

**THE JADIDS IN BUKHARA: THE JUXTAPOSITION OF THE REFORMS OF
AINI AND FITRAT**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis places two important Muslim intellectual leaders of reform in Bukhara in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in a historical and religious context. Jadidism in Central Asia, an Islamic reform movement during this period, is still an understudied topic both in the context of Islamic reform movements and the wider study of Islamic history. The concentration of this project is on efforts towards social reforms in Bukhara by focusing on two major actors in the Jadid movement, 'Abdalrauf Fitrat and Sadriddin Aini. Through an analytical review of original works written by 'Abdalrauf Fitrat and Sadriddin Aini, as well as the information provided by secondary sources supporting the historical circumstances and later perceptions of these two intellectuals' influences, this thesis will provide a useful contribution to the growing body of western literature in the field of Central Asian Islam.

By using a comparative approach, the thesis examines instances of agreement and disagreement between the two reformers using a variety of sources. Many reports concerning the Jadids at this time have either lumped many reformers together as a singular body or championed the type of reforms proposed by one figure over those of another. It is hoped that this thesis has elucidated the perspectives of reform for Aini and Fitrat and highlighted the multiplicity of ideas present among the Jadids. It is also hoped this work will set a positive foundation on which to set future works concerning the Jadids of Central Asia.

RÉSUMÉ

Ce mémoire situe deux importants leaders réformistes intellectuels musulmans de Bukhara de la fin du 19^{ème} siècle et du début du 20^{ème} siècle dans un contexte historique et religieux. Le jadidisme, mouvement réformiste islamique de l'Asie centrale durant cette période, est très peu étudié, aussi bien dans le cadre des travaux qui portent sur les mouvements réformistes islamiques que dans le cadre de l'histoire islamique en général. Aussi, cette étude examine les efforts qui visent les réformes sociales à Bukhara de 'Abdalrauf Fitrat et Sadriddin Aini, deux acteurs majeurs du jadidisme. Pour ce faire, elle s'appuie sur la revue analytique des écrits originaux de 'Abdalrauf Fitrat et ceux de Sadriddin Aini, ainsi que sur les conclusions des sources secondaires concernant les circonstances historiques et les perceptions ultérieures des influences de ces deux intellectuels.

En appliquant une approche comparative à un ensemble de sources, ce mémoire étudie les points de convergence et de divergence entre les deux réformistes. En fait, les travaux existants qui portent sur le jadidisme tendent soit à mettre les réformistes de ce mouvement dans un seul bloc, soit à favoriser un type de réformes proposé par l'un d'eux au détriment des autres. Aussi, ce mémoire se propose de souligner les différentes perspectives réformistes de Aini et de Fitrat, et donc de relever la pluralité des idées qui est véhiculée par le jadidisme. De même, ce mémoire se propose d'établir les fondements pour les études futures qui portent sur le jadidisme de l'Asie centrale. Ce mémoire constitue donc une contribution au corpus de la littérature occidentale dans le domaine de l'Islam de l'Asie centrale.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis will place two important Muslim intellectual leaders of reform in Bukhara in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in an historical and religious context. The concentration of this project will be on efforts in social reforms in Bukhara, the nexus of intellectual and Islamic thought in Central Asia at this time, while focusing on two major actors in the Jadid movement, ‘Abdalrauf Fitrat (1886-19) and Sadriddin Aini (1878-1954). Jadidism in Central Asia, an Islamic reform movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is still an understudied topic both in the context of Islamic reform movements and the wider study of Islamic history. Aside from general works on Central Asian Islam under Tsarist Russian rule, or works on Islam in Central Asia under the Soviets, serious academic work concerning the specifics of Islamic reform and Islamic intellectual thought in Central Asia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is sparse. Some notable exceptions are the works of Adeeb Khalid, Edward Allworth, and Jiri Bečka, whose research is gratefully used in this project.

In the present piece, the works of Aini and Fitrat have been chosen for review in order to demonstrate their importance in their own right while investigating the ideological differences that they explicitly had with each other. Their differences in both ideology and methodology in reform will be further elucidated by reviewing discrepancies in secondhand accounts of their

relationship. Through an analytical review of original works written by 'Abdalrauf Fitrat and Sadriddin Aini and accounts concerning their work from other intellectuals of their time, as well as the information provided by secondary sources supporting the historical circumstances and later perceptions of these two intellectuals' influences, this work will also reveal another facet of the legacy of Islam and reform specifically in Bukhara.

The two figures in this study, as well as the specific geographical and temporal constrictions on this project have been chosen carefully. 'Abdalrauf Fitrat, along with many Jadid reformers, had a privileged background and had traveled around much of Asia. Through his travels he had developed many ideas on how Central Asian society could be modernized while still adhering to its Islamic roots. He was also at least somewhat inspired by Turkish reformers, such as Ismail Gasprinski. He was a prolific writer, and promoted a Central Asian society in which a better life would be gained for Central Asians, especially through advancing higher educational standards.¹ Fitrat played an important role in attempting to promote the history of Islam in a desacralized manner in schools to help students better understand their own legacies.² A definitive characteristic of Fitrat, as well as some other Jadid reformers, was that his motivation was not necessarily a rejection of Russian colonialism, or wholly

¹Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 115.

² Ibid, 174.

opposed to the status of the Emir in this society. These two facets would become a major source of dissention between Fitrat and Aini.

Sadriddin Aini, primarily known today for his commitment to the establishment of a Tajik national identity and a Tajik literary heritage, had similar aspirations to those of Fitrat. Aini grew up in a village outside Bukhara and moved to study in the Mir-i-Arab madrassa in Bukhara when he was a young boy. With a sharp wit and an interest in both sophisticated topics in Persian poetry and literature as well as religion at an early age, Aini soon became known in the region. He, too, saw flaws in the society of his day, and yearned for a more educated, modern Bukhara. For a time he worked with Fitrat and many other Jadids such as Ahmed Donish (1826-1897), although he soon grew disillusioned with what he saw as impractical methods for reform and began working apart from Fitrat and his companions. Analyzing the disagreements and reasons for criticizing each other elucidates the inner workings of the reform movement in Central Asia.

THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS ENVIRONMENT

Bukhara and the regions of today's Uzbekistan and Tajikistan have been the center of Islamic life and activity in the region of Central Asia for over a millennium. Efforts to convert those in Bukhara started as early as 705 A.D., and in the beginning of the eighth century the *Qur'an* was translated into Persian in

Bukhara. It did not take long for Islam to become established in the region and by the ninth century, Bukhara and the surrounding Transoxania region had become well known and linked to the greater Muslim world. As early as the ninth century, the building of some of the finest mosques and madrassas in the area, some still extant today, were built in splendor. In Bukhara, the first madrassa style institution – a place of residence, study, and a library – was established in 937.³ Bukhara had become, by that time, a notable center of Arabic to Persian translation and a source of an eminent scientific and cultural legacy for Muslim scholars.

In 1511 the Khanate of Bukhara was founded, and by the sixteenth century, Bukhara was a capital of activity for all sectors of society. From the nascent stages of the Khanate, it was directly linked to the Russian Tsarist government. There were political and economic reasons for this, such as a potential passageway through Russian territory to Istanbul, and the Russians subsequently had many interests in the Central Asian territories with similar goals. The Khanate of Bukhara had grown to an extensive size by the mid-eighteenth century, but in 1740 Nadir Shah (from Iran) subjugated Bukhara, eventually leading to the formation of a separate Khanate, the Khanate of Kokand. Upon the appropriation of power by the Manghit dynasty in 1753, the title of Khan soon changed to Emir by the third ruler in this dynasty.

³ Sarfraz Khan, *Muslim Reformist Political Thought: Revivalists, Modernists and Free Will* (London: Routledge, 2003), 10-11.

Subsequently, the Khanate of Bukhara officially became known as the Emirate of Bukhara. This title was superior to that of Khan and demonstrated greater authority. The rest of his successors subsequently took this title, namely Haydar (ruling 1800-1826), Husayn (r. 1826), Nasrullah (r. 1827-1860), Muzaffar al-Din (r. 1860-1885), Abd al-Ahad (r. 1885-1910) and 'Alim Khan (r. 1910-1920). The Manghit dynasty focused on the centralization of power in the Emirate, which was easier to obtain and see after the establishment of the Russian Protectorate of Bukhara.⁴

Although the state of the madrassas was questionable, especially in the mid- to late nineteenth century, Bukhara still remained an important place for Islamic education. Even during the Russian conquest, students continued to arrive in Bukhara from all over Central Asia; the status of Bukhara as a place of interest and learning in the Muslim world had not been destroyed, despite the physical problems of the spaces.⁵

BUKHARA UNDER RUSSIAN SUZERAINTY

Catherine the Great's establishment of the Spiritual Assembly for Muslim subjects in the Russian empire was both a church-like body and a bureaucratic tool; throughout the twentieth century, many Muslim and non-Muslim countries tried to follow this trend, although Russia was the first. The ulema saw the

⁴ Khan, *Muslim Reformist Political Thought*, 12-13.

⁵ Adeb Khalid, "Society and Politics in Bukhara, 1868-1920," *Central Asian Survey* 19 (2000): 372.

imperial state as a protector because of this, in many instances. However, in Turkestan, Islamic practice was still guided by local traditions instead of complete state dictation. The ulema likely enjoyed their relative power in this system, making concessions for the Spiritual Assembly but remaining outside of its direct control. The notion of tolerance was lost on many Russian leaders; they had seen Muslims in Turkestan as especially fanatical, and focused more of their efforts in curbing this fanaticism.⁶

In Stephane A. Dudoignon's article on faction struggles among the Bukharan ulema, he notes that the establishment of the Russian Protectorate in Bukhara seems "to have been a sensitive impoverishment of the religious institutions in the remaining territory of the Bukharan Emirate (a key motif in the writings of late nineteenth-century Bukharan religious figures), and a relative reinforcement of the power of the Emir against that of the ulema."⁷

Furthermore, Czech scholar Jiri Bečka writes that, "According to the authors of those days, the number of madrasas increased still further after the Russian occupation of Central Asia in connection with certain economic prosperity, the consolidation of central authority in the Khanate of Bukhara and also thanks to the subsidies paid by the Russian government, aiming at the

⁶ Adeeb Khalid, "Tolerating Islam," review of *For Prophet and Tsar*, by Robert Crews, *London Review of Books*, May 24 2007, 15-16.

