestan by the Russian Empire. Zafariy was one of those Jadids who called for military struggle to obtain and preserve the freedom. Zafariy is the example of having undesirable attitude towards the conquest.

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<sup>61</sup> “Quvvatimiz askardir”

<sup>62</sup> “Hamiyatparvar Turkistonliklar! Biz Turkistonli turk bolalari, Muhtoriyat e’lon etdik. Endi Muhtoriyatimiz barqaror o’lsun desak, bizga quvvat kerak. Ul quvvat askardir – Usmonov, Jadidlar. Ghulom Zafariy, 30



## Conclusion

This research analyzed the complex attitudes of the Central Asian Jadid intellectuals towards the Russian conquest of Turkestan in the late of 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the beginning, the Jadid intellectuals comprehended the Russian Empire presence in the region as a possible partner to implement social and educational reforms. This comprehension was rooted in their understanding that being close with the Russian officials can help them modernize society by weakening the impact of ulama and other religious leaders; and the “old school methods.” At the same time, the Tsarist government sought the same goal in supporting Jadids. Since, the fear of the Russian government from “fanatism” of Turkestani population was huge and they believed that internal tension between Jadids and ulama would result in decrease of Islam’s influence in Turkestan. However, later Jadids realized that the Russian Empire was more interested in strengthening its control over population rather than helping them to modernize the region. This resulted in a significant shift of Jadids response to the Empire and they started to criticize the Tsarist government. Negative views of Jadid intellectuals such as Munavvar Qari, Fitrat, and Zafariy was the basic arguments of this research. The trajectory of views, concerning the Russian conquest of Turkestan, by Central Asian Jadids is developed from collaboration to resistance. It depicts Jadids struggle for identity, sovereignty, and modernity by outlining the complex history of colonial rule in Turkestan. This research makes a contribution by integrating Uzbek primary and secondary sources, which are seldom in English scholarship. Additionally, by analyzing and translating those documents, the research brought local perspective to the study of Central Asian Jadid’s attitudes towards the Russian conquest of Turkestan. Despite these contributions, the research faces limitations which are related to the scarcity or accessibility of primary sources. Moreover, a significant portion of primary sources is in Persian and language barrier affects the

depth of analysis. These limitations illustrates the need for further research in this field to build more complete historical account on Jadid's view of the Russian conquest of Turkestan.

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