

The National Idea of Turkestanı Jadids: Developing and Implementing

Türkistan Ceditlerinde Ulusal Fıkr: Geliştirme ve Uygulama

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ABSTRACT

The Jadidism Movement, which emerged within the borders of the Russian Empire, reached a certain degree in Turkestan, Volga-Ural, the Caucasus, and Crimea, and turned into an intellectual and social movement. The Jadidism originated in Turkestan in the early 20th century, unlike other Muslim (the Volga-Ural, Caucasus and Crimea) regions of the Russian Empire. For this reason, Turkestanı Jadids persecuted the national idea promoted by the Muslims of Inner Russia and tried to shape it in accordance with the social, political, religious and traditional characteristics of Turkestan. During the initial stages of the formation and development of a national idea, the Jadids encouraged the establishment of charitable societies and the creation of a system of charitable funds. In addition to the societies and funds, Jadids also gave importance to the press to explain, adopt, and spread the ideas they advocated among the people, published national newspapers that would fulfill an important task in the formation of political thought among Muslims, opened publishing houses, and organized libraries. From this perspective, the "newspaper" alone, as a tool, became a sign of progress, a source of ideas and information for the Muslims of Turkestan, and for Russian society, and had a significant impact on the social lives of Turkestanis. Therefore, the newspapers *Tarakkıy*, *Shuhırat*, *Khurshid*, *Asya*, and *Tujjar*, which were published only in 1906-1908, fulfilled an important task as a tool and a force that enabled Turkestanı Jadids to assert their national and religious identities. The activities of the societies, publishing houses, libraries, and companies established to distribute print materials for Muslims in order to raise the consciousness of Turkestanis, to realize their self-awareness, and initially to initiate a social transformation in the intellectual sense, were either severely restricted or completely stopped by the local authorities representing the current administration in the regions that they went beyond the permitted framework or carried out anti-state activities. Although this situation negatively affected the work of the Turkestanı Jadids, they did not give up their struggle and managed to keep the issues they brought to the attention of the public through literature and theater. In this article, the efforts of the Turkestanı Jadids to promote and put forward national ideas to realize national projects, which were their main goals, and their activities to instill these ideas in the people of Turkestan are discussed based on first-hand sources.

Keywords: Nation, Idea, Jadidism, Turkestan, Muslim Elite, Charitable Society, Press

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ÖZ

Rus İmparatorluğu sınırları içerisinde ortaya çıkan Ceditçilik Hareketi; Türkistan, Volga-Ural, Kafkasya ve Kırım'da belirli bir mahiyete ulaşarak kendi mecrasında fikri ve toplumsal bir harekete dönüşmüştür. Söz konusu hareket Türkistan'da, Rusya İmparatorluğu sınırları içerisinde Müslümanların yaşadığı Volga- Ural, Kafkasya ve Kırım bölgelerinden farklı olarak 20. yüzyılın başlarında ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu sebeple Türkistanlı Ceditçiler, İç Rusya Müslümanları tarafından desteklenen millî fikri idrak etmiş, bunu Türkistan'ın sosyal, siyasi, dinî ve geleneksel hususiyetlerine uygun olarak şekillendirmeye çalışmışlardır. Ceditçiler, ortaya koydukları millî fikrin şekillenip gelişmesinin ilk aşamasında, hayır cemiyetlerinin kurulmasını ve hayır fonları için bir sistem oluşturulmasını teşvik etmişlerdir. Onlar, kurdukları cemiyet ve fonların yanı sıra savundukları düşüncelerin halka anlatılması, benimsetilmesi ve halk arasında yaygınlaşması amacıyla matbuat işlerine de önem vererek Müslümanlar arasında siyasî düşüncenin oluşmasında önemli bir vazifeyi yerine getirecek millî gazeteler çıkarmış, yayınevleri açmış, kütüphaneler teşkil etmişlerdir. Bu noktadan bakıldığında yalnız başına "gazete" bile bir araç olarak Rus toplumunda olduğu gibi Türkistan Müslümanları için de bir ilerleme işareti, fikir ve bilgi kaynağı hâline gelmiş; Türkistanlıların sosyal hayatlarında önemli bir tesire sahip olmuştur. Öyle ki yalnızca 1906-1908 yıllarında yayınlanan *Terakki*, *Şuhrat*, *Hurşit*, *Asya* ve *Tüccar* gazeteleri, Türkistan Ceditçilerinin millî ve dinî kimliklerini ortaya koymalarını sağlayan bir araç ve güç olarak önemli bir görevi yerine getirmiştir. Türkistanlıların bilinçlenmesi, benliklerini idrak etmesi ve başlangıçta fikri anlamda toplumsal dönüşümün gerçekleşebilmesi için Müslümanlara yönelik basılı yayınları dağıtmak amacıyla açılan cemiyetler, yayınevleri, kütüphaneler, kurulan şirketlerin faaliyetleri, mevcut yönetimin temsilcisi yerel makamlar tarafından, çalışmalarına izin verilen çerçevenin dışına çıktıkları yahut da devlet karşıtı faaliyetler yürüttükleri gibi suç isnatlarıyla ya ciddi şekilde kısıtlanmış ya da tamamen durdurulmuştur. Bu durum her ne kadar Türkistan Ceditçilerinin çalışmalarını olumsuz etkilese de onlar mücadelelerinden vazgeçmeyerek halkın dikkatine sundukları meseleleri, edebiyat ve tiyatro aracılığıyla gündemde tutmayı başarmışlardır. Bu makalede, Türkistan Ceditçilerinin ana hedefleri olan millî projeleri hayata geçirebilmek için millî fikirleri üretme ve ortaya koyma gayretleri ile bu fikirleri Türkistan halkına duyurmak, tanıtmak ve benimsetmek için yaptıkları faaliyetleri, birinci el kaynaklara dayanılarak ele alınmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Millet, Fikir, Ceditçilik, Türkistan, Müslüman aydın, Hayırsever Cemiyet, Basın

Introduction

Background of Russian Muslim National Ideas

National idea, in a philosophical sense, symbolize the union of one nation and the definition of national identity is reflected in the slogan of the founder of Russian Jadidism, Ismail Gasprinski's *Unity in language, Thought and Action*. The concept of "national idea" for Gasprinski meant building an initial basis for the implementation of necessary and highly relevant works in favor of the nation. According to him, bringing people together under one idea leads to the fact that each of its representatives begins to think about the interests of the nation as a personal interest; and in the end no one will turn away from public affairs that will benefit the nation¹.

For Mahmud Hoja Behbudiy, a close associate and follower of Gasprinski in Turkestan, the reform of elementary and higher education meant the reform of the nation. According to him, the reform of the nation is a national idea that should promote all².

The results of bourgeois reforms in Russia in the second half of the 19th century and national politics in the era of Alexander III forced the Russian Muslims to find their due place in the society. One of the first steps in this direction can be seen in Gasprinski's brochure, *Muslims of Russia: Thoughts, Notes and Observations*. In this small booklet Gasprinski formulated his basic theoretical postulates on Russia's attitude toward the Muslim population and areas of reform in Muslim society. In addition, he raised the question of the mechanisms of relation formation between Muslims and Russia in the long term. Gasprinski proclaimed equality and respect for the rights of nations as a basis of the national policy. Further, by analyzing the cultural development of the Muslims of Russia, he proposed a program aimed at creating an institute of national schools based on their native language³.

Gasprinski, in the initial stage of development of national idea, promoted founding charities and creating a regulation system of charitable funds, because Russian law permitted legal public activities only within charitable and educational societies⁴.

In order to systematize existing work, Gasprinski proposed developing a "national idea" that would form the initial framework for the implementation of the necessary and highly relevant work in favor of the nation. In turn, to unite the nation under a unique "national idea" it was necessary to draw the Muslim elite, the intellectual stratum of Muslim society, into the work. The activities of these elites were aimed at creating political, economic, educational and cultural institutions. As defined by Gasprinski, people who serve the nation and the interests

1 Ismā'īl, "Afkāri 'umūmiya", *Tarjumān* 13-14 (1886), 1-2.

2 Maḥmūd H'aja Behbūdiy, "Millatlar qanday taraqqiy etarlar?", *Samarqand* 30 (1913), 2.

3 Ismail Bei Gasprinski, "Russkoe musul'manstvo: Mysli, zametki i nabliudeniia," in *Rossiia i Vostok* (Kazan: 1993), 16-58.

4 Zavdat Minnullin, "Blagotvoritel'nye obshchestva i problema zakiata u tatar (konets XIX – nach. XX vv.)," in I. K. Zagidullin, ed., *Tatarskie musul'manskie prikhody v Rossiiskoi imperii: Materialy nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii (27–28 sentiabria 2005 g., g. Kazan')* (Kazan: Institut istorii AN RT, 2006), 30.

of society are allowed to be called the pillars or fathers⁵. Gasprinski divided the Muslim elite into two groups: 1) the rulers and scholars; 2) representatives of the commercial and industrial classes. To characterize the potential of these groups, Russian historian Aidar Khabutdinov⁶ applied the theory of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu⁷, under which individuals have different types of capital: economic, social, symbolic, and cultural.

Gasprinski described the Muslim intellectual elite as knowing what they had learned; in other words, this social class was not aware of anything other than religious knowledge. Gasprinski emphasized, if they do not have the knowledge and the relevant requirements of the time; if they do not comply with what they teach themselves; if the rulers and officials have no knowledge, intelligence, and ardent patriotism, then no matter whom they are, they cannot be ‘pillars of society’ or its leaders⁸. Apparently, the preparation of the true leaders of the nation rested on the reform of primary schools. Gasprinski wrote: “When our school, method and curriculum is reformed, then our scientists and rulers will develop. Can a person who cannot find their own way chart a course for others? An officer and aristocrat, by his knowledge, cannot take the place of *imam*, and cannot be a teacher in literature and politics as well. For such people there is no hope”⁹.