⁷ Stephane A. Dudoignon, "Faction Struggles among the Bukharan Ulama during the Colonial, the Revolutionary, and the Early Soviet Periods (1868-1929): A Paradigm for History Writing?" in *Muslim Societies: Historical and Comparative Aspects*, ed. Sato Tsugitaka (London: Routledge, 2004), 75.

strengthening of the Russian influence.”⁸ However, the quality of some of the *madrassas* was declining, and many reported issues such as embezzling, stealing *waqf* properties, extortion and bribes paid to mullahs in the schools, and buildings in disrepair.⁹

Muhammad-Sharifi Sadr-i Ziya,¹⁰ in his memoirs of Bukhara, depicts the city as “a battlefield of reformers and conservatives,” as well as family clans in disaccord, muddled with a rising foreign power.¹¹ In addition, Ziya noted that the time period in question – the end of Tsarist Russia and the beginning of the Soviet era, was not a starting point of a new age, but rather the end of a great period of history that was extremely fruitful and productive, as well as full of the pains of aging.¹² When the Emirate of Bukhara dissolved, it transformed into first the People’s Soviet Republic of Bukhara (1920), and in 1924 became the Bukharan Soviet Socialist Republic, before further national demarcation.

RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY AND THE ULEMA

⁸Jiri Bečka “Traditional Schools in the Works of Sadriddin Ayni and Other Writers of Central Asia,” *Archiv Orientalni* 40: 2 (1972): 133.

⁹ Ibid., 134.

¹⁰Muhammad-Sharifi Sadr-i Ziya was mainly involved with the reformist minded party of the ulema. He often interacted with the Jadids and supported reformist efforts while he remained separate from them. He copied and diffused works of the reformist ulema, and had meetings in his home often. (For more information see Stephane A. Dudoignon’s, “Faction Struggles Among the Bukharan Ulama,” in *Muslim Societies: Historical and Comparative Aspects*, 66-67.)

¹¹ Edward Allworth, Preface to *The Personal History of Bukharan Intellectual: The Diary of Muhammad Sharif-I Sadr-I Ziya*, ed. Edward Allworth, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2004), xxii.

¹² Muhammadjon Shakuri, Introduction to *The Personal History of Bukharan Intellectual: The Diary of Muhammad Sharif-I Sadr-I Ziya*, ed. Edward Allworth, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 25.

Internally, it was a time of many differences within the *ulema*. This group, often lumped under a singular label was every bit as diverse as the Jadids with whom they often disagreed. Variations in the power statuses of the ulema are demonstrated through their differing roles in the madrassas; in the late eighteenth century, many madrassas had fallen into disrepair and were sold to any purchasers who would invest in renovations and repairs. In turn, these owners would also receive *waqf* income. There were many madrassas to choose from for residence, but the students were not bound to attend that particular one for their studies. Therefore, there were conflicts and competitions between various ulema for students and positions.¹³ In the end these conflicts were extrapolated to be of a religious nature, so their varied claims to promote a truer Islam carried a heavy weight in society.

Generally, the struggle for dominance and the cultural authority in Muslim society was not so much a theological debate as it was one for the place of religion in their society as well as the place of religious leaders in society.¹⁴ The cultural capital the ulema held allowed them to incite extreme angst against the Jadids by claiming their reforms were against the religious practices and beliefs of their community. Khalid says:

By placing the conflict on the plane of heresy and blasphemy, the ulema were using their strongest resource, their authority to pronounce on the beliefs [...] of their rivals. [...] At this level, then, the Jadids' rhetoric

¹³ Khalid, "Society and Politics," 373

¹⁴ Adeb Khalid, "Tashkent 1917: Muslim Politics in Revolutionary Turkestan," *Slavic Review* 55: 2 (1996): 272.

of renewing Islam to better the condition of Muslims could not compete with the ulema's authority to pronounce on religious matters [...].¹⁵

Adeeb Khalid has maintained the idea that the ulema's main troubles with the Jadids and their new method schools had little to do with the schools or their new method. He notes, "The Jadids claimed that the animus of the ulema derived from their fear of the inherent superiority of the new-method school, for that would proclaim to the world the ulema's own ignorance."¹⁶ However, he further notes that the problems were likely not with the approach of new-method schools, as the ulema did not passionately protest the Russo-native schools.¹⁷ Schools were closed, notably, but Khalid continues, saying, "the schools fell prey to the politics of the ulema, which had little to do with the new-method education."¹⁸

These politics are exemplified in the reign of Emir 'Alim Khan, who received the title of Emir in December 1910. He quickly became involved in the political situation of the time, announcing intentions to establish reforms; consequently, reformers and the ulema alike vied for his attention in their requests for reform. Many new-method schools were opened in the years after he came to power, and in 1911 students requested a change in their curriculum, to

¹⁵ Khalid, "Tashkent 1917," 282.

¹⁶ Khalid, "Society and Politics," 377.

¹⁷ "Russo-native" schools were intended to bridge the gap between traditional education in the madrassas and the style of education promoted by the Russians. At first, the Russians attempted to enforce Russian learning styles to the native populations, but for many reasons, this was not well accepted by those groups. Later they introduced schools intended for Muslim children where they would learn about Russian culture in their respective native languages (this was widespread across the Tatar, Uzbek, and Tajik speaking lands) as well as learning Russian. These schools were attacked heavily by the ulema.

¹⁸ Khalid, "Society and Politics," 377.

which the Emir obliged.¹⁹ The ulema opposed this, and it was a point they used to begin more serious oppositions to other facets of society. Around 1914, the *qazi kalan*, or the supreme judge, named Burhaniddin, was working to reestablish a rapport with the Emir. The Emir had previously supported these schools, but the Emir before him, Burhaniddin's father, had labeled these schools as *haram*. Overall, this was a power struggle—it was an attempt at the reestablishment of his father's power. Through his influence, he was able to successfully shut down new-method schools, forcing them underground in the teachers' private homes.²⁰ In addition, after the first wave of closing the new-method schools, many students opted to travel abroad for education instead.²¹

In Bukharan society at that time, as Adeeb Khalid consistently addressed in his monograph *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, cultural capital was one of the chief influences on an individual's wealth and prestige in society. The ulema possessed a greater degree of cultural capital than the Jadids, making the Jadids' efforts more difficult at times in the social arena. Khalid notes that while some of the reformers may have matched the ulema in their wealth, concerning cultural capital, "they were no match to the ulema."²² In fact, many intellectuals in Bukhara and Central Asia during the late nineteenth-early twentieth century greatly revered both the ulema and "learned men" as those who would be able to sustain the reign of Islam in the area under Russian rule. They were essential in

¹⁹ Khalid, "Society and Politics," 380.

²⁰ Sadriddin Aini, *Tārīkh-i inqilāb-i fikrī dar Bukhārā*. (Tehran: Surūsh), 2002, 43.

²¹ Shakuri, Introduction to *The Personal History of Bukharan Intellectual*, 5.

²² Khalid, "Society and Politics," 381.

keeping order in society, and in the words of a Muslim intellectual of the time, Muhammad Yunus Khwaja Ta'ib (1830-1905), preserving the *Dar al-Islam* in Russian Turkestan.²³ Furthermore, some ulema were considered to be liberal and reform minded, such as the aforementioned Sadr-i Ziya. He was not a Jadid, but he supported those who were working for reforms in society, while remaining a member of the ulema.²⁴

Ziya and his companions suffered greatly at the hands of the Emir and found the Emir to be careless and ruthless. However, Ziya thought that the disbandment of the Emirate was a negative turn for Bukhara. He criticized the dissolution of the Bukharan state, which was traded for separate Uzbek and Tajik republics that disrupted the cultural and linguistic history of the region.²⁵

JADIDISM

Jadidism does not refer to a singular, unified group but rather defines a cultural phenomenon present in the decades prior to the Bolshevik Revolution in Central Asia. In fact, this thesis aims to demonstrate the differences between two principal reformers within the Jadid movement to elucidate variations and

²³ *Dar al-Islam*, or, the land of Islam, which refers to a land in which Muslims are allowed to govern at their own discretion in alliance with Islamic law, as opposed to *Dar-al-Harb*, or the land of war, which *Dar al-Islam* becomes if taken over by "infidels." For details on the role of *Dar al-Islam* in the mindset of many of Central Asia's intellectuals, see Komatsu, "From Holy War to Autonomy: Dar al-Islam Imagined by Turkestan Muslim Intellectuals."

²⁴ Shakuri, Introduction to *The Personal History of Bukharan Intellectual*, 36.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 69.

dissenting positions within the movement, especially in view of the fact that Soviet and other modern sources tend to address Jadidism as a uniform body. Adeeb Khalid writes that “various Jadidisms,” whether Volga Tatar, Transcaucasian, or Tukestani, shared common features, “but their proponents faced markedly different struggles in societies,”²⁶ while Jiri Bečka notes that the Jadids were a group with no firm organization.²⁷ However, Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, describes that at least the “Society for the Education of Youth,” a group started by some Jadids, had complex and serious initiation rites and modeled after the Young Turks.²⁸ D'Encausse continues by saying that this group, a subset of the Jadids, checked out potential members' moral reputation and voted on whether the prospect would be a good member of the society. They had a rigorous set of goals that were essentially the same as the larger Jadid movement, such as reforming madrassas, fighting corruption, ending religious hostility, and reducing fanaticism.²⁹ While it is possible this one subsidiary group of Jadids had such a complex system of tracking and initiation, the Jadids on the whole were not organized in this manner.

Adeeb Khalid is sure to note that the Jadidism was a movement sprouting from the people, rather than a top-down reform effort, such as what was experienced within the Ottoman Empire or within Egypt in similar time periods.

²⁶ Khalid, *Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, 93.

²⁷ Jiri Bečka, “Tajik Literature from the 16th Century to the Present,” in *History of Iranian Literature*, ed. Karl Jahn (Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing, 1968), 523.

²⁸ Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, *Réforme et révolution chez les musulmans de l'Empire russe, Bukhara, 1867-1924* (Paris: A. Colin, 1966), 151-2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 153-4.

He continues by noting, therefore, the relative freedom that the Jadids had within their society, due to both the physical isolation of their region as well as their status as a Protectorate.³⁰ Having no central body to which they should report offered them the means to develop their own reformist ideas – a rare opportunity for their time. Consequently, the Jadids' reforms faced many fronts; they faced both their own society (namely the ulema) and a colonial power. The colonial environment in which the Jadid movement arose both helped to cause and further the movement.

Khalid wrote an article titled “Culture and Power in Colonial Turkestan” which analyzes the colonial aspects of life in Turkestan in while the Jadids were making their reforms. His key point in examining tsarist colonial society was the policy of exclusion; he maintains that Jadids sought to overcome this exclusion in their society by becoming more integral to its functions. According to Khalid, the Jadids were not a product of a Russian colonial policy, but they did work within this context and “Russian rule over Turkestan defined the constraints and possibilities within which the Jadids operated.”³¹

Adeeb Khalid notes that, typical of other colonial environments, the tendency to analyze each feature of the colonized sought to exoticize Central Asians and further push them into the realm of the “other.”³² Interestingly, the “vocabulary of progress and backwardness inherent in the dichotomy [between

³⁰ Khalid, *Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, 44.

³¹ Adeeb Khalid, “Culture and Power in Colonial Turkestan,” *Cahiers d'Asie central* (Online), 17/18 (2009), URL: <http://asiacentrale.revues.org/index1278.html>, 429.

³² Khalid, *Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, 56.

Russians and the Central Asians] was also to figure prominently in the politics of cultural reform in Muslim society itself, which was made necessary by changes in society [...].”³³ The term “colonial” is often avoided in contemporary Russian historiography, but the environment certainly should be considered in this context.

THE JADIDS AND EDUCATION

At the time, as Aini will later note, education was still a valued skill and prized achievement in their society, but it had lost its seriousness of substance.

Therefore the Jadids’ main goal was the reform of education; the expression of this goal is different, however, for many Jadids. Muhammad-Sharifi Sadr-i Ziya, in trying to downplay the effectiveness of the Jadids, notes that most Jadids were uneducated, unaware of the affairs of the world, and concerned more with elegance of clothing and external matters.³⁴ Despite accusations such as these, the modernization of education and its accessibility was a core value for all Jadids.

The maktab and madrassa were two venues of reform for the Jadids, and the new method schools were one expression of reform in these contexts. In Arabic, the maktab generally refers to elementary education and the madrassa is

³³ Khalid, *Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, 79.

³⁴ Ziya, *The Personal History of a Bukharan Intellectual*, 319.

similar to higher education and specialized training. In the Persian context, often the word maktab is used to describe any schooling or even a body of knowledge or discourse (as in the English “school of thought”). Concerning the reform of the educational system in Bukhara, Adeeb Khalid maintains the distinction between maktab and madrassa as far as the educational levels they represent, and writes that

It was also clear to the Jadids that existing maktab and madrasas were not producing [knowledge as the panacea for all ills, individual and social]. Reform had to begin with the schools [...] the reform of the maktab (and the attempted reform of the madrassa) aroused extreme passions in Muslim society.³⁵

Furthermore, the maktab and madrassa were “confessional” schools and were located in the “semi-public niche allowed by the state to religious communities.”³⁶ Even the Persian collapsing of all school systems into the one word maktab is fitting here – the Jadids lamented that the “maktab treated young boys essentially as men on a small scale. For the Jadids, childhood was a special period of life, marked off from the rest of life, a period in which the obligations and gravity of adulthood did not apply.” Thus many religious authorities had given too much responsibility to young students instead of focusing on teaching them basic skills. The Jadids reinforced their desire for the new method schools that would focus on solidifying the earliest stages of education, before indoctrination or religious concerns took precedence.

³⁵ Khalid, *Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, 156.

³⁶ Ibid., 162.

New-method schools, which were modeled primarily after Russian schools or other Tatar reform schools, were the main vessel for educational reforms. For the most part, the Russians supported these schools, after their failure in trying to teach the Russian language exclusively to children in Turkestan. New method schools involved lessons in Russian as well as the students' native language. At first, when the local governments administered the curriculum for new method schools, Khalid writes that "moral and ethical messages were never concealed," in these schools.³⁷ Nonetheless, progress was made as the curriculum developed, and although religious teaching still remained in place, it was taught through separate lessons and textbooks. In fact, "the new-method schools began the process of marking off Islam from the rest of knowledge. Alternately, in the maktab, all knowledge was sacral and tenets of Islam pervaded everything taught."³⁸ The new-method school presented Islam as an object of study. However, the ulema almost uniformly fought against the new-method schools, bringing the Emir into the struggle as well. They found the schools threatening to their cultural and political dominance, stretching to call them *haram* and that they would turn children into infidels.³⁹ While one would expect the Russians to have worked on the side of the Jadids and their efforts in reforming the schools, they found it more beneficial to keep the Jadids and Central Asians excluded from their realm of progress.

³⁷ Khalid, *Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, 172.

³⁸ Ibid., 173.

³⁹ 'Abdalrauf Fitrat. *Munazarah*. (Istanbul, 1909), 32.

The schools were at first permitted because the reform of these schools “could be carried out through purely civic initiative in considerable freedom from government control.”⁴⁰ Furthermore, the fear of local Muslims’ “fanaticism” was great at that time and part of the reason the New Method Schools were not purposely closed by the Russians stemmed from a fear of a negative reaction.⁴¹ However, the Russians did not mind as much if there were sub-movements and dissensions that would cause the schools to close, and as it was, there were many. Jadid criticism of the older schools went beyond their method of operation and into the actual pedagogic instruments used.⁴² Fitrat and Aini both wrote new textbooks for new madrassas, while differing in the varying importance of certain subjects.⁴³

RUSSIAN REACTIONS TO THE JADIDS

The Russians were caught in a delicate relationship with the Jadids as well as the *ulema*. On the one hand, they appreciated the stability of the rule of the Emir; however, that power structure only came with a disagreeable match of traditionalism and fanaticism. On the other hand, the modernist reformers were perhaps doubly dangerous; in fact, some officials claimed the Jadid movement

⁴⁰ Khalid, *Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, 162.

⁴¹ Khalid, “Culture and Power in Colonial Turkestan,” 425.

⁴² Khalid, *Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, 170.

⁴³ The resistance to the new method schools is thoroughly described in Sadriddin Aini’s *Tārīkh-i inqilāb-i fikrī dar Bukhārā*.

was both fanatical and largely organized. Nonetheless, other Russians saw the political potential in the Jadids and did not mind if more fanatical beliefs came along with it.⁴⁴ For some Russians, the prospect of new method schools was even welcome because better schools in Bukhara would mean more students would stay in Bukhara as opposed to studying in Istanbul, where popular opinion and interactions were unable to be regulated.⁴⁵

Overall, the goals of the Jadids and those of the Russians overlapped. The Jadids promoted progress in education in a universalist manner. However, as Khalid asserts in his article on the implications of Turkestan as a colonial territory, their universalism was subversive to the “colonial order” which “rested on mechanisms of exclusion.”⁴⁶ The end societal results of these reforms, rather than the individual reforms, could be considered the main difference between the goals of the Jadids and the Russians.

Overall, it has been said that the Jadids and their Russian colonizers kept relatively on good terms because of the particularism of Russian rule in Central Asia, as well as their shared goals of modernity and improving education.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Khalid, “Society and Politics,” 385.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 386.

⁴⁶ Khalid, “Culture and Power in Colonial Turkestan,” 430.

⁴⁷ For more on the particularism of Russian rule, see the Introduction to Robert Crews’ *For Prophet and Tsar*. However, for all its acclaim, this work should only be used in passing for research in this field due to its largely simplistic treatment of Jadidism and Islamic reform. Khalid has aptly written a response to many of the broad generalizations about the relationship between the Russians and Muslims at this time in Crews’ book in his article, “Tolerating Islam,” *London Review of Books*, 24 May 2007, 15-16. He especially notes in his review that while Catherine the Great was fairly sympathetic to some needs of her Muslim subjects, Crews extrapolates these relative niceties to the whole of Tsarist Russia. According to Khalid, Crews speaks of “a single ‘Islam policy’ that applies more or less across the board to all Muslims in the Russian Empire

Adeeb Khalid has expertly decompressed this notion, in his contribution to the 2009 *Le Turkestan russe: une colonie comme les autres?* (Russian Turkestan: Just another colony?) entitled “Culture and Power in Colonial Turkestan.” In this article, Khalid discusses in length Russia as a colonial power in its relationship especially with Muslim Turkestan. He correctly assesses that while the Jadids did, in fact, share many goals with the Russians, this was actually a source of dissent between the two groups rather than a common bond. The article’s premise is that while the Jadids sought inclusion into the Russian and progressive milieu, the Russians aided the Jadids and other progressives at times in establishing new schools, but these methods were done to keep the Muslims excluded from the European public sphere. In other words, the Jadids envisioned themselves as capable of achieving progress in the same light as the Russians; therefore they were “subversive to the colonial order which rested on mechanisms of exclusion.”⁴⁸ Scholar Naim Karimov asserts further that while Fitrat was struggling against the religious principles holding his people back from progress, the Russians were content to see the traditionalists maintain their influence on society.⁴⁹ This supports the ideas Khalid has put forth in his article.