Jadidism, as determined by some researchers, did not assume the task of changing liturgical practices and Muslim dogma. It was primarily a secular movement led by intellectuals, not theologians¹⁰. This definition may well correspond to inner Russian Jadidism and is partially suitable for determining Turkestani Jadidism. Since the majority of the Turkestani Jadids were just religious leaders, not secular intelligentsia.

Intellectuals, according to Gasprinski, must unite people under a common idea, making it possible to implement envisaged national affairs¹¹. The intelligent part of the nation must play a major role in the dissemination and formation of new ideas and goals in the minds of the people. According to Gasprinski, lack of reform ideas and goals were the main reason for Muslims’ scientific, commercial and political dependence on other nations and for their servitude. Gasprinski challenged Muslim intellectuals to develop completely new ideas and goals that would transform the minds of Muslim nations. These ideas must lead the nation out of servility and dependence. In this case, intelligentsia must direct the masses in the right direction¹². Gasprinski called Muslim intellectuals to initiate explanatory conversations among

5 Ismā‘īl, “Arkāni jāmi‘at”, *Tarjumān* 16 (1886), 2.

6 Aidar Khabutdinov and Damir Mukhetdinov, *Rossiiskie musul'mane-tatary: ot obshchiny k natsii (konets XVIII – nachalo XX vv.): Uchebnoe posobie* (Nizhnii Novgorod: Medina, 2007), 7.

7 For detail see: Pier Burd'ye, *Sotsiologiya politiki* (Moscow: Socio-Logos, 1993).

8 Ismā‘īl, “Arkāni jāmi‘at”, *Tarjumān* 17 (1886), 2. For more detail on Gasprinski’s view on intelligentsia, see: Mustafa Tuna, “Pillars of the Nation”: The Making of a Russian Muslim Intelligentsia and the Origins of Jadidism”, *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 18/2, (2017), 257-281.

9 Ismā‘īl, “Arkāni jāmi‘at”, 2.

10 Khabutdinov and Mukhetdinov, *Rossiiskie musul'mane-tatary*, 11.

11 Ismā‘īl, “Afkāri ‘umūmiya”, 1-2.

12 Ismā‘īl, “Afkār va maṭlab”, *Tarjumān* 18 (1895), 1.

the people about science, education, about the current situation of Muslims and other peoples' life, as well as to urge them to participate their various meetings¹³. As a result, the concept of a "national idea" would appear and the nation would be unified and united through charitable societies.

In explaining the essence of "national idea," Gasprinski wrote that this idea should stand above the rest. According to him, exalting the people, rising goals and the real brotherhood of the people – this is the "national idea." This idea should reflect the aspirations and benefits of the nation. The national idea is the highest and the holiest thing, and it is also the greatest, precious thing according to the Islamic legal tradition¹⁴. According to Aidar Khabutdinov, the main doctrine of Gasprinski was the creation of a public consensus, which must unite all strata of Muslim society¹⁵. This is strikingly manifested in Gasprinski's "*Unity in Language, Thought and Action*".

Perception and Reproduction of the National Idea in Turkestan

Ismail Gasprinski¹⁶ and his newspaper *Tarjumān*¹⁷, along with other sources, became one of the main factors in the formation of the Turkestani Jadids, as well as the entire Jadid movement in Turkestan. His ideas are reflected in the works of many Turkestani Jadids, especially in matters of education, ways to overcome stagnation, and numerous other ideas. The new schools founded by Gasprinski began to spread widely in Turkestan in the early twentieth century. Turkestani reformers, especially Behbudiy in Samarkand and Munavvarqari in Tashkent contributed greatly to the establishment of new method schools by preparing and publishing textbooks in local languages and creating a favorable environment for the spread of new method schools.

13 Ismā'īl, "Ziyāli musulmanlara bir khitāb", *Tarjumān* 11 (1893), 1.

14 Ismā'īl, "Afkāri 'umūmiya", 1.

15 Aidar Khabutdinov, "Rossiiskie musul'mane v epokhu Gasprinskogo: perekhod ot raznoznennykh etnokonfessional'nykh obshchestvei k national'nomu edinstvu", *Islam v Sodruzhestve Nezavisimyykh Gosudarstv* 2/3 (2011), 46.

16 On his life see: Cafer Seydahmet Kırmıer, *Gaspralı İsmail Bey: Dilde, Fikirde, İşte Birlik* (Istanbul, 1934); Devlet Nadir, *İsmail Bey (Gaspralı)* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1988); Edward A. Allworth, ed., *The Tatars of Crimea: Return to the Homeland* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1988) [On Gasprinskii see Chapter 2, "A Model Leader for Asia, Ismail Gasprali" (Alan W. Fisher), 11-26.; Chapter 3, "Ismail Bey Gasprinskii (Gasprali): The Discourse of Modernism and the Russians" (Edward J. Lazzzerini), 149-169]; Zaynabidin Abdirashidov, "Gasprinski (Gaspralı), İsmail", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 3, (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 101-103.

17 Gasprinski began publishing the newspaper *Tarjumān* on April 10, 1883 in Bakhchisarai. He edited the newspaper until the end of his life in 1914. After his death, the newspaper continued to be published under the supervision of his colleague Hasan Sabri Aivazov and his son Rifat Gasprinski until early 1918. For more detail on the newspaper see: Zaynabidin Abdirashidov, "İsmail Gasprinskij i stanovlenije gazety "Tarzhuman", *Gasyrlar Avazy* 3/4 (80/81) (2015), 211-218; Viktor Gankevich, *Na sluzhbe pravde i prosveshcheniu* (Simferopol, 2000), 92-237.; Edward J. Lazzzerini, "İsmail Bey Gasprinskii's *Perevodchik/Tercuman*: A Clarion of Modernism," in H. Paksoy, ed., *Central Asian Monuments* (Istanbul, 1992), 143-156.; Hakan Kırmırlı, ed., *İsmail Gaspralı İçin* (Ankara, 2004) [Following articles in this book are devoted to *Tarjumān*: Timur Kocaoğlu, "Tarcüman gazetesinin dili ve coğrafyası", 215-225.; Viktor Gankeviç, "Tarcüman gazetesinin tarihine dair arşiv ve müze kaynakları", 227-231].

The history and origin of the emergence of Jadidism as a reform movement are closely related to the introduction of the new teaching method called “Usul-i Jadid” (new method) in primary schools. Jadidism, in addition to being expressed as an effort to adapt to the conditions of the period in the worldly sphere or a renewal effort, also includes the idea of reform in the religious sphere. Afterwards, it also included political activities.

In essence, Jadidism was a special intellectual and cultural movement that encouraged intellectual awakening and aimed at bringing Muslims closer to European culture and reorganizing society according to the needs of the time. However, in the historiography of Jadidism there have also been attempts to define it as the modernization of Islam or Muslim modernization in the context of the entire Muslim world¹⁸.

American historian Adeeb Khalid, who investigated the roots of Turkestani Jadidism, saw its origin in the transformation of Central Asian society and its reformation as a modern response to modernity caused by the Russian conquest which sought to re-draw the world, including Islam. Khalid tried to highlight Turkestani Jadids and their followers, who, spreading a Jadid version of education, sought to create a new elite [which] was to be modern but also Muslim and Turkestani¹⁹ and, thus, to be armed to defend the interests of the region in the modern world. According to him, although Central Asian reformers appropriated the rhetoric and methods of the Jadids of European Russia, their use was defined by imperatives, constraints, and possibilities peculiar to Central Asia²⁰.

The Turkestani Jadidism originated in the early 20th century, unlike other Muslim regions of the Russian Empire. The foundations of this movement were Tashkent’s representatives, Samarkand, Bukhara and Khiva. Only these elites formed the national idea of Turkestani Muslims. According to researchers of Turkestani Jadidism, before 1917 the Turkestani Jadids did not have a program. The *Dispute* and *Indian Traveler* of ‘Abd al-Rauf Fitrat were used as informal programs for Jadids until 1917. These works changed Turkestanis’ outlooks and worldviews²¹. Hisao Komatsu defines these works of Fitrat as the manifesto of the Jadid-Reformist movements in Bukhara and Turkestan²².

Of course, Fitrat’s works alone did not determine the direction and action program of Turkestani Jadidism²³. Before the publication of these works of Fitrat in 1911, Turkestani Jadids had already acted and achieved considerable success in spreading the new method

18 Ira Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 557-623.

19 Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 218.

20 Khalid, *The Politics*, 93.

21 *Istoriia obshchestvenno-kul'turnogo reformatorstva na Kavkaze i v Tsentral'noi Azii (XIX – nachalo XX veka)* (Samarqand: MITSsAI, 2012), 95-96.

22 Hisao Komatsu, “Muslim Intellectuals and Japan: A Pan-Islamist Mediator, Abdurreshid Ibrahim,” in Stéphane A. Dudoignon, Hisao Komatsu, and Yasushi Kosugi, eds., *Intellectuals in the Modern Islamic World: Transmission, Transformation, Communication* (London: Routledge, 2006), 279.

23 For detail, see: Seyfettin Erşahin, “Buhara’da Ceditçilik-Eğitim Islahatı Tartışmaları ve Abdurrauf Fitrat (XX. Yüzyıl Başları)”, *Dini Araştırmalar* 3 (1999), 213-255.

schools, creating textbooks and, most importantly, establishing the Muslim press in Turkestan.

As previously mentioned, Turkestani Jadids literally grew up on the ideas of Gasprinski manifested in his newspaper, *Tarjumān*. ‘Abd al-Rahman Sa‘di, writing about the role and impact of Gasprinski on Turkestani Jadids, saw this influence in the spreading of rationalist ideas²⁴. According to Haji Mu‘in, *Tarjumān* and the works of Gasprinski directly influenced the worldview of Mahmud Hodja Behbudiy²⁵.

It is interesting that Behbudiy, as he wrote, mastered the Turkic language with the newspaper *Tarjumān*. He wrote: My native language is Farsi. I mastered the written Turkic language with the help of my spiritual master *Tarjumān*²⁶. Behbudiy, by the written Turkic language, meant the Median Turkic language put forward by Gasprinski as a common literary language for all Turkic peoples. These words by Behbudiy indirectly confirm the assumption that Gasprinski and his works directly influenced him and Behbudiy supported his ways, including national ideas²⁷.