LIMITATIONS AND METHODOLOGY

throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the process he bulldozes any subtlety, nuance or historical complexity that might stand in his way.”

⁴⁸Khalid, “Culture and Power in Colonial Turkestan,” 430.

⁴⁹ Naim Karimov, “Islam and Politics in twentieth century Uzbek Literature” in *Islam in Politics in Russian and Central Asia*, ed. Stephane A. Dudoignon and Hisao Komatsu (London: Kegan Paul, 2001), 185.

It should be noted here that the sources related to Aini and Fitrat available to a researcher without access to archival documents located in Tashkent or Dushanbe are highly differentiated. Concerning Fitrat, there are a few modern scholars who have devoted many volumes and articles to discussing his works and influence. Most of what is available to the present author, save a few primary sources in Persian, are secondary accounts. However, for Aini, we have available a great number of primary texts, many of them autobiographical. Therefore for Aini there is more relevant biographical information available, while for Fitrat there is more analytical work available and fewer firsthand narrations; even so, these authors can readily be compared. For one, Aini mentions Fitrat often in his works, thus making it possible to corroborate accounts of Fitrat's life among various sources. Aini's life has been more thoroughly dissected within the Soviet lens, while more focus to Fitrat's life has been analyzed in the post-Soviet era. These factors do alter the types of analysis performed on these figures; however, as long as one recognizes the legacy of hermeneutics informing each source, fruitful analyses can be performed. Khalid also notes that a small number of important memoirs by Bukharan reformers and revolutionaries have brought a lot of scholarly attention to the Intellectual

Revolution in Bukhara that has not been available from other cities and allowed scholars access to this time period.⁵⁰

On a broader note, scripts and the way of writing have also played a large role in guiding how knowledge of Central Asian Jadidism is disseminated.

Edward Allworth notes in prefacing *The Personal History of a Bukharan Intellectual* that the people of Bukhara now know more about Aini because many of his memoirs, originally written in the Arabic script, were translated into the Cyrillic alphabet.⁵¹ Although much of this thesis is based on information from firsthand accounts and the writers' autobiographical accounts, Jiri Bečka gives us reason to accept these testimonies as an historical witness. Bečka asserts that Aini based his writings on his own experiences, some of which were technically works of fiction; however, for Aini, "fiction is a combination of elements drawn from the storehouse of his own observations." Bukhara is the setting for most of his works, and he doubly narrates the stories he writes and act as their critic.⁵²

As renowned Central Asian scholar Stephane Dudognon has problematized, there is a large discrepancy between the types of knowledge generally produced concerning the Jadids. For example, many people focus primarily on their works, with very little attention paid to the intricacies of their lives, "strategies of self-promotion," or their networks. Many common people of Uzbekistan or Tajikistan and their respective governing bodies are quick to claim

⁵⁰Khalid, "Tashkent 1917," 273.

⁵¹ Allworth, Preface to *The Personal History of Bukharan Intellectual*, xxi.

⁵² Jiri Bečka, "Traditional Schools in the Works of Sadriddin Ayni and Other Writers of Central Asia," *Archiv Orientalni* 39:3 (1971): 287.

figures such as Fitrat and Aini as national heroes.⁵³ However, they may not realize that these writers would have had great issue with the way even the current society is managed. In the present work, it is the explicit goal that the lives and works of these two reformers be explored separately, with the culmination being a comparison between them. The comparison is not meant to only compare and contrast their works, but rather to interpret their works within the context of their status as Jadid reformers. The exploration of their categorization as Jadid reformers, and the dialogue and citations they provide about each other, is a new way to approach the topic of Central Asian reformists in the late nineteenth century. Social networks have been and remain of pivotal importance in the Islamic world, and it is hoped that this thesis will bolster the understanding of the relationship between Aini and Fitrat and contextualize them as part of the Jadids' social network.

⁵³ Stephane Dudoignon, "Status, Strategies, and Discourses of a Muslim 'Clergy' under a Christian Law: Polemics about the Collection of *Zakat* in Late Imperial Russia." in *Islam in Politics in Russia and Central Asia* (London: Kegan Paul, 2001), 46.

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND OF 'ABDALRAUF FITRAT

'Abdalrauf Fitrat was born in Bukhara in 1886. He was the son of an educated and well-traveled merchant; his father had been to the Ottoman Empire, Iran, and Chinese Turkestan. As a child he attended the famous Mir-i-Arab madrassa, as did the contrasted figure of this piece, Saddridin Aini. From 1909-1914 he studied in Istanbul through the Education of Children (Tarbiya-ya Atfal) Society.⁵⁴ In Istanbul, he enrolled in the *Medreset ul-Vaizin* that would ultimately provide Fitrat with the inspiration and motivation to pursue his own reforms. This *madrassa* had a varied curriculum and sought to prepare a new type of religious leader. Because of its location and influences, this center stressed Pan-Turkic ideals, although this is not necessarily the context for his proposals for reform.⁵⁵ Similar to many other intellectuals and reformers before him, his travel from the relatively isolated Central Asia to Istanbul gave propulsion to his ideas on reform, allowing him contacts and education he could not have received in Bukhara at that time. Eminent Jadid and Central Asian scholar, Adeeb Khalid, notes that "Istanbul at the time was probably the most cosmopolitan city in the world;"⁵⁶ therefore, Fitrat's time spent in Istanbul would have given him exposure to new movements and ideas in a Pan-Islamic, Pan-Turkic context. Istanbul at the time Fitrat was there, from 1909-1914, was a time in which the

⁵⁴ Khalid, *Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, 111.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 112.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

Ottoman Empire experienced significant transitions. Two essential forces, those of Abdulhamid II's Pan-Islamism and the Young Turks' increasing Turkic nationalism, were dominant in society at the time. Feroz Ahmad writes that so many drastic changes came about between 1908 and 1914 that the Ottoman Empire of the former is "almost unrecognizable" from the latter.⁵⁷

Although at many times he used circumvention and literary allusions to mask his meanings from Tsarist, Soviet, or other religious leaders, he never renounced his religion, and his contemporaries regarded him a Muslim as well.⁵⁸ It has been said 'Abdalrauf Fitrat went farther than other Jadids because he not only called for reform of certain aspects of Islam, but a fundamental change in the social order of his society.⁵⁹

EARLY INFLUENCES AND EDUCATION

⁵⁷Abdulhamid II was instrumental in bringing the elements of the increasing Islamic based sentiments together in the area "under the pressure of events and gave the resulting Islamism (pan-Islamism) a specific political-ideological aspect, making it appear to be his own personal creation." Abdulhamid II doggedly believed that the preservation of the Ottoman state was a sacred duty and that his rule was divinely sanctioned. Karpas, *The Politicization of Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 155, 157, 158. However, Pan-Turkic sentiments were on the rise after 1908 as increasing pressure within the Ottoman Empire caused an increase in national identity. By 1914, the Ottoman Empire had lost a vast amount of territory and population; the "effect of 5 years of war in Albania, Yemen, Libya, and the Balkans was enormous in all spheres of life...It made the empire much more homogenous and therefore forced the Turks to rethink their entire policy of Ottomanism." Furthermore, "The three ingredients – Ottomanism, Islam, and nationalism, all undefined – continued to constitute the recipe for the ideological cake; only the proportions had changed." Ahmad, *The Young Turks*, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 121-2, 141-156.

⁵⁸Edward Allworth. *Evading reality: The Devices of Abdalrauf Fitrat, Modern Central Asian Reformist*. (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 29.

⁵⁹Carrère d'Encausse, *Réforme et révolution*, 178.

In the years of his intellectual and religious development, Fitrat became increasingly recognized as the ideological leader of the Jadids, according to the Central Asian expert Hélène Carrère d'Encausse. Especially in the years 1909-1914, his influence and ideas rapidly gained popularity.⁶⁰ Even in Seymour Becker's established dissection of Central Asian society, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia*, he notes the prominence of Fitrat's thought and his status as the ideological leader of both the Bukharan reform movement and a similar group in Istanbul.⁶¹ The concerns of 'Abdalrauf Fitrat and his tenets of reform for Central Asian society shifted through the changing political and social environments.

His early works were focused on the fabric of Bukharan society itself. Bukhara, as discussed previously, had been a historical center of Islam and education in from the earliest years of Persian influence in the region. Fitrat longingly recounts the days of the past when Bukhara was a sterling city, while finding inspiration in the modern societies of Russia or even Iran and Turkey. Fitrat fulminated against the lack of knowledge of the glorious past poets and writers of Bukhara, even by the educated Bukharans of his time.⁶² D'Encausse asserts that Fitrat's work was devoted to the crisis of the Islamic world and focuses a great deal on his interaction and criticism of colonialism, as well as his glorification of the older days of Islam. Fitrat ultimately claims that there are three islams – that of the Qur'an, the ulema, and the people. The islam of the

⁶⁰Carrère d'Encausse, *Réforme et révolution*, 165.

⁶¹ Seymour Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 207.

⁶²Khan, *Muslim Reformist Political Thought*, 132.

people, for Fitrat, is largely superstitious, according to Fitrat, and the ulema's is outdated.⁶³ Many of Fitrat's ideas can be thought of in this context – battling the misinformation and irreligious addendums Fitrat believes the common people to have ascribed to Islam, coupled with the ulema's apparent misapprehension toward modernization.

In articulating the reasons for the decline of both Bukharan society and Islamic traditions, Fitrat does not exclusively levy the blame on authoritative bodies. He accuses the common people of contributing to their own decline by uncritically following the examples of their own religious leaders, who, in the opinion of Fitrat, had been inadequately trained. Since God gave mankind the abilities to learn and think on their own, Fitrat continues, the wasting of the opportunity to access one's religion for oneself is sinful and causes the weakening of Islam.⁶⁴ While Fitrat certainly recognizes the role of the leaders of society in the guidance of their constituents, people are ultimately responsible for their actions. He posits moral responsibility as a function of receiving the blessings of God. Fitrat's assignment of responsibility to the people of Bukhara to be active in their own regeneration could be summed up by Adeeb Khalid when he notes that Fitrat consistently promoted "self-preservation through self-strengthening."⁶⁵ There seem to be varying degrees of agreement and usage of

⁶³Carrère d'Encausse, *Réforme et révolution*, 168-9.

⁶⁴Khan, *Muslim Reformist Political Thought*, 142-3.

⁶⁵ Adeeb Khalid, "Visions of India in Central Asian Modernism: The Work of Abdurauf Fitrat," in *Looking at the Coloniser*, eds. Hans Harder and Beate Eschment (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2004): 274.

the governing parties' tactics, but overall Fitrat beseeched his fellow Bukharans in applying themselves to be better educated and informed. He uses the Qur'an to defend this, reciting, "Whatever of food befalleth thee it is from Allah, and whatever of ill befalleth thee it is from thyself [...]." ⁶⁶

Scholar Edward Allworth, who has dedicated many works to analyzing the literary styles of 'Abdalrauf Fitrat, further elucidates Fitrat's comparison of the past glories of Islam and Bukhara, saying it is a key theme of 'Abdalrauf Fitrat's works written from 1914 to 1918.⁶⁷ Fitrat critiqued the corrupted ulema and the societal norms that had kept practices of corruption in place. As will be explored later, education was a key factor in Fitrat's plan for modernizing and improving the relationship between Bukhara and the rest of the world – especially Russia.

In the context of bridging the past glories of Bukhara and Islam with modernization and societal improvement, 'Abdalrauf Fitrat mainly focuses on the reformation of the ulema as well as the *maktab*. However, he has addressed other topics such as health care, trade, and industry. Edward Allworth has noted five primary categories Fitrat addresses in his works. These are culture, economy, politics, religion, and society.⁶⁸ Fitrat sees topics such as health care and economics as ways in which the whole of society can move forward; the improvement in any of these areas will foster improvement in the areas in which

⁶⁶ Qur'an, 4:79; quoted in Khan, *Muslim Reformist Political Thought*, 113.

⁶⁷ Allworth, *Evading reality: The Devices of Abdalrauf Fitrat*, 24.

⁶⁸ Edward Allworth, *The Preoccupations of 'Abdalrauf Fitrat, Bukharan nonconformist* (Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 2000), 29.

he explicitly seeks to reform.⁶⁹ Fitrat highlighted the importance of hygiene, for example, which he sees as having been by and large neglected. He often uses the Qur'an to offer support for his claims.⁷⁰

However, as the transition from Tsarist Russia the Soviet Union took place, Safraz Khan notes that Fitrat broadened his approach to tackling problems with Islamic society in general in the twentieth century.⁷¹ He lamented the "crisis of the Muslim world," and had a view of Islam in its earliest years when the religion of Islam and its new adherents were able to face and defeat larger and more established tribes.⁷² Just as he admired the Bukhara of the past, he admired the Islamic societies of the past as well, and he saw the rejuvenation of both through the advent of modern education and societal reform.

While outwardly championing ideas of Turkestani national transformations, or the reinstatement of Bukhara as a leading city in the Muslim intellectual and religious world, the Jadids were also wholeheartedly working on other issues. Fitrat was the ideological leader of the Jadids, according to Hélène Carrère d'Encausse and others, and he was highly theoretical in his approaches, even diligently promoting anti-colonial measures. Furthermore, according to d'Encausse, the Jadids' own ideas of promoting their own nationalism and social

⁶⁹Khan, *Muslim Reformist Political Thought*, 150. In numerous occasions, Khan uses Fitrat's Quranic quotes throughout his own work, but often does not show where these were used in Fitrat's work.

⁷⁰ Fitrat published a tract in 1916 called *The Guide to Salvation*, which actually focused on providing Qur'anic support for Jadid motivations and reformist ideas.

⁷¹Khan, *Muslim Reformist Political Thought*, 122; Allworth, *Preoccupations of 'Abdalrauf Fitrat*, 33.

⁷²Ibid., 130.

revolt were difficult to distinguish from the Pan-Turkish or Pan-Asian movements. As the February Revolution of 1917 neared, Fitrat and other Jadids seemed to be promoting the idea of an all-encompassing struggle between the colonizers and the colonized.⁷³

In response to these ideas, Adeeb Khalid devotes an article to the topic of Fitrat's fascination with India and Colonialism; he reviews the literary devotion of Fitrat to India, including his usage of this country as a case study for colonialism.⁷⁴ First Khalid notes that 'Abdalrauf Fitrat believed there were strategies and methods that could be learned from colonizers. Fitrat considers the colonizer (Russia) to be established in its hatred for Islam, although this was not necessarily the case.⁷⁵ Concerning this, Robert Crews in his book on the subject, *For Prophet and Tsar*, states that rather than dismissing or discriminating against the Russian Empire's various religious constituents, people who identified with a certain religion were advantageous. This was because the Russians could implement "particularism" and prescribe specific statutes for specific religious bodies.⁷⁶ In one of Fitrat's later works from 1919, *Sharq Siyosati* (*The Eastern Question*), Fitrat examines the colonial relationship between India and Britain as a relationship laden with abuse and subjugation."⁷⁷ As Fitrat further develops his grievances against a particular colonial body, he notes that

⁷³Carrère d'Encausse, *Réforme et révolution*, 181.

⁷⁴ Khalid, "Visions of India," 253-274.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 258.

⁷⁶ Robert Crews. *For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 8, 22.

⁷⁷ Khalid, "Visions of India," 265.

the problem, as Khalid has identified, is largely civilizational. Fitrat claims that the Western world, or at least Europe, is bent on oppression and exploitation. While Fitrat lashes out against the economic perplexities of a colonial relationship, he always returns to the overarching moral and religious battles that dictate behavior. As noted by Khalid, "The moral harm done by Europe is as significant for Fitrat as the economic exploitation or political oppression."⁷⁸

THE LITERARY STYLE OF FITRAT

The monographs of Edward Allworth entitled *The Preoccupations of 'Abdalrauf Fitrat* and *Evading Reality* are useful in further identifying the themes and styles of 'Abdalrauf Fitrat's writings.⁷⁹ As previously mentioned, Fitrat touched on different themes in his reformist writings, and he also utilized various literary styles in order to reach different audiences and stress various points. One of these is the method of debate; this is even the title of one of his most famous works (*Munazarah*), which will be discussed below. Allworth noted that Fitrat was especially known for his methods of doublespeak, writing that "In Fitrat's time, tradition offered to intellectuals models of circumlocution, of literary evasion, that served unorthodox thinkers well."⁸⁰ Fitrat wrote many plays; even

⁷⁸ Khalid, "Visions of India," 266.

⁷⁹ However, Allworth is primarily skilled in Uzbek and Russian, thus his works largely review works Fitrat completed after 1916, when Fitrat almost exclusively made the switch to using the Uzbek language in his writings, in place of Persian.

⁸⁰ Allworth, *Evading reality: The Devices of Abdalrauf Fitrat*, xv.

though these were spoken and performed instead of read, they were often difficult for uneducated observers to follow because of their convoluted nature.⁸¹ Furthermore, the languages spoken in these plays were not often standard Persian or Uzbek, but rather an amalgamation of Turkic, Persian, and Arabic words used in certain instances to achieve specific results.

Allworth even notes that in one instance, Fitrat's usage of allegory was so clever that it conveyed a meaning convincing enough to Soviet parties that Soviet censors and other officials believed it to promote atheism. Edward Allworth continues, "Perhaps the subtleties within these allegories and multiple meanings proved so effective that they defeated their author's educational purpose to some extent."⁸² If it is true that during this period both Soviet groups and the religious leaders unilaterally viewed the "religious distortions of reactionaries" with "the belief and faith of purely religious persons," then Fitrat worked to differentiate them.⁸³

Allworth provides one argument for the literary circumvention of 'Abdalrauf Fitrat that needs closer verification – that he was able to propagate his literary model of circumvention because obscurity in religious writings was appreciated in Bukharan society. According to Allworth, this is aligned with man's inability to know the true motives and acts of God.⁸⁴ Considering the political environment in Fitrat's time, it is more convincing that his concealed

⁸¹ Allworth, *Evading reality: The Devices of Abdalrauf Fitrat*, 14.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 27.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

meanings and mixture of languages and styles were more simply attempts to make it more difficult for officials to follow his work. While Fitrat courted implicit acceptance in his works by the Soviet parties, in the end his strategy of evasiveness was not enough to truly conceal his reformist efforts. His efforts of concealment and ambiguity had increasingly less influence as the Soviet years moved on. Fitrat and his other reformist companions found the deception and equivocation of the communist party to be far more muddling. The breakdown of his own strategy led to his ultimate demise in interrogations with the secret police, when he could no longer conceal the meanings of his works.⁸⁵

ATTITUDE TOWARD EDUCATION

Fitrat's primary proposed venue for large-scale societal reforms and improvements was through education. In improving education, 'Abdalrauf Fitrat thought that the whole of society could be improved. Facets of society such as health problems, government, religious life, morality, and business could all be improved and stripped of inefficient profanations that had been incorporated into the traditional fabric of his society, according to Fitrat. As Fitrat firmly believed in the power of education in reforming society, Adeeb Khalid develops the pivotal role of education in Central Asian society of this

⁸⁵ Allworth, *Evading reality: The Devices of Abdalrauf Fitrat*, 31-2.

time in his book, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*.⁸⁶ According to Khalid, in order to have a viable perspective of Central Asian society at this time, one must consider the *maktab* as not simply a place for education, but it was rather a critical axis of society. In this way, many types of knowledge were disseminated in these institutions.⁸⁷ Although Fitrat certainly addresses the faults and inefficiencies of the educational system, it was still the means of acquiring cultural capital. That, Khalid further assesses, is the key to understanding the “informality of power in the nineteenth century;” relations between leaders and groups and their own constituencies provided far more clout there than the respective national or regional leaders.⁸⁸ If the older societal structures remained intact, the *madrassa* could still function as a powerhouse of society.⁸⁹ However, with the interference and changes the increased role of the Emir and subsequent Soviet government, the *madrassa* could not maintain its previous dominance in society.