The influence of the newspaper *Tarjumān* in Turkestan, according to the definition of Behbudiy, can be seen in the spread of the Turkic language in Turkestan using the newly reformed primary schools named *uşul-i jadīd* (new method), in which the instruction was only in Turkic²⁸. Moreover, all new and young intellectuals of Turkestan, according to Behbudiy, mastered the common-literary Turkic language using the newspaper *Tarjumān* and within a quarter century, by means of this newspaper, completely satisfied their spiritual needs and became acquainted with a modern new literature²⁹.

Behbudiy was one of the first in Turkestan, and in general in the Russian Empire, who supported the promotion of a common-literary Turkic language. In practice, he conducted a survey in Turkestan cities to determine general opinions about the literary language and received answers to a questionnaire on the language of various Muslim newspapers. At the end of the survey Behbudiy concluded that the language of the newspapers *Tarjumān*, *Mir ‘at* and *Ulfat* (the editor of the latter two was ‘Abd al-Rashid Ibrahimov) was clearer and more acceptable to the Turkistanis. He believed that all Muslim editors in Russia, in promoting the common-literary language, must follow the head and “father” of a new Muslim press, Ismail Bey, who within a quarter century served the nation by language, work and heart. Furthermore, Behbudiy saw the common literary language as the basis for the unity of the Russian Muslims, particularly the Turkestani peoples³⁰.

24 ‘Abd al-Rahmān Sa‘di, “Behbūdīy va uning tēgarasiga yīghilgan yāzuvchilar”, *Turkistān* 53 (1923), 2-3.

25 Hāji Mu‘in, “Maḥmūd H‘aja Behbūdīy”, *Uchqun* 1 (1923), 3-5.

26 Maḥmūd H‘aja bin Behbūd H‘aja, “Turkistānda maktab lisāni”, *Tarjumān* 14 (1909), 2.

27 For detail on the function of *Tercūman* and its approach to the Tsarist administration, see: Nadir Devlet, “İslāmçı, Yenilikçi İsmail Gaspıralı ve Tercūman Gazetesi. Tercūman Gazetesi (1883-1918),” in *Vefatının 100‘ncü Yıl Dönümünde Gaspıralı İsmail Bey* (Eskişehir: Eskişehir Valiliği Kültür Yayınları, 2014), 62-75.

28 Behbūd H‘aja, “Turkistānda maktab lisāni”, 2.

29 Maḥmūd H‘aja bin Behbūd H‘aja, “Turkistānda maktab lisāni”, *Tarjumān* 21 (1909), 2.

30 Maḥmūd H‘aja bin Behbūd H‘aja, “Haqiqat ḥar tarafdan zuḥūr edar”, *Tarjumān* 48 (1906), 2. This article by Behbudiy was reprinted from the newspaper *Ulfat* 20 (1906), 2.

One of the close associates of Behbudiy, Muhammad Baqa Hodja continuing his thoughts about the language, came to a practical conclusion and substantiated his thoughts that the unity of the language is the basis of friendship, love, and mutual cohesion and gave examples from Mavlana Rumi's *Masnaviyi Ma'navi* about language. According to him, Rumi's thoughts glorify Gasprinski's action³¹.

Building on his earlier efforts to address the linguistic challenges in Turkestan, Behbudiy, along with the Turkic language, also put forward a "middle dialect" of Persian. The magazine *Āyina*, which Behbudiy published in 1913-1915, serves as a practical proof of his initiative. As Ingeborg Baldauf emphasized, Behbudiy, thorough this initiative, tried to show himself as an associate and co-religionist with the magazine's readers³². Notably, Behbudiy addressed the issue of bilingualism in Turkestan long before the publication of *Āyina*. In 1909, Behbudiy published an article in *Tarjumān* on this topic. In this article he emphasized the importance of the Turkic and Persian languages to Turkestan's population. On the basis of these considerations, he proposed including the Persian language in the school curriculum along with the Turkic. Behbudiy gave the following arguments to support this idea: the urban population of Turkestan being fluent in both languages; in some regions, people spoke in mixed Turkic and Persian; local institutions accepted written requests in Turkic; *Šarī'a* fatwa was issued in Persian and recorded in Turkic, and such orders were valid throughout Turkestan. Behbudiy, on the basis of these arguments, strongly recommended teaching in Turkestan schools in both languages³³.

Haji Mu'in, a companion-in-arms of Behbudiy, had quite a different opinion regarding the language issue. He advocated cleansing the Turkestan dialect [Chaghatay Turkic] of non-Turkic words and using it as a literary language³⁴. Besides, Haji Mu'in, unlike Behbudiy, supported the idea of a unique pure language instead of two. According to Baldauf, Haji Mu'in realized this idea in practice, when he was the interim editor of *Āyina*. Haji Mu'in over a short period of time turned the bilingual *Āyina* into a magazine purely in Turkic³⁵.

Many Turkestan intellectuals understood *šarī'a* terms only in terms of religious teachings. For example, for them *millet* meant an Islamic nation and every Muslim belongs to this *millet*³⁶. Munavvarqari understood and interpreted *millet* in this sense. In his early articles Munavvarqari called for religious purity, i.e., to purify religion from heresy, when he wrote about reforms (*islāh*)³⁷. Munavvarqari talks as a purely religious figure, and all his thoughts proceed from this perspective. He blamed *imams* – *nāibi Rasūlullāh* (literally: deputies of the Prophet), who, instead of admonitions and homilies, only attended public meetings of local rulers. According

31 Muḥammad Baqā H^waja Sayyid Hādi H^waja Mufti ũgli, "Vaḥdati lisān – dil birligi," *Tarjumān* 61 (1906), 2.

32 Ingeborg Baldauf, *XX asr o'zbek adabiyotiga chizgilar* (Tashkent: Ma'naviyat, 2001), 40.

33 Behbūd H^waja, Maḥmūd H^waja bin, "Turkistānda maktab lisāni", 2.

34 Hāji Mu'in ibn Šukrullāh, "Til birlašdurmaq haqqinda", *Āyina* 11 (1914), 259-260.

35 Baldauf, *XX asr o'zbek*, 44.

36 Vadud Maḥmūd, Turk šā'iri 'Ajzī", *Inqilāb* 11-12 (1924), 11-14.

37 For detail see: Munavvarqāri, "Nikāh toghrisida", *Taraqiy* 3 (1906), 2; Munavvarqāri, "[Harbešagumān...]", *Taraqiy* 4 (1906), 2; Munavvarqāri, "[1905 nchi...]", *Taraqiy* 11 (1906), 1.

to Munavvarqari, the imams had forgotten the meaning of *millet* and *šarī'a*. They were the main culprits for distancing Turkestan Muslims from the true faith. Munavvarqari was sure of only one thing – just a real group of *'ulamā* (theologians) could explain to the people the complete discordance of *bid'a* (innovations) to the *šarī'a* that is contrary to the true Islam; only this group of *'ulamā* may bring benefits to the religious and secular affairs of Muslims. Munavvarqari believed that the true *'ulamā* is a person who is familiar with the conditions, policy, and knowledge of the times. Munavvarqari was one of the first to put forward the idea of granting religious autonomy to Turkestan Muslims³⁸.

As can be seen from the above examples, not only Munavvarqari, Behbudiy, but also all the reformers of Turkestan, perceiving the national idea promoted by Jadids of European Russia, tried to correct it in terms of Turkestan features and inculcate it into Turkestan Muslims.

Charitable Societies as the Fundamental Basis of National Idea

The reproduction of the national idea in theoretical terms brought all Muslim reformers in the Russian Empire closer. The next major step was to be the implementation of theory into practice. That is, to organize charitable societies as the fundamental basis of the national idea. The first Muslim charity institutions in Turkestan were established in the late 19th century. In 1894, in memory of the 25th anniversary of the Russian capture of Samarkand, Qāzi Nizam al-Din Haji collected 1,500 rubles and founded *Dāru'l- 'ājizīn* (Shelter House) for the local population³⁹. Two years later, in 1896, another *Dāru'l- 'ājizīn* was established by the inhabitants of Osh city in Ferghana Oblast. All the finances of this Muslim orphanage were provided by the wealthy merchants of Osh city.⁴⁰ As far as known from press reports, these were the first modern Muslim charities in the Turkestan General-Governorship. The main objectives of these shelters were housing and food for the needy in the cities. In 1897 Emir of Bukhara founded *Dāru'l- 'ājizīn* for the poor and disabled in Bukhara. The everyday necessities of the shelter guests were provided by the Emir⁴¹. This is the starting point of the new era in modern Muslim charity in Turkestan.

The Russian and Tatar communities in Turkestan, especially the Turkestan Benevolent Society, played an important role in the development of public charity in Turkestan. In 1899, the Turkestan Benevolent Society established two *Dāru'l- 'ājizīns* for the local Muslim population in Tashkent and Old Marghilan. The Muslim nobility donated a large sum of money for these shelters⁴². Later on, shelters were provided by local branches of the Turkestan Benevolent

38 Munavvarqari, “[1905 nchi...]”, 1.

39 Anonim, “Samarqand”, *Tarjumān* 12 (1894), 3.

40 Anonim, “Oš šahri”, *Tarjumān* 27 (1896), 3.

41 Anonim, “Bukhārāi šarīf”, *Tarjumān* 8 (1897), 3.

42 Anonim, “Taškand”, *Tarjumān* 38 (1899), 3.; Anonim, “[Eski Marghilānda...]”, *Tarjumān* 47 (1899), 3.

Society⁴³. The Tatar community in Turkestan, as in Russian society, had a significant impact on the social life of the local population. Tatars, who came from the Inner Russian regions, immediately formed a close-knit community that at first isolated itself from the local population. However, later in 1902, the Tatar community in Tashkent organized a charitable society that mainly served to bring community rapprochement with the local population⁴⁴.

As time passed, the gradual involvement of local nobility in public charity had a great influence on the formation of wide-ranging local charitable organizations, which by that time acted among the Muslims of Inner Russia.

In 1906, the newspaper *Taraqiy* put on its agenda the issue of establishing a local Muslim charitable society in Turkestan. Tashkent Muslim intellectuals sought to attract the attention of Muslims in other regions of Russia to the issue. For example, in 1908 the newspaper *Vaqt* published a letter from Tashkent, in which the author wrote with regret that there was no Muslim charitable society in Turkestan: “Our young people are addicted to alcohol, and the rich frolic at weddings instead of organizing society, establishing schools and helping the poor.” The letter’s author described this state of affairs in Tashkent⁴⁵. The Turkestani Jadids, due to a lack of their own newspapers, could not bring their ideas concerning national affairs to the public. In addition, the ultra-conservative attitudes of Turkestani Muslims, especially the clergy, were the main obstacles in the implementation of the issue.

The *Jam ‘iyyati Imdādiya* (Relief Association), the first Muslim charitable society in Turkestan, was established on July 15, 1909, according to records from August 10 in Tashkent⁴⁶. Munavvarqari, the leader of the Tashkent Jadids, was the head of the society founders⁴⁷. The main objectives of the *Jam ‘iyyati Imdādiya* were: 1) the organization of schools for education of all strata of the population; 2) protection of poor children and orphans; 3) the organization of various shelters; 4) assistance to students and other issues⁴⁸.

The Society, despite the above purposes stated in the Statutes, was not in a position to send students to study abroad. Since Russian laws did not allow local charitable organizations to operate outside the region⁴⁹. Because of the *Jam ‘iyyati Imdādiya*, according to the approved Charter, could act only within Syrdarya oblast of Turkestan and help only the local population

43 *Sredniaia Aziia: Blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii*, sostavleno po Vysochaishemu povelenniu Sobstvennoi Ego Imperatorskogo Velichestva Kantseliarieiu po uchrezhdeniiam Imperatritsy Marii, *Spisok blagotvoritel'nykh uchrezhdenii*, chast' 2, tom 2 (St. Petersburg, 1907), 24.

44 Khalid, *The Politics*, 78.

45 Anonim, “Kandy ghetalarimizdan: Vaqt (Tashkandan Maktüb)”, *Tarjumān* 3 (1908), 2.

46 Aleksandr Dobrosmyslov, *Tashkent v proshlom i nastoiashchem: Istoricheskii ocherk* (Tashkent, 1912), 432.

47 Mu'minjān Muḥammadjānov, *Turmuš urinišlari (bir mullabachchanning khātira daftari)* (Tashkent: Ozbekistān Davlat naşriyāti, 1926), 252-253.

48 Anonim, “Otchet musul'manskogo obshchestva ‘Pomoshch’ v Tashkente”, *Turkistān Vilāyatining Gazeti* 9 (1911), 2.

49 Zaynabidin Abdirashidov, *İsmail Gaspıralı ve XX. Yüzyılın Başlarında Türkistan (Temaslar - İlişkiler - Tesir)* (İstanbul: Selenge Yayınları, 2022), 221-262.

and students⁵⁰. The Russian administration's approach to the case was to be influenced by the political situation in the region. Fearing the infiltration of revolutionary ideas from neighboring countries, the Russian administration tried to restrict the activities of the local intelligentsia. In 1909, Nikolai Kalmakov, the commandant of the Russian part of Tashkent, wrote a report to the highest authorities of Syrdarya oblast and asked for a prohibition of the *Jam 'iyyati Imdādiya*. Kalmakov argued that the activity of this secular charitable society, guided by Jadids, was contradictory to the norms of *šarī'a*. He considered it his duty to warn regional officials and to prevent any future conflicts in Tashkent. Kalmakov expressed his grave concern over the infighting within Central Asian society that could destabilize the situation in the city⁵¹. According to Adeeb Khalid, tsarist officials, wary of phenomena they did not understand, sought to keep the Jadids on a short leash⁵². This illustrates that the Russian administration attempted to use the clergy against the new phenomena in Turkestan, declaring them contradictory to the norms and rules of *šarī'a* and Islamic laws. It also shows that the Turkestan administration tried to keep everyone under *šarī'a*, expressing its "concern" about Islam. In 1913, the government began to prepare a new law on Muslim schools, and it was decided to stop the activity of the new method schools legally, with the help of *šarī'a*⁵³. The new law also provided for the regulation of the school curricula and amended the paragraph concerning the science subjects prohibited for teaching and learning by *šarī'a*.

As mentioned above the Society could act only within Syrdarya oblast of Turkestan and help only the local population and students. For example, Mu'minjan Muhammadjanov, who was a student of Madrasai 'Āliya in Ufa, was unable to obtain financial assistance from the *Jam 'iyyati Imdādiya*. The Society denied his request on the grounds that if it provided any assistance to people living or studying outside Syrdarya oblast, he would be guilty before the state⁵⁴. Activities only within the approved Charter restricted this society in other cases also.

The *Jam 'iyyati Imdādiya* derived income mainly from membership fees only⁵⁵. The Society did not carry out any action other than to attract new members and raise funds to continue to operate during the first 18 months. The Turkestani Jadids failed to attract widespread sadaqa and zakat in public spending as did Muslims of Inner Russia. Rich merchants avoided participation in public affairs and did not make donations to such matters⁵⁶. Behbudiy, in his publications, campaigned to the representatives of trade and the industrial elite to financially support the work begun, and wrote,

50 For detail see: *Ustav musul'manskogo obshchestva 'Pomoshch' v Tashkente* (Tashkent, 1909).

51 Jeff Sahadeo, *Russian Colonial Society in Tashkent, 1865–1923* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 161.

52 Khalid, *The Politics*, 183.

53 Anonim, "Vazhnyi vopros", *Tarjumān* 227 (1913), 2.

54 Muḥammadjānov, *Turmuš urinišlari*, 253.

55 Khalid, *The Politics*, 133, 166.

56 M.I., "Taškand Jam'iyyati Imdādiyasi", *Tarjumān* 7 (1910), 3.

at all times, capital supported progress and reform. To support the nation in reforming schools, to prepare our young people for higher education institutions in Europe, for the development of national affairs, we need charitable institutions, libraries, various foundations and clubs, newspapers, magazines, publishing houses, etc. The national progress to be made in such a way and in these cases needs money and money is in the hands of our rich⁵⁷.

In 1910, despite the difficulties, the *Jam 'iyyati Imdādiya* intended to open⁵⁸ or take under its guardianship the *Dāru-l- 'ājizīn* in the Muslim part of Tashkent, which was provided for by the Turkestan Benevolent Society. The *Jam 'iyyati Imdādiya* addressed a request to the Supervisory Board of the Turkestan Benevolent Society to take the facility under its guardianship. After transferring the orphanage into the *Jam 'iyyati Imdādiya*, 600 rubles for the facility were collected within the circle of Tashkent merchants by the initiative of Munavvarqari⁵⁹.

The *Jam 'iyyati Imdādiya* was forced to use different ways of fundraising to maintain its financial situation. The Supervisory Board of the Society conducted different entertainment activities that were previously conducted by the Tatar community and some Russian institutions for the benefit of charitable institutions. For these purposes, in 1913, the *Jam 'iyyati Imdādiya* organized a theatrical evening in Tashkent, in which the plays of two Tatar authors were performed and 966 rubles were collected, which was divided between the theater troupes and the Society⁶⁰. Further, this experience was used extensively by other charities to provide financial assistance, mainly for new-method schools.

Muhammadjanov accused some members of the *Jam 'iyyati Imdādiya* of being Russophiles and of opposing the Society's affairs⁶¹. The Society elected some Russian officials as honorary members and tried to demonstrate its loyalty to the authorities. Such "loyalty" and strict adherence to the Charter regulations had a negative impact, particularly on supporting of Muslim students. In 1913, a few local youth students could not continue their studies at Tashkent Commercial School due to financial difficulties. Behbudiy urged the Supervisory Board of the *Jam 'iyyati Imdādiya* to make a point on such important matters⁶².

The *Jam 'iyyati Imdādiya* had long been, and remained the only Muslim charitable organization founded by Turkestani Jadids. Other attempts by local activists to organize such a society had limited success. In 1908, thirteen activists, led by Behbudiy, founded *Qirā' atkhāna va Mutāla' akhāna Islāmiyasi* (the Muslim Library and Reading Room) in Samarkand. This institution began its work with more than 100 members and subscribers, but by 1912, there were only seven members, and the daily attendance of readers was an average of only ten

57 Maḥmūd H'aja Behbūdiy, "Millatlar qanday taraqqiy etarlar?", *Samarqand* 30 (1913), 2.

58 Anonim, "[Taškand Imdādiya Jam'iyyati]", *Tarjumān* 9 (1910), 3.

59 Anonim, "Pozhertvovaniia na tuzemniuu bogadel'niu", *Turkistān Vilāyatining Gazeti* 15 (1910), 3.

60 Munavvarqari, "Taškanda teatru", *Tarjumān* 170 (1913), 3.

61 Muḥammadjānov, *Turmuš urinišlari*, 253.

62 Muḥammadzāda (tijārat maktabi oquvchisi), "Taškanda tijārat maktabi", *Āyina* 33 (1914), 790.

people a day⁶³. This reading room, according to Behbudiy, was meant for madrassa students, who did not have the opportunity to buy books and manuals. At the opening, Samarkand Muslim Reading Room consisted of 200 books on various subjects. The reading room received local and international newspapers and magazines through subscription, such as *Taza Hayāt* (Baku), *Hayāt* (Baku), *Idil* (Orenburg), *Taraqiy* (Kazan), *Tarjuman* (Bahchasaray), *Molla Nasriddin* (Baku), *Yildiz* (Kazan), *Šūrā* (Orenburg), *Turkistān Vilāyatining Gazeti* (Tashkent), *Turkestarskie Vedomosti* (Tashkent), *Birzhevaia Vedomost'* (St. Petersburg), *Vokrug Sveta* (Moscow), *Serveti Fünün* (Istanbul), *Al-Liwa'* (Cairo), *Mir 'āti 'Ulūm* (Cairo), *Ḥablu'l-Matīn* (Calcutta), and others⁶⁴. The reading room administration tried to inform readers about events around the world.

The majority of the population and madrassa students regarded Muslims, especially the Jadids, in uniform and in doublets, as Babists, Russians, and just faithless. Behbudiy, who at the time was the head of the reading room, was also uniformed. As well, some people were spreading rumors among the people that the reading room administration used the money they had raised for their own needs. All this had a negative impact on the activities of the Samarkand Muslim Reading Room⁶⁵. At the same time, it is necessary to stress that there were officials, Russians and Armenians, among the benefactors and members of the reading room. Early in 1914, the reading room was closed due to financial problems. At the annual meeting, the members of the reading room decided to stage a show performance to maintain the room and thereby solve the financial problem⁶⁶.

In 1913, 'Abdullah Avlani and Munavvarqari founded the *Turān* Society at the *Jam'iyati Imdādiyya*. The Turan Society, in the next two years, opened a reading room, founded a theater, a publishing house and a newspaper in Tashkent⁶⁷. Avlani organized and recorded the children's voice choir of his own school with support from this society. The profits from sales of this album were deposited in the *Turān* Society's account⁶⁸. The theater troupe *Turān* staged performances in Tashkent and Fergana Valley. The *Turān* Society spent invested all the funds it received from performances in supporting the new method schools.

Early in the 1910s, the national idea of Turkestan Jadids was not fully supported by both the representatives of the commercial/industrial class and the general public. This shows a certain ideological crisis in the promotion of the national ideas to unite Muslims of Turkestan. Throughout those years financial problems hung over the Muslim charities of Turkestan. According to Adeeb Khalid, Turkestan reformers sought [...] to bypass the market through

63 Maḥmūd H^waja bin Beḥbūd H^waja, "Otchet musul'manskoi biblioteki i chital'ni gor. Samarkanda: Ḥisābi – Ātchūt", *Turkistān Vilāyatining Gazeti* 17 (1910), 2-3; Beḥbūdīy, "Qirā'atkhana va mutāla'akhāna islāmiyasi bābında mukhtasar bayānnāma", *Samarqand* 25 (1913), 1-2.

64 Anonim, "Samarqand qirā'atkhanai islāmiyasi", *Tarjuman* 78 (1908), 3.

65 Yūsufzāda, "Pis'mo iz Samarkanda", *Turkistān Vilāyatining Gazeti* 16 (1910), 2.

66 Anonim, "Samarqand", *Tarjuman* 2 (1914), 3.

67 Ulug'bek Dolimov, *Turkistonda jadid maktablari* (Tashkent: Universitet, 2006), 54.

68 Munavvarqāri, "Taškanda musulmān jam'iyati", *Samarqand* 27 (1913), 2.

recourse to philanthropy, patronage, and charity, but they were not entirely successful in institutionalizing philanthropy in Turkestan, and Jadid reform remained subject to significant economic pressures⁶⁹. These arrangements had been inherent in all members of Turkestani reformism. All of them, starting with Behbudiy, tried to attract the capital that Turkestanis sheltered in various traditional entertainments, to philanthropy⁷⁰. However, these efforts had failed, except for isolated cases⁷¹. As Gasprinski indicated, it was necessary to unite all strata of society under one national idea for the successful effect of goals. The author of an article published in the magazine *Āyina*, extrapolating the thoughts of Gasprinski, tried to divide the Muslims of Turkestan conventionally into three groups: 1) rich persons: landowners, merchants, and industrialists; 2) well-educated persons who worked in offices or served individuals; 3) the common people, who had no idea what millet is⁷². According to the author of this classification, if those groups come together and provide financial assistance by the language and the soul, it would be possible to carry out any work in favor of the nation. However, Turkestani reformers were not capable of implementing this “union.” They failed to involve them in public affairs.

Behbudiy complained about the behavior of the Turkestani Muslim elite, stating that everyone was busy with his own business and profits. We do not have people who would act in favor of nation-wide or religious affairs. We don't have people who would care about the progress of the nation like other nations⁷³.

Print Media as a Motive Force of National Idea

Charitable societies, as discussed above, served to unite different sections of Muslim society. This united Muslim society, in a sense, was able to fulfill certain tasks that were set by Gasprinsky and his associates. However, this was not enough for the full realization of the tasks set, to awaken the Muslim population and bringing them out of stagnation. The independent vernacular press could have done much more in this direction.

According to Adeeb Khalid, economic constraints similarly haunted attempts to establish an independent vernacular press in Turkestan, although officialdom was responsible for the demise of many newspapers⁷⁴. The formation of a group of intellectuals, who wanted to carry out reforms in the everyday life of Turkestan, though started in the late 19th century, was finally formed in the first decade of the 20th century. This circumstance probably was the most important reason for the late establishment, as Khalid defined above, of an independent vernacular press in Turkestan. The popular masses in Turkestan were strikingly different mentally from other Muslims of the Russian Empire. The conservatism of the clergy and

69 Khalid, *The Politics*, 119.

70 Maḥmūd H^oaja, “Oquchilargha yārdam kerak”, *Āyina* 31 (1914), 601-604.; H. M., “Jam’iyyati khayriya āchmāq lāzim”, *Āyina* 33 (1914), 780.

71 Anonim, “Fā’idali qarār”, *Tarjumān* 100 (1914), 3.

72 Mulla Ishāqjān, “Javāb”, *Āyina* 11 (1914), 257-258.

73 Maḥmūd H^oaja Behbūdiy, “Millatlar qanday taraqqiy etarlar?”, *Samarqand* 30 (1913), 2.

74 Khalid, *The Politics*, 121.

the people affected the non-popularization of newspapers. Early in 1893, Muhammad Zahir Bigiyev, the prominent Jadid from the Volga region, at a meeting with the Emir of Bukhara ‘Abd al-Ahad, proposed to establish a newspaper in Bukhara⁷⁵. Bigiyev was informed that he would receive an answer as soon as possible, but without waiting for the promised reply, he arrived in Bukhara in the immediate hope to do what he planned. However, he was surprised when he heard from officials that a newspaper was harmful and to publish a newspaper in Bukhara would never be allowed⁷⁶.

Turkistān Vilāyatining Gazeti was one of the first Turkic-speaking periodicals published in the Russian Empire. It was the only newspaper within the Turkestan General-Governorship in local languages except for two brief periods (1906–1908 and 1913–1917). As noted by Adeeb Khalid, *Turkistān Vilāyatining Gazeti* was the main forum for Turkestanian intellectuals who sought to express their vision of the region within the framework of a global and imperial context. The official newspaper *Turkistān Vilāyatining Gazeti* was the main tribune for Turkestanian intellectuals⁷⁷. However, despite its important role in the Muslim’s lives, this newspaper was very conservative and hostile toward all manifestations of Jadidism.

A newspaper became a sign of progress and a source of ideas and knowledge for Turkestanian Jadids. They interpreted the meaning and purpose of the newspaper differently. At one time Gasprinski identified the service of truth and enlightenment as a main purpose of a newspaper⁷⁸.

As Turkestanian Jadids began intensifying their struggle for reforms, the newspaper *Taraqiy* (Progress) of Ismail ‘Abidiy was the first step towards declaring *jihād* (holy war)⁷⁹ to conservative thinking. The political views of *Taraqiy* were more radical and Ziya Sa‘id, starting with the first issue, actively attacked the conservative clergy who were on Ostroumov’s side⁸⁰. The aggressiveness of the newspaper, probably, was the basis for its closure by the authorities⁸¹. Gasprinski did not hide his dissatisfaction with the direction of the newspaper⁸². The newspaper *Khuršīd* (the Sun) was established by Munavvarqari and, as opposed to *Taraqiy*, it placed more emphasis on political events in Russia and neighboring countries. Apparently, *Khuršīd*’s focus was more in agreement with the political views of Gasprinski. As wrote Gasprinski, *Khuršīd* was a pure national newspaper with good language. As is well known, Gasprinski harshly criticized the new Tatar newspapers’ language and accused them of spreading the spoken language instead

75 Muḥammad Zāhir Bigiyev, *Māvarāunnahrda sayāhat* (Kazan: Kitāb, 1908), 74-75.; Ismā‘il Ghasprinskiy, *Safarnāmai ḥazrati amir: Bukhārā Davlat Mir Sayyid ‘Abdulaḥad Baḥādurhānning 1893 (1310) da vāqe’ olmiş Rūsiyā sayāhati bayānında risālai mahsusadir* (Tarjumān jarīdasindan jam’ va naql qilindi) (Baghchasarāy, 1893), 15.

76 Bigiyev, *Māvarāunnahrda sayāhat*, 75.

77 Khalid, *The Politics*, 82-89.

78 Ismā‘il, “Ghazītaning khidmati nadir?”, *Tarjumān* 2 (1883), 2.

79 Ziyā Sa‘īd, *Ozбек vaqtli matbu‘ati tarikhiga materiallar, 1870–1917* (Tashkent–Samarkand: Ozbekistān Davlat naşriyāti, 1927), 36.

80 Sa‘īd, *Ozбек vaqtli matbu‘ati*, 36.

81 Taškandli Mulla Arslān, “[Taraqiyy gazetasi...]”, *Tarjumān* 72 (1906), 2.

82 Anonim, “Mizān (Adabiy, ma‘īshiy va tanqidiy bahslar)”, *Tarjumān* 117 (1906), 1-2.

of the literary. As mentioned previously, the Turkestan Jadids actively promoted a common literary language as the primary attribute to unite Muslims⁸³. The newspaper *Khuršīd* was proscribed by the authorities as “anti-government literature” after publishing its 10th issue⁸⁴. Its successors, the newspapers *Šuhrat* (Glory) and *Āsiyā* (Asia), which were established by the joint efforts of ‘Abdullah Avlani, Ahmadjan Bektemirov and Munavvarqari were also proscribed by the authorities as anti-government literature. *Āsiyā* ceased publication on May 21, 1908. Another newspaper – *Tujjār* (Merchant) was established by Saidkarimbay Saidazimbaev, a representative of commercial and industrial classes. Unlike other newspapers, it declared itself as not in opposition to the government and the Russian state, and also made clear that it would not harm religion. *Tujjār*, with such a program, did not become popular and was discontinued after the 36th issue due to lack of subscribers⁸⁵. In May 1908 the independent national press in Turkestan ceased to exist. The tsarist okhranka – secret police agency was involved on this point. In addition, the Turkestan Jadids accused *Turkistān Vilāyatining Gazeti* and its editor-in-chief Nikolai Ostroumov of suppressing the national press⁸⁶.

Still, the five newspapers published for a short time between 1906 and 1908 managed to demonstrate the Turkestan Jadids as a force on the path of national and religious identity.

In April 1913, after many years of the absence of Muslim printed media in Turkestan, Behbudiy established a newspaper *Samarqand*, in Samarkand. Behbudiy published the newspaper using his savings, but after five months was forced to stop due to financial problems⁸⁷. Gasprinski wrote that Behbudiy had begun publishing *Samarqand* with great enthusiasm and stressed that among Turkestanis there were less than 1,000 subscribers to the newspaper. The newspaper *Samarqand*, which wrote Gasprinski, served Turkestanis and acted for their benefit and tried to familiarize them with modern culture and science. Turkestanis should make efforts so that the newspaper will not cease to exist. Gasprinski hoped that Turkestanis would find ways to resume the activity of *Samarqand*⁸⁸. Poet Tolagan Hojamyarov (Tavalla) declared a day of mourning on the closing day of the newspaper *Samarqand*:

In Turkestan, we only had one newspaper. It incurred a 1,000 ruble net loss and ceased to exist due to lack of subscribers. We, the 10 million people of Turkestan, could not support even one newspaper. It shows how we go down the road of progress and how we understand the matter. Our compatriots, while spending huge sums on unnecessary activities, could not or did not want to buy a newspaper⁸⁹.

83 Anonim, “Bizim matbu’ati turkiyya”, *Tarjumān* 1 (1906), 1; Maḥmūd H’aja, “Ḥaқиқat ҳar tarafdan zuhur edar”, 2; Muḥammad Baqā H’aja Sayyid Ḥādi H’aja Mufti ūgli, “Vaḥdati lisān – dil birligi”, *Tarjumān* 61 (1906), 2; Anonim, “Mizān (Adabiy, ma’iṣiy va tanqidiy bahslar)”, *Tarjumān* 14 (1907), 1-2; Anonim, “Vaqt għazītasidan”, *Tarjumān* 32 (1907), 3; Ismā’il, “Muḥtaram qārilarimiz”, *Tarjumān* 86 (1907), 1.

84 Aleksandr Dobromyslov, “Tashkentskaia pressa”, *Sredniia Aziia* 3 (1910), 150; Khalid, *The Politics*, 123.

85 Dobromyslov, “Tashkentskaia pressa”, 150-151; Sa’id, *Ozbek vaqtli matbu’ati*, 48.

86 Zarif Taškandiy, “Turkistānda”, “[Turkistānda...]", *Tarjumān* 8 (1907), 3.

87 Sa’id, *Ozbek vaqtli matbu’ati*, 49.

88 Anonim, “Samarqand għazītasi”, *Tarjumān* 181 (1913), 3.

89 Tolagan H’ajamyarov, “Ta’assuf va ta’ziya maktūbi”, *Tarjumān* 210 (1913), 2.

Behbudiy, after the *Samarqand*, established the magazine *Āyina* (Mirror), which began publication on August 20, 1913. *Āyina* was distributed not only in Turkestan, but also in the Caucasus, Inner Russia, Iran, Afghanistan, India, and Turkey⁹⁰. In this period the magazine became a kind of spring board to the Turkestan Jadids. At the beginning, the magazine was published irregularly due to lack of funds. Later, the financial problem was solved, and it was published regularly four times a month. According to Behbudiy, the magazine *Āyina* was a temporary replacement of the *Samarqand*⁹¹.

Behbudiy, according to Ziya Sa'id, starting with the publication of *Āyina*, proved himself to be a true supporter of the theory of Gasprinski's the unity in language in practice⁹². Gasprinski considered the language of *Samarqand* and *Āyina* as easy to understand as the local dialect.⁹³ However, he did not mention the language of *Āyina* as a common-literary. Behbudiy backed down from his earlier stated view of language despite declaring the language of *Āyina* as a middle language⁹⁴. According to Ingeborg Baldauf, Behbudiy did not always support Gasprinski in spite of his adherence to Gasprinski's ideas. On the contrary, he acted quite differently, strictly adhering to the principles of Jadidism⁹⁵.

The publication of *Āyina* stopped after the 68th issue. According to Fitrat, *Āyina* could not "please" its readers as other similar magazines. Its articles had not become popular. However, wrote Fitrat, it was not irreparable. All Turkestanis were to participate in the improvement of the magazine's program⁹⁶.

Behbudiy had published in *Āyina* different letters from readers on the language and program of the magazine to "justify" his own actions and as a reply to Fitrat's accusations. Behbudiy intentionally and voluntarily published letters that had completely contradictory representations. Thus, the author of the first letter from Tashkent criticized *Āyina*, writing that its position in discussing nation-wide problems (schools, madrasas, *šarī'a* courts, the new method). This position, according to the author's opinion, was the main reason for the lack of influence of the magazine's articles on people. The author of the second letter from Kokand, on the contrary, considered that the position of *Āyina* was so strict that it deterred people from itself. The *'ulamā* were inflamed by attacks, according the author, and it was advised that people should not read and nor subscribe to the magazine. Furthermore, the author wrote: "In a few issues our new method school teachers and intellectuals were attacked. If things continue, the magazine will lose its readers, and it will cease to be published." These words became a

90 Sa'id, *Ozbek vaqtli matbu'ati*, 53.

91 Maḥmūd H^oaja Behbūdīy, "[Ghazīta...]", *Tarjumān* 231 (1913), 2.

92 Sa'id, *Ozbek vaqtli matbu'ati*, 53.

93 Anonim, "Samarqand ghazītasi", *Tarjumān* 181 (1913), 3; Anonim, "Milliy matbū'at: *Āyina* jurnali", *Tarjumān* 190 (1913), 3.

94 On Behbudiy's views about the "median language" see: "Haqiqat har tarafdan zuhūr edar", 2; "Turkistānda maktab lisāni", 2.

95 Baldauf, *XX asr o'zbek*, 31-32.

96 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Fitrat, "Himmat va sabāti bolmagan millatning haqqi hayāti yoqdir", *Āyina* 7 (1915), 162-165.

kind of approximate “forecast” of *Āyina*’s future. In other letters, it was a question of *Āyina*’s language. Some authors objected to the cessation of the publication of materials in Persian, while others demanded an increase of publications in Persian⁹⁷.

Apparently, the magazine could attract the attention of a wide audience and served as a tribune for the development of free thought. This, in turn, shows some improvement in the promotion of the national idea and identifies the perception of this idea by the popular mood.

In April 1914 another two newspapers *Sadāi Turkistān* and *Sadāi Farġāna* were established. *Sadāi Turkistān* published in Tashkent and became a stronghold of Jadids of Tashkent. The newspaper declared itself a translator of mother’s voice – Turkestan, which was consonant with, and very similar to, the basic goals of *Tarjumān*. *Sadāi Turkistān* from the very beginning notified its readers that “the words of the motherland will transfer to children of the Turks in the Turkic language⁹⁸. The program and language of *Sadāi Turkistān* completely coincided with Gasprinski’s ideas. However, the magazine *Šūrā* compared publications in *Sadāi Turkistān* with the preaching of the Sufis and wrote that articles had irritated people with its language⁹⁹.

These newspapers’ fates were the same as their predecessors. *Sadāi Turkistān* and *Sadāi Farġāna* ceased publication after issues 67 and 123, respectively. The main reason was the lack of financial resources; this in spite of the fact that the Jadids of Tashkent tried with all their might and in every way to grant material support to the newspaper *Sadāi Turkistān*. In September 1914, a literary evening was organized for the benefit of *Sadāi Turkistān* in Tashkent¹⁰⁰. In October of the same year, there was a planned transfer of the newspaper to the newly established company *Našriyāt* (Publishing House)¹⁰¹, but all of these efforts did not save the newspaper. One of the correspondents of the magazine *Šūrā* in Orenburg wrote that the lack of subscribers, money and charity in the Muslim world, particularly Turkestan, ruined many national projects¹⁰². These statements completely and precisely testify to the complex character of national ideas’ reproduction and promotion and the failed policies of the Turkestani Jadids at the beginnings of the 20th century. Despite this, the Turkestani Jadids, through literature and theater, were able to draw public attention to the implementation of national affairs. In addition, they were able to form a stratum of society in which they actively participated in discussions on these matters, although in some cases they contradicted each other. This demonstrates the growth of democratic values among the population in the mid-10s of the 20th century.

97 Anonim, “Idāradan”, *Āyina* 15 (1914), 246-248.

98 ‘Ubaydullāh, “Maqsad va maslak”, *Sadāi Turkistān* 1 (1914), 1.

99 Ibrāhīm Tāhiri, “Korgan bilgandan”, *Šorā* 23 (1914), 730-734.

100 Anonim, “Taškanda teatru va adabiyāt kechasi”, *Tarjumān* 258 (1914), 3.

101 Anonim, “Našriyāt širkati”, *Tarjumān* 188 (1914), 3.

102 Tāhiri, “Korgan bilgandan”, 732.

Our Hopes or Our Goals: From Enlightenment to Political Unification

The problem of promotion of the national idea in Turkestan rested on the absence of a Muslim press. As mentioned previously, from 1908 to 1913 there was no Muslim print media in Turkestan. The Turkestani Jadids and intellectuals continued or began promotions to establish different societies to solve simple problems, while Muslims of Inner Russia were engaged in purely political affairs. As Begali Kasimov argues, all matters and activities of Turkestani Jadids served the national idea for unity starting with establishing of newspapers, charities, spreading new method schools, theater, and others. According to his definition, every single idea must meet two requirements to become a national idea: 1) the idea must come from real needs, lifestyle, age-old traditions, and of course on the capabilities of the nation; 2) this idea must be recognized by the nation, in other words it must be nationalized. That is, the idea has to penetrate into the heart of every member of the nation¹⁰³.

In an article entitled *Āmālimiz Yainki Murādimiz* (Our Hopes or Our Goals), Behbudiy analyzed in detail the everyday lifestyle of Turkestanis, starting with various parties and weddings to national games, and urged people to open their eyes and look at the actions of other nationalities who lived around them. He called upon people to give up wasteful celebrations and direct money to the education of children at Russian state schools for the training of national staff. These actions, according to Behbudiy, should be the national ideas, ideals, goals, desires and aspirations of Muslim society¹⁰⁴.

The Turkestan Jadids, led by Behbudi, tried to touch upon all problems of society in their speeches in the press. However, Turkestan society, in its essence, has not accepted everything new. Therefore, the jadids tried to find ways to immunise their ideas. Fictional writings was one of these ways. Fictional writing, in particular poetry, played a huge role in the promotion of national ideas. The Turkestani intellectuals trusted poetry more, and through this poetry desired to win the hearts of the nations. This was due to a lack of print media ownership, or more precisely, Turkestani Jadids expressed their reformist ideas, views on the modern world, and various political platforms and programs of action through poetry. The poetry, admittedly, was not completely censored. This new poetry in Turkestan was called the Jadid literature. The Jadid poets primarily praised new science and urged the people to the study of this science. They considered modern science the only way of achieving the progress. By the definition of Begali Kasimov, World War I dramatically changed the educational direction of poetry into the educational and religious one¹⁰⁵. Samarkandi poet Siddiqi-Ajzi tried to urge the people to unite around a single idea and stick to one way, following one ideal and fighting for it¹⁰⁶.

According to Kasimov, it was necessary to bring to the nation's heart a favorite slogan of the Bastille heroes, "Rights are not given, they are taken," which was often used by Namik

103 Begali Qosimov et al., *Milliy uyg'onish davri o'zbek adabiyoti* (Tashkent: Ma'naviyat, 2004), 67.

104 Maḥmūd H'aja Behbūdiy, "Āmālimiz yāinki murādimiz", *Āyina* 7 (1913), 154-156.

105 Begali Qosimov, *Milliy uyg'onish: jasorat, ma'rifat, fidoyilik* (Tashkent: Ma'naviyat, 2002), 157.

106 Qosimov, *Milliy uyg'onish davri*, 190.

Kemal, Tevfiq Fikret and subsequently by Behbudiy and Munavvarqari¹⁰⁷. In other words, it must become a true national idea. Then this idea could turn into a real force. Continuing his thoughts, Kasimov came to the conclusion that it was exigent work¹⁰⁸.

Gasprinski considered that even Muslims' political empowerment would not solve the problem. The ignorance of the Russian language and laws, and most importantly, the lack of modern knowledge would nullify all received political rights. And forty-educated Muslims will continue to go with the Russian official's nagging¹⁰⁹. Therefore, the main activity of the Turkestani Jadids was aimed at the promotion of modern knowledge among Muslims.

In an article entitled "Qur'an", 'Abd al-Rauf Fitrat tried to explain his thoughts through a text from the Qur'an, representing and promoting the study of sciences when he argued for the progress of the nation. He equated the *Qur'an* with a social law, which can make any nation happy and mighty. In addition, he equated the present-day situation of Muslims with the age of ignorance, in which the Arabs lived before Islam. In the "Qur'an", Fitrat discovered a call that all Muslims must act to achieve happiness and progress. Finally, Fitrat addressed questions to Turkestanis: It is surprising, we, calling ourselves a Man, and are we called to mind to act as a true man? Will we, up to the end of the world, not be able to understand and seek the causes of our ignorance, and to find ways to solve them?¹¹⁰

In another work Fitrat wondered: How do we make progress? Further he explained, Turkestani Muslims cannot think how to find the path of progress. The other progressive nations have discovered all the ways long before us. We have only to adopt them, and it is not concerned with our faith¹¹¹.

In these words, Fitrat showed once more that Turkestani Muslims, especially the clergy, had too conservative a mood and how it was exigent work¹¹².

As Fitrat argued, Turkestani Muslims had no desire to engage in public affairs, or to support already initiated affairs. Fitrat and other Jadids urged Muslims to improve and not be inactive, to support already initiated affairs such as the publication of newspapers and magazines, charities, new method schools and other projects¹¹³. The Turkestani Jadids tried every possible means to instill the national ideas into the people.

In his turn, Behbudiy accused the younger generation of Jadids for the split in the nation and in the failure of several national projects. Behbudiy noted ideological differences among the younger Jadid generation. He emphasized that the people turned away from them because of this disagreement. He also urged them to quickly reach a compromise and to recover lost ground with the people¹¹⁴.

107 Qosimov, *Milliy uyg'onish davri*, 293.

108 Qosimov, *Milliy uyg'onish davri*, 294.

109 Anonim, "Turkistān işlari", *Tarjuman* 100 (1906), 2.

110 'Abd al-Ra'uf Fiṭrat, "Qur'an", *Āyina* 16 (1915), 443-445.

111 Abdurauf Fitrat, *Tanlangan asarlar*, vol. 5 (Tashkent: Ma'naviyat, 2010), 108.

112 On Fitrat's religious views, see: Zaynabidin Abdirashidov, *Abdurrauf Fitrat in Istanbul. Quest for Freedom*, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023).

113 'Abd al-Ra'uf Fiṭrat, "Himmat va sabāti", 162-165.

114 Anonim, "Muhtaram samarqandiy'lara khālisāna 'arz'", *Hurriyat* 5 (1917), 2.

Turkestan needed an educated and intelligent young generation, who could recognize what is the Nation and what is the Homeland. As the newspaper *Sadāi Turkistān* wrote, it was this young generation who must show itself as true intellectuals by service, action, devotion, and help¹¹⁵.

Since 1914, the Turkestani Jadids, began publishing houses and companies engaged in the distribution of printed materials, and also established libraries for the effective dissemination and promotion of national ideas. The main purpose of these organizations was to print and distribute many more newspapers, magazines and books among the Turkestani population. Such organizations included the library Ghayrat in Kokand, the company *Našriyāt* in Tashkent, the library *Ma'rifat* and the cooperative *Barakat* in Bukhara¹¹⁶. According to Gasprinski, from this time on, all activities of the Turkestani Jadids “moved from oral to print” and began to spread among the people. The main focus was aimed at an audience of adult Muslims¹¹⁷.

During this period, the tsarist regime had begun to feel uneasy about its non-native residents due to ferment in the political forces of the neighboring states. Such a political force in Turkestan, according to officials of the Special Division of the Police Department, was formed on the basis of pan-Islamism and pursued the creation of a single Islamic state led by Turkey. As the Russian officials emphasized, the idea was spread in primary schools and madrasas through different Muslim societies, publishing houses and the press¹¹⁸. Those organizations, distributing printed matters aimed at Muslims, were charged with conducting anti-state activities and the local authorities severely restricted their activities. These events also negatively affected the promotion of national ideas by Turkestani Jadids.

Bukhārā Ta'mimi Ma'arif Jam'iyyati Khayriyasi was established in late 1909 in Istanbul¹¹⁹ and the Turkestani Russian officials considered it to be a society that aimed to give young people of Turkestan and Bukhara a pan-Islamic education¹²⁰. This society, as stated in their Charter, was

115 Anonim, “Bizda hāmiyat”, *Sadāi Turkistān* 58 (1914), 1-2.

116 Zeki Velidi Togan, *Hāturalar: Türkistan ve Diğer Müslüman Doğu Türklerinin Milli Varlık ve Kültür Mücadeleleri* (Istanbul: Hikmet Gazetecilik, 1969), 136; Begali Qosimov, “Uyg'onish shoiri,” in Tavallo, *Ravnaqul-islam* (Tashkent: Fan, 1993), 7-8; Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, *Islam and the Russian Empire: Reform and Revolution in Central Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 92; Aleksandr Samoilovich, “Pervoe tainoe obshchestvo mladobukhartsev”, *Vostok: Zhurnal literatury, nauki i iskusstva* 1 (1922), 99.

117 Anonim, “Mizān”, *Tarjumān* 245 (1913), 1-2.

118 Dmitri Arapov and Elena Larina, “Sredneaziatskie musul'mane v 1914 godu (po materialam Turkestanskogo raionnogo okhrannogo otdeleniia)”, in *Rasy i narody* 32 (2006), 281-282.

119 For more details see: *Bukhārā Ta'mimi Ma'arif Jam'iyyati Khayriyasining Nizāmnāma va Khatti Hārakatidir*. Ta'rihi ta'sisi 11 šavvāl 1327. Markazi: Dāri Sa'ādat Vazirhān ([Istanbul], 1327 [1909]). This company's Charter has been translated into Russian, French and English languages in different years with contractions. Full version of the Charter, the original and in English translation, with its facsimile was published in 2001 by Timur Kocaoğlu. On the different translations of the Charter see: Arshaluis Arsharuni and Khadzhi Gabidullin, *Ocherki panislamizma i pantürkizma v Rossii* (Moscow: Bezbozhnik, 1931), 133-135; Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, *Réforme et révolution chez les musulmans de l'Empire russe* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1966), 286-288; Carrère d'Encausse, *Islam and the Russian Empire*, 194-196; Timur Kocaoğlu, ed., *The Reform Movements and Revolutions in Turkistan (1900-1924)* (Haarlem: SOTA, 2001), 467-483; Hamidulla Boltaboev, *Fitrat va jadidchilik* (Tashkent, 2007), 255-258.

120 Arapov and Larina, “Sredneaziatskie musul'mane v 1914 godu”, 282.

created for dissemination of knowledge and establishment of schools in Turkestan, in particular in Bukhara. The Society did not set any political goal and did not support any political force in the region, but students, who received an education under the auspices of the Society, were obliged to go where the Society would send them after their graduation. Any student who was against or had objection to the Society's decision, had to reimburse all education expenses to the Society¹²¹. Judging by the Society's intended purpose, it can be supposed that the Society aimed at establishing an intellectual stratum in Turkestan, controlled by the central authority in Istanbul. That is what worried the Police Department in Turkestan. According to Ayni, the conservative clergy seized the opportunity to spread rumors that the Charitable Society was a political society pursuing and promoting anti-state policy; and progressives read Turkish newspapers and had secret connections with politicians in Turkey¹²².

The socio-political life of the Muslim population in Russia deeply changed after the Manifesto of 1905. The Muslim elite first of all strived to keep the unity of the Muslim community and to ensure the autonomy for its religious and educational institutions¹²³. Behbudiy participated in the third All-Russian Congress of Muslims as the head of the Turkestani delegation and gave the keynote speech on Turkestan¹²⁴. The Turkestani delegation corrected its further actions with the Congress Presidium. The delegation held a meeting with the Presidium during which they discussed waqf and educational affairs, religious issues and establishing of a *Mahkama-i Islāmiya* (Muslim Assembly) in Turkestan¹²⁵. This system of administration had been part of an autonomous organization proposed by Gasprinski¹²⁶.

Behbudiy, on the basis of agreements with the Presidium of the Congress and adopting ideas from the Program of the Union of Russian Muslims¹²⁷, prepared and submitted a draft for Turkestan Cultural Autonomy to the Muslim faction of the second and third State Duma, in April and November 1907¹²⁸. This draft consists of seventy-four articles that regulated the organization and function of the Cultural Autonomy in detail. As Hisao Komatsu argues, this draft clearly aimed to secure the cohesion of Muslim society in Turkestan by recognizing and enhancing the two pillars of the *Dār al-Islām*¹²⁹.

121 *Bukhārā Ta'mimi Ma'ārif Jam'iyyati*, 6-7.

122 Sadridin Ayni, *Ta'rikhi inqilobi Bukhoro* (Dushanbe: Adib, 1987), 36-37.

123 Aidar Khabutdinov and Damir Mukhetdinov, *Vserossiiskie musul'manskie s"ezdy 1905–1906 gg.* (Nizhni Novgorod, 2005), 26.

124 Anatolij Piaskovskii, *Revoliutsiia 1905–1907 godov v Turkestane* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR 1958), 559.

125 Anonim, "Turkistān işlari", *Tarjumān* 100 (1906), 2.

126 Aidar Khabutdinov, *Tatarskoe obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v rossiiskom soobshchestve (konets XVIII – nachalo XX veka)* (Dissertatsiia na soiskanie uchenoi stepeni doktora istoricheskikh nauk), Kazan (2002), 87.

127 Khabutdinov and Mukhetdinov, *Vserossiiskie musul'manskie s"ezdy*, 52-59.

128 For details see: Necip Hablemetoğlu and Timur Kocaoğlu, "Behbudi'nin Türkistan Medeni Muhtariyeti Layihası," in Kocaoğlu, ed., *The Reform Movements and Revolutions*, 436-466.

129 Hisao Komatsu, "From Holy War to Autonomy: *Dār al-Islām* Imagined by Turkestani Muslim Intellectuals," *Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 17/18 (2009), 467-471.

The political views of Behbudiy were reflected in his individual works and in numerous articles. In particular, in his textbook *Kitābi Muntakhabi Jughrāfiyai ‘Umumi va Namunai Jughrāfiya* (Brief general geography), Behbudiy described in detail the methods of governments that exist in the world. He explained the essence of idārai mutlaqa (authoritarian or monarch governance), *idārai mašruta* (constitutional governance), *idārai jumhūriyat* (republican government) and *millet majlisi* (parliamentary governance)¹³⁰. In addition, he analyzed the programs of existing political parties in detail. Behbudiy focused on the Constitutional Democratic Party, together with which the Party *Ittifāq al-Muslimīn* decided to act. Behbudiy promoted the Cadet’s political program among Turkestanis and believed that only this party fully met the political requirements of Muslims in the present and future¹³¹.

As Kasimov has argued, Behbudiy and other prominent Jadids were of the same belief with Gasprinski in the struggle for gaining independence by Muslims, particularly in achieving for the Muslims of Turkestan the joining of the ranks of developed nations. This reconciliation belief of Gasprinski required Muslims to gain enlightenment via the Russians and Europeans and their cultural achievements, while at the same time, having Muslims not lose their identity¹³².

Behbudiy saw the development of the peoples of Turkestan, not only in education but also in a complete change in their political status¹³³. He argued that every nation can and must acquire their rights by political action and unity¹³⁴. From this perspective, the political views of Behbudiy differed with the views of Munavvarqari. Munavvarqari supported gaining independence and political rights through real struggle¹³⁵.

Although the plan for Turkestan cultural or religious autonomy was never realized, in 1917 Behbudiy once again participated in the drafting committee of the Turkic Federalist Party in Turkestan¹³⁶. The practical result of the national idea of Turkestan Jadids was the Turkestan Autonomy that was established in Kokand on November 27, 1917. This autonomy did not last long and Soviet forces destroyed it on February 20, 1918.

Conclusion

National idea, as a sign of unification of the nation to achieve certain social and political goals, was adopted by Turkestan Jadids from the Muslims of Inner Russia, in particular from

130 Mahmudxo‘ja Behbudiy, *Tanlangan asarlar*, to‘plovchi, so‘zboshi va izohlar: B. Qosimov, 3rd ed. (Tashkent: Ma‘naviyat, 2006), 243-245.

131 Behbūdiy, “Khayru'l-‘umūri avsatuhā”, *Khuršīd* 6 (1906), 2.

132 Begali Qosimov, “Ismoil Gasprinskiy va Mahmudxo‘ja Behbudiy,” in N. Karimov, ed., *Ismoil Gasprinskiy va Turkiston* (Tashkent: Sharq, 2005), 42.

133 Dilorom Alimova and Dildora Rashidova, *Makhmudkhodzha Bekhbudii i ego istoricheskoe vozzrenie* (Tashkent: Ma‘naviyat, 1998), 16.

134 Behbūdiy, “Haq alinur, berilmas”, *Haqiqat* 22 (1917), 2.

135 Munavvarqāri, “Maqbul qurbanlar”, *Najāt* 15 (1917), 1.

136 For details see: Hisao Komatsu, “The Program of the Turkic Federalist Party in Turkestan (1917)” [introduction and translation by Hisao Komatsu], in H. B. Paksoy, ed., *Central Asia Reader: The Rediscovery of History* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1994), 117-126.

Ismail Gasprinski. The Turkestani Jadids adapted these ideas to local conditions, which were much different from other Muslim regions of the Russian Empire. The Turkestani Jadidism originated in the early 20th century and through dissemination of the new method schools, it managed to create its elite. These elites identified the dissemination of modern education, the promotion of new knowledge and changing living conditions as priorities in Turkestan. Those issues formed the basis of the Turkestani Jadids' national idea at an early stage. However, the Turkestani Jadidism, in essence, differed from the Inner Russian Jadidism and it perceived, and in most cases rejected the idea of Crimean and Volga-Ural Tatars and reproduced and discovered ways that are adapted to local realities and sometimes acted quite differently, while strictly adhering to the principles of Jadidism.

The concept of charitable institutions as a fundamental principle of the national idea merged later than they could have. The political situation in the neighboring countries and the policy of the tsarist authorities in Turkestan were the main causes and obstacles of developing reformist thoughts. These small in number charity organizations, as an official institution, acted, in any case, within the framework of *šarī'a* and were strictly controlled by the authorities. These institutions did not work or act effectively under the pressure of these circumstances.

The Muslim press and activities at charitable institutions demonstrate that the national idea of the Turkestani Jadids did not receive broad support from both representatives of the commercial and industrial elite and the general population. The press, along with the modernization of the education system, played a significant role in the formation of Muslim political thought and the promotion of national ideas. The Turkestani Muslim press was able, although not fully, to encourage the Muslim population to improve their knowledge and to participate in public, literary, and educational activities. Financial problems always threatened Muslim charities and the press in Turkestan was prevented from full implementation of national ideas. The Turkestani reformers sought to attract representatives of the market in order to direct part of their capital into charity and patronage, but these actions were not successful in creating an institution of charity in Turkestan, except in individual cases. The Turkestan reformers endeavored to attract representatives of the business world in order to direct some of their capital to charity and patronage, but these actions were not so successful in establishing the institution of charity in Turkestan, except in isolated cases. Despite their best efforts, the Jadids were unable to financially secure their projects. The reformers failed to interest the financially well-off stratum of Turkestan society and involve them in reform activities.

To solve this problem and improve the efficiency of promoted ideas, Jadids began to establish publishing houses, companies, and libraries. The main purpose of these organizations was to print and distribute much more printed materials among the Turkestani population. They tried to spread different types of information which could facilitate the circulation of national ideas, but the Russian authorities in Turkestan monitored the dissemination of pan-Islamic and pan-Turkic ideas in primary schools and madrasas, as well as through various Muslim societies, publishing houses, and the press. Therefore, with recourse to different interpretations,

mainly on the pretext of their anti-state nature, the Russian authorities tried to close the Muslim newspapers and societies, and to restrict their activities in every way possible. These events also hampered the distribution of national ideas. However, the Turkestani Jadids tried to find ways for the promotion of the national ideas that would unite the Muslims of Turkestan.

The most important and main goal of national idea is the achievement of political independence; that is nation-state building. The Turkestani Jadids also considered this choice of national idea, but they did not mean the building of an independent state outside the empire. They always supported a federal state.

The national idea of Turkestani Jadids achieved its ultimate aim at the end of 1917. This was Turkestan autonomy; the first and last political administration in Turkestan built by Jadids.

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