In Fitrat’s view, the overarching dominance that the *madrassa* had come to possess was built on centuries of misinformation and the deterioration of chief Islamic values. As will be discussed in detail below, his relationship with the ulema was strained as he saw in them a lack of capability as purported guardians of their religion. As noted previously, Fitrat assigned blame to both the people of Bukhara for their own ignorance in religious matters and the ulema. Fitrat noted

⁸⁶ See Chapter 5 of Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform* for an in-depth analysis of education and the Jadids.

⁸⁷ Khalid, *Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, 29.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 37.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 40.

that these people had obtained a high societal ranking in Bukhara, but did not have any knowledge of the modern sciences; in addition, he argued they invented traditions as they saw fit.⁹⁰

Fitrat faced many difficulties in his efforts for educational reform. He was situated within a society that in his view was imperceptible to new ideas. He considered education as the primary means of furthering his society, and in his book *Tales of an Indian Traveller (Bayanat-i sayyah-i hindi)* he claims that “If you love religion, the fatherland, life, property, your children, if you want means for saving religion and spreading the *Shari’a*, the flourishing of the fatherland and happiness, the primary means is to attain knowledge.”⁹¹ He proposed schools that would utilize a new method of education, modeled after that of the Russians. The ulema fought hard against these schools, and were often able to close down new ones within months of opening.⁹² They also used injunctions from Islamic law to claim that the new method schools of Bukhara would cause more harm than good, maintaining that they would be *bida* (innovation).⁹³ However, Fitrat went on to note that the *ijma* was not limited to their small Bukhara community – rather, the consensus should be considered across the wider Islamic world, which had embraced new method schools and other alleged innovations.⁹⁴ He supported the new method schools because he said

⁹⁰ Khan, *Muslim Reformist Political Thought*, 141.

⁹¹ Fitrat, *Munazarah*, Conclusion.

⁹² Aini, *Tārīkh-i inqilāb-i fikrī dar Bukhārā*, 20.

⁹³ Khan, *Muslim Reformist Political Thought*, 147.

⁹⁴ Fitrat, *Munazarah*, 41.

that the shortened time to go through the entire school system (thirteen years) allowed a more focused approach to education, and students' graduation at only age nineteen instead of perhaps in their midthirties is better for the society in a number of ways. He notes that the excessive years spent in school in the old system yielded ensuing financial need. Many years were spent after completing school earning enough money to take a wife, which promoted an unreasonable growth of age differences between a husband and a wife. The earlier completion of his education would allow the man to begin marrying and being a productive member of society sooner. Through this, indirectly, poverty rates and debt could be reduced; many men who spent so many years funding their studies struggled to pay for living and school expenses.⁹⁵

Marianne Kamp, another scholar on Uzbekistan and its history, discusses more explicitly the Jadids and their views concerning marriage and the family. The Jadids in general were concerned with marriage opportunities and their availability to men in their society, notes Kamp.⁹⁶ Fitrat, always seeming to aim for the more practical aspects of reform, noted that the amount of the *mahr* (gift given to the bride by the groom at the time of marriage) should not be so exorbitant. The amount should demonstrate commitment but not overwhelmingly burden the husband.⁹⁷ As aforementioned, Fitrat was against the excessive number of years involved in the old system of education because it

⁹⁵ Khan, *Muslim Reformist Political Thought*, 147.

⁹⁶ Marianne Kamp, *The New Woman in Uzbekistan: Islam, Modernity, and Unveiling Under Communism* (Seattle : University of Washington Press, 2006), 43.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 45.

made it more difficult to save money in order to take a wife. In other words, the lessening of both the number of years spent in education as well as the bride price would benefit society by allowing men greater earning potential and procreation abilities.

Fitrat's book, *Munazarah*, is the most instructive piece we have on his ideas concerning reform.⁹⁸ In *Munazarah*, Fitrat uses one of the prominent literary techniques of the time, debate, to convey important information about the proliferation of the new method schools. Fitrat utilizes this method in order to highlight what he sees as the baseless arguments of the ulema against the modernization of education in Bukhara. He places a member of the Bukharan ulema against a European traveler who has come to Bukhara and observed the school system of Bukhara with dissatisfaction. This book is the most available tool available for assessing his thoughts on the corrupt practices of clerics, criticisms of debauchery, lack of religion in society, and the ignorance of people.⁹⁹ In *Munazarah*, Fitrat uses the foreigner to be even more knowledgeable about Islam than the *mudarris* and gives the foreigner license to even use the *Qur'an* to debate the *mudarris*. The foreigner accuses the ulema in Bukharan society of believing they have the right to decide what is forbidden and permissible (*haram* and *halal*) and he uses a Qur'anic injunction to back this up.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ A portion of *Munazarah* is now available in English translation in the anthology edited by Charles Kurzman, *Modernist Islam 1840-1940*.

⁹⁹ Fitrat, *Munazarah*, 22, 16, 27, 4, respectively.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 40.

FITRAT'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EMIR

From 1747-1920 the Manghit Dynasty ruled over the Khanate of Bukhara, offering members of its lineage the position of Emir, or head of the Khanate of Bukhara.¹⁰¹ In 1868 the Protectorate of Bukhara was established. This, Adeeb Khalid notes, is an exceptional status for an area under the jurisdiction of the Russian Empire. He says that the political situation between Britain and Russia were such that at the time of their advance in to this region of Central Asia, they marked Bukhara (and Khiva) as protectorates.¹⁰² This meant that the Emir, as leader of the Protectorate, held more power than did other local and regional leaders within the Russian Empire. The changes in the external power structures with a new and heightened influence of Russia subsequently resulted in changes to the internal power structures as well. Stephane Dudoignon, a prominent author concerning social history in Muslim Central Eurasia, offers an interesting perspective on the use of dates to classify important eras in the history of Bukhara and Central Asia at this time. Usually, the date of 1864 is seen to mark a new era of Russian influence and domination in the Persianate areas of modern Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. This was the year Tashkent was made a protectorate of the Russians; Bukhara came in 1867. However, internally, a more important year came in 1876, the year when Kulab and Khatlan provinces were annexed to

¹⁰¹ Anke Von Kugelgen, "Manghits," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Online Edition, September 21, 2004.

¹⁰² Khalid, "Visions of India," 254n.

the Bukharan Protectorate. These added regions were not part of the revered academic and religious lineage of the Bukharans; they were largely mountainous peoples, and they were seen by Fitrat as uneducated and unprepared to mingle with the educated elite of Bukhara.¹⁰³ When the provinces were added to the Bukharan territory, a large group of people immigrated to the area for labor work, while a migration of *Kulabi* mullahs came to Bukhara and vied for positions there.¹⁰⁴

With a new group of religious scholars and ulema in the area, the year 1876 became a turning point, for division between the two major groups – for now they can be considered the natives and the newcomers.¹⁰⁵ Fitrat notes the division of this group as the *Buharis*, who had been trained in the madrassas in the city of Bukhara, and the *Kulabis*, who came after the annexation.¹⁰⁶ Fitrat develops this further, noting that the *Kulabis* were advancing trends of ignorance; he saw their training as inferior, while they were increasingly being placed into teaching positions in the madrassas. He claimed that the *Buhari* ulema were being deprived because the *Kulabi* emirs, namely Nasrullah (r. 1827-1860), Muzaffar (r. 1860-1885), Abd al-Ahad (r. 1885-1910) and Alim (r. 1910-1920) were all *Kulabi* and were appointing those of the same group to important positions.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³Dudoignon, "Faction Struggles among the Bukharan Ulama," 81.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 74.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 77.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 80.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 81.

The relationship between the Emir, ulema, and the Jadids oscillated between levels of relative coexistence to antagonistic as political situations changed. Before 1914 for example, and the start of World War I, the Emir consistently changed its attitude towards the reformers and the ulema. However, the onset of the war increased fear of Western influences, and caused the Emir to decidedly tilt more towards the conservatives' views.¹⁰⁸

At first glance, Fitrat had a great reverence and respect for the Emir, the leading post in Bukhara at the time. He had confidence in the words of the Emir, who seemed to hold the same inspiration for change and renewal as Fitrat and other reformers. In the same breath Fitrat would criticize most rulers of the region and make an exception for the Emir. He criticized the rulers who had only obtained their high positions through luck, but noted the Emir was separate from these loathsome figures.¹⁰⁹ In this situation, Fitrat viewed the Emir as unable to single-handedly stop the imminent downfall of Bukhara, thus maintaining his call for a greater overhaul of society. Even in 1918, Fitrat did not bring as a solution to problems of authority the limitation of the Emir's power, as he still believed reforms could be pioneered under his leadership at that time.¹¹⁰ He considered the Emir the "Father of the Bukharans," who had a duty to help his constituents. In Fitrat's piece, *Tales of Indian Traveler*, as he dutifully attacks the ulema's role in societal issues, he carefully avoids implicating the Emir as

¹⁰⁸Carrère d'Encausse, *Réforme et révolution*, 180.

¹⁰⁹Khan, *Muslim Reformist Political Thought*, 143.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, 155.

responsible for these issues.¹¹¹ The actions of the Emir towards societal reforms supported by the Jadids would ultimately define their relationship with him. In *Munazarah*, Fitrat says that the Russians and the Emir have a very close relationship and that the Emir takes advice and direction from the Russians regularly.¹¹²

OTHER ASPECTS OF REFORM

Fitrat was not only interested in reform of education or the decadence of the ulema. As Islamic studies scholar Ebrahim Moosa has noted in a section entitled “Social Change” in the compilation *The Islamic World*,

[...] Revitalization and renewal of Muslim societies can only be realized through a radical improvement in people’s material conditions. While it remains uncertain whether optimal economic conditions inspire large social visions or vice versa, what we do know is that societies need both vision and growth.¹¹³

Comparably, Fitrat’s ideas for reform did move at times into practical aspects of society beyond education. As part of his overarching ideas concerning society, he believed increased efficiency in trade and commerce provided the means for a more thorough religious life for people as well as complying with a push for

¹¹¹ Khalid, “Visions of India,” 261.

¹¹² Fitrat, *Munazarah*, 25.

¹¹³ Ebrahim Moosa, “Social Change,” in *The Islamic world*. Ed. Andrew Rippin. (London: Routledge, 2008), 565.

modernization. For Fitrat, just as men finishing their education earlier would be better members of society, more easily adept in earning money for their families, increased efficiency in commerce and trade would provide more opportunities for Bukharan society to better itself.

First, improved efficiency in the marketplace, from a better production quality of goods to being actually educated in business tactics as the Europeans were, would allow for the increase in wealth in society. In Fitrat's view, more income meant people would be more able to fulfill their religious duties. They would be able to afford the *hajj* or quality training the religious sciences.¹¹⁴ Secondly, improving the production of Bukharan native products, which had been well revered for centuries, according to Fitrat, would allow for their preservation. They faced the competition of Russian products, which were quickly and cheaply produced, albeit in lesser quality. Bukharan products needed to be produced more efficiently to preserve this element of their cultural heritage. He continued, noting that being more skillful in trade was not an abomination of religion or somehow contrary to religious tradition, contrary to some peoples' beliefs. Instead, it was just another method of modernization – a trend in line with Islamic precepts, as Fitrat believed.¹¹⁵ Finally, as mentioned above, Fitrat also often places his economic propositions in the framework of a colonial discourse, such as that of the relationship between India and Britain.

¹¹⁴ Khan, *Muslim Reformist Political Thought*, 152.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 151-152.

Fitrat also proposed more institutions of higher education, such as medical schools. Linking to his veneration of the respected founders of modern medicine and science that hailed from Bukhara or Ancient Persia, such as al-Farabi (870-950), Avicenna (980-1037), or al-Biruni (973-1048), the revitalization of this field would allow Bukharans a renewed connection to their past glory. Although it is unclear if his request was answered, Fitrat pushed for his government to convert one of the oldest *madrassas* into a medical school, calling for professors from Russia to teach in it. He also advocated sending Bukharan students to study medicine abroad.¹¹⁶ He found no conflict in this and with religious influences, compared to many of the religious leaders who believed that sending students abroad for study would place them in interaction with too many foreign forces that could be detrimental to their religious background. Fitrat saw that the more education and more exposure Bukharans had to both an international community as well as their own heritage, the more the society could move forward.

WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

We have few instances in which to examine Fitrat, or many of the Jadids' views on women and the family. He did write one book in Persian on the subject, called *Aila*, or *The Family*. Fitrat promoted the education of women as well as

¹¹⁶ Khan, *Muslim Reformist Political Thought*, 150.

men, and he claimed that the *Qur'an* promoted this as well. For Fitrat, some of these reasons are once again highly practical. Women who were educated were more apt to efficiently and successfully complete the duties of a wife, as was culturally accepted at that time. In Fitrat's view, the nation would be strengthened by the improved family life and religious knowledge that educated women would have.¹¹⁷ Concerning polygamy, Fitrat's views were once again more practical; a second wife was for the purpose of procreation, while the man was not necessarily required to have equal love for both wives. Both must have equal provisions, he continued, and it was all for the most efficient functioning of society.¹¹⁸ Kamp continues by pointing out the androgyny of Fitrat's views, saying that "Fitrat never examined women's needs with any seriousness and did not even support limitations so that anything beyond a man's own conscience would govern how many wives he could take." She further notes that, "Although he wrote from his own observation that polygamy was oppressive to women, men's needs demanded social change in some areas and justified continuities in others."¹¹⁹ However, Kamp ends her argument by partially validating these statements, stating that most males' arguments for reform at the time reflected similar sentiments and should not be treated as particularly exclusionary.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Kamp, *The New Woman in Uzbekistan*, 41.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 46.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 47.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 253n.63.

THE SOVIET ERA

The Jadids' message was most apt before the Bolshevik Revolution. After this, the Jadids suffered in purges, and their society was reformulated in many other sweeping ways. For Fitrat, scholar Hisao Komatsu notes that the Young Bukharan revolt of 1916 marked both an ideological and linguistic change for the reformer; after this point, his writings are almost all in Uzbek (a Turkic language) and his themes turn toward the *vatan* (homeland) and *qawmiyya* (nationalism).¹²¹

Khalid, in his article on the Tashkent in 1917 asserts that, "Once the chauvinism of the soviet was overcome," the Jadids had more in common with them than they had previously thought.¹²² At first, the early Jadid leaders of Soviet Central Asia, like Fitrat, saw themselves mainly as part of a group of modernizers, supporting their country. They thought they were "in cooperation with the center, and not [working] as its pawns." They were enchanted with the Soviets and had "found in the Soviet regime of the 1920s the outside support against the ulema that they had [previously] been unable to muster."¹²³

Largely, before and after the February revolution of 1917, the Jadids remained fairly consistent in their views. With the appearance of Russian revolutionaries and later Bolsheviks, it seemed this reactionary group would be a

¹²¹ Hisao Komatsu, "Bukhara in the Central Asian Perspective: Group Identity in 1910-1928," *Research Report on Urbanism in Islam*. No. 2. (Tokyo: Secretariat of the Research Project Urbanism in Islam, 1988), 8.

¹²² Khalid, "Tashkent 1917," 296.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 296.

fine enough vessel to help promote their reforms.¹²⁴ Their views, in reality, were fairly contradictory to the Bolsheviks', but they were still able to latch onto and use the powerful push of the movement for at least a short time.

After 1917 and beyond, themes of nation and progress were leading the thoughts and writings of many reformers. In this case, they were very different from what many of the "enlightened" ulema thought of reform, which was far more intellectual. The Jadids had started out in this manner, but after 1917 "the young intellectuals [Jadids] went far in their radicalism for the sake of the nation and its progress."¹²⁵ Khalid notes that Fitrat's disillusionment with the progress the colonizer was translated into further disillusionment with the Soviets, believing they were likely unable to assist the Central Asians anymore.¹²⁶

During the Soviet period, Fitrat continued to publish and contribute articles to the cause of the promotion of progress in Islam. His works were largely metaphorical and were not clear in their attacks of Soviet rule or other Islamic groups. Nonetheless, Fitrat still remained closely watched and often reprimanded by the Soviet police. Finally, on April 23, 1937, the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, the executor of Stalin and other Soviet leaders' political subversions, shot 'Abdalrauf Fitrat in Tashkent along with many others. He had been found guilty of being against the National Unity movement,

¹²⁴Carrère d'Encausse, *Réforme et révolution*, 222.

¹²⁵ Khalid, "Society and Politics," 383.

¹²⁶ Khalid, *Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, 294.

scheming to establish a pan-Turkish state independent from the Soviet Union, and writing nationalist and anti-revolutionary works.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ Halim Kara, "Reclaiming National Literary Heritage: the Rehabilitation of Aburauf Fitrat and Abdulhamid Sulaymon Cholpan in Uzbekistan," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 54: 1 (2002): 139n7.

CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND OF SADRIDDIN AINI

Sadr al-Din Khaja-I Ghijduwani-i 'Ayni (1878-1954), commonly known as Sadriddin Aini, was another reformer of the early twentieth century. Born in 1878, and perhaps even predestined to be a clergyman, this man would end up almost single-handedly promoting the classification and distinction of the Tajik literary tradition. His father had been briefly educated at a madrassa in Bukhara, but he was married off before completing his education.¹²⁸ However, Aini's father's pursuit of knowledge even outside of the official educational realm allowed him to become a role model and encouragement for the young Aini. Sadriddin Aini notes in his memoir that his father even took it upon himself to teach children of farmers in his village how to read and write, and prepared them to enter Bukhraran madrassas. Aini attributes much of his early education and interest in learning to his father. His father first acquainted the young Aini with poetry such as Sa'di, Hafez, Bedil, and Sa'ib Navai before he could even read their works on his own.¹²⁹ He also instilled in him a love of basic subjects, such as mathematics and geography. Over his youth, whether from his father or elders he met, he collected the works of these authors and prided himself on having kept these books with him even into his old age.¹³⁰

¹²⁸Sadriddin Aini. *Pages from My Own Story: Memoirs*. Trans. George H. Hanna. (Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1958), 3.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 5.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 58.

There is bountiful information about Aini's early life and background available due to the extensive number of memoirs he authored, including *Pages from My Own Story* and *The Sands of Oxus*. Therefore, compared to the information available for 'Abdalrauf Fitrat, the information on Aini's early life is rich and thorough. As noted, Aini lived in small village outside Bukhara with his father, mother, and three brothers until his parents died from a cholera outbreak when he was twelve or thirteen. Although Aini did not grow up in Bukhara, there were many instances in which his father imparted musings to the young Aini about life in Bukhara, including criticisms on the ruling classes or religious bodies. His final advice to the adolescent Aini was to "go to school however hard it may be ... don't be a qazi [judge] or rais [official responsible for religious rites and morality], or an imam, but if you are a mudarris, well fine enough."¹³¹ After the death of his father, followed shortly by the death of his mother, he was left to tend their family farm on his own. He also had to wait to pursue his schooling because of the financial hardships he was under after his parents' death.¹³² Some of the first notations of his dissatisfaction with the customs and traditions of his day when he had to sell his family's house in their village in order to fund a customary feast on the anniversary of his parents' death, as well as a customary feast celebrating his brothers' circumcision.¹³³ His recounting of this situation and the subsequent periods of hardship and homelessness following the sale of

¹³¹ Aini, *Pages from My Own Story*, 18.

¹³² Ibid., 25.

¹³³ Ibid., 26.

his home offers a perspective into the frivolity with which he viewed such customs.

Sadriddin Aini faced many obstacles in first attending a *madrassa*. However, his keen inclination toward poetry and literature and astuteness in them at an early age was clear to many people that he met. In one instance, he played the game of verse capping (or *baitbarak*, as Aini notes) in front of a well known elder, who was so impressed with his skills he urged him to go to school through whatever means necessary. He first played this game with Mirza Abdulwahid, who became a long time friend of his and fellow proponent of reform efforts.¹³⁴

As Aini was coming to terms with his society and realizing the distinctive nature of his aptitude in poetry and literature, he realized he needed a *nom de plume* he could use to distinguish himself in social settings. Many of his companions placed a great importance on one's representative name, and he had trouble settling on one that pleased him. After reviewing many names, he decided on "Aini" which in Persian had many meanings, some forty-eight according to Sadriddin Aini, thus leaving his converser to pick whichever meaning he chose.¹³⁵ In the late 1890s not only his elders but also his peers recognized Aini as an astute student and poet. At that time he was tutoring large

¹³⁴ Aini, *Pages from My Own Story*, 27-28. Verse-capping, or *baitbarak*, is a game in which one person recites a couplet (*bait*), and the other person follows it with a couplet beginning with the same letter the other ended in. Aini notes many instances of playing this game in *Pages from My Own Story*.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 58.

groups of his fellow students in their studies, in part because of his great financial need and on account of his deftness in his studies.¹³⁶

Because of the early death of his parents and the financial burdens on account of his brothers, he was destitute and even homeless for awhile after beginning his studies in Bukhara. Muhammad-Sharifi Sadr-i Ziya, a companion of Aini's, found out about his poor status and bought a cell for him in the Kukaltash madrassa where he lived from 1907 to 1917.¹³⁷

EARLY PERSPECTIVES ON EDUCATION

Even in the earliest days of his education, Aini had issues with the emphasis on rote memorization utilized in the system of his day. He lamented being able to repeat the names of the letters of the alphabet but not identify their sound when they were out of context.¹³⁸ Unlike Fitrat, Sadriddin Aini also supported the value of poetry in the curriculum, as a way to preserve both literary and cultural heritage. He valued its place in both curriculum and its place within social settings and conversation. After he moved to Bukhara to enter a *madrassa*, he said he was "glad enough to get away from those living corpses—I had entered a circle of people with living hearts."¹³⁹ However, soon after moving to Bukhara

¹³⁶ Aini, *Pages from My Own Story*, 61.

¹³⁷ Shakuri, Introduction to *The Personal History of Bukharan Intellectual*, 7.

¹³⁸ Aini, *Pages from My Own Story*, 30.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 36.

and commencing studies in the *madrassa*, he lamented that he “did not meet a single man who at any time wanted to talk about poetry and literature.”¹⁴⁰

Sadriddin Aini placed a high value on education, and he wrote in his progressive textbook for maktab, *Tahsib-us-sib'en*, that “*adam na shavad jasi, maga az maktab,*” or that no one becomes a man except through school.¹⁴¹ Aini called for not only a restructuring of the content of the curriculum of the *madrassa* and *maktab*, but he also urges for a physical readjustment as well. Fitrat and Aini were concerned with students’ health in reformatting the physical layout of the *madrassa*. Fitrat thought students should sit on chairs, similar to the Russians, to be lifted out of the dirt and dust; in one instance Aini complains about the use of the courtyard of the *madrassa* as the only space for instruction. He recounts times when he made a place to sit in the *madrassa* by pushing snow away with his jacket sleeve.¹⁴² Aini also found many problems with the layout of the *madrassa* in terms of teaching effectiveness and efficiency. He called for the *maktab* to be housed separately from the mosque, as well as putting the students in separate classes broken up by levels instead of all levels in one space. In addition, he advocated that students should be taught in their mother tongue instead of a foreign one. This would encourage a love for one’s *vatan* (homeland). Finally,

¹⁴⁰ Aini, *Pages from My Own Story*, 31.

¹⁴¹ Bečka, “Traditional Schools,” *Archiv Orientalni* 39: 3 (1971): 288.

¹⁴² Bečka “Traditional Schools,” *Archiv Orientalni* 40: 2 (1972): 140.

after many accounts of being beaten in schools he pushes for an end to corporal punishment in the schools.¹⁴³

Similar to Fitrat's abilities to place blame on both misguided ulema and the people themselves for ignorance of religion and the degeneration of society; similarly, Aini spared neither teachers nor the students in his critique of the educational system. Teachers often changed with little notice, and they were replaced with new teachers, who had not been briefed on the lessons covered, and would repeat lessons or skip them.¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, it was easy for a *mudarris* to earn a reputation as being a good teacher even while possessing paltry skills through exploiting their tenants residing in the *madrassa*.¹⁴⁵ Aini found the *madrassa* students to be rowdy and disrespectful; they were more interested in shouting to be heard than having any meaningful debates, especially when important lecturers were visiting.¹⁴⁶

OTHER ASPECTS OF SOCIETY

Sadriddin Aini also placed an unusual emphasis on promoting the education of girls for his time. In addition, he authored a text specifically targeted at girls' education to be used in special schools for girls.¹⁴⁷ Girls and boys were permitted

¹⁴³ Bečka, "Traditional Schools," *Archiv Orientalni* 39: 3 (1971): 288.

¹⁴⁴ Bečka "Traditional Schools," *Archiv Orientalni*. 40: 2 (1972): 140.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 144.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 140.

¹⁴⁷ Bečka, "Traditional Schools," *Archiv Orientalni* 39: 3 (1971): 288.

to attend the lowest level of classes together, and after that, the girls would study on their own. However, Aini lamented that in his time, girls learned the essentials of Islam, some stories concerning saints and prophets, and a little about reading Tajik and Uzbek poetry; however, they did not focus much on the *Qur'an* or how to write.¹⁴⁸

SOCIETAL LEADERS

Aini notes that even his father, who had studied only a few years in a *madrassa*, had accumulated far more knowledge than the mullahs in his village. On account of his perceived educational superiority and his literacy, Aini says, “The mullahs did not like my father and were afraid of him.”¹⁴⁹ Aini does note one mullah of interest who was actively working to change the method of teaching and striking some of the superstitious commentaries that had been added to the educational system in the past, although most mullahs, in Aini’s eyes, were not so enlightened.¹⁵⁰

Many religious leaders frustrated the young Sadriddin Aini, including the Emir. In his childhood memoir, *The Sands of Oxus*, he recounts a story of his father expressing disapproval toward the Emir’s efforts to build a water canal near their village. In the story, Aini’s father is disturbed by the Emir and his

¹⁴⁸ Bečka, “Traditional Schools,” *Archiv Orientalni* 39: 3 (1971): 301-2.

¹⁴⁹ Aini, *Pages from My Own Story*, 4.

¹⁵⁰ Aini, *Tārīkh-i inqilāb-i fikrī dar Bukhārā*, 24.

workers' inefficiency in building the canal. His father writes the Emir a formal complaint outlining his issues. The story ends positively, with Aini's father's proposal achieving fruition. However, the dissatisfaction Aini's father conveys is passed along to the young Aini throughout his memoirs.¹⁵¹ Aini notes that most people he knew were discontent with their lives under the Emir, and he reported that taxes were so high that "In Bukhara only the air was not assessed."¹⁵²

In 1900, there was an event that Aini holds in high regard as a formative experience in establishing his and his companions' "spiritual revolution." He came across the work of Ahmad Makhdum Donish entitled *Navadirul-Voqai* (*Rare Events*) because his friend Mirza Abdulwahid had been asked to recopy this work for an elder. This was an exceptional opportunity for these young students to be exposed to reformist works and efforts in Bukhara. From this work they became exposed to many critiques of the Emir and his system of government, as well as critiques of the cultural traditions of the time.¹⁵³ Aini also realized through this work of Donish that the problems in Central Asia were not static and were subject to change and improvement.¹⁵⁴ After he learned of Donish's work, he broadened his views further through reading Persian papers such as

¹⁵¹ Sadriddin Aini. *The Sands of Oxus: Boyhood Reminiscences of Sadriddin Aini*. Trans. John R. Perry and Rachel Lehr. Mazda Publishers: Costa Mesa, CA, 1998, 90-92.

¹⁵² Jiri Bečka, *Sadriddin Ayni: Father of Modern Tajik Culture* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Seminario di Studi Asiatici, 1980), 13.

¹⁵³ Aini, *Pages from My Own Story*, 36; Shakuri, Introduction to *The Personal History of Bukharan Intellectual*, 3. For an in-depth treatment of the ideas and works of Ahmad Makhdum Donish see Safraz Khan's *Muslim Reformist Political Thought* as well as J. Bečka's, "Soviet Studies on Ahmad Donish," *Archív Orientální* 31, 1963, pp. 483-87.

¹⁵⁴ Bečka, *Sadriddin Ayni: Father of Modern Tajik Culture*, 15.

Hablu'l-matin (The Strong Rope) and *Chihranama (The Mirror)*, as well as the Tatar *Tarjuman (The Interpreter)*.¹⁵⁵

Aini soon criticized the Emir's relationship with the Russian government, noting that he functioned primarily as a Russian pawn. He wrote that the Emir spent most of his time in the Russian outpost named Kermine, right outside of Bukhara, and critically stated, "The Emir hardly ever visits Bukhara so that the people said that the Russian government had forbidden him to enter his own capital."¹⁵⁶

Bečka notes that Aini's first real revolutionary piece (in the pro-Soviet sense) was the elegy he published after the death of his brother, decrying the Emir's villainous regime as the cause of his brother's death.¹⁵⁷ In the elegy he defames the Emir's governance; a sizeable quote from one section is relevant to demonstrate its fervor:

A few tyrants have clustered in one place/ In a slaughterhouse like a pack of blood-thirsty dogs/ The time of a stupid and abominable tyrant/ round whom a few abominable whips are circling/ beheads people like sheep with a sword/ and fills cups with blood up to the brim/ they will give up souls in various kinds of torture/ many martyrs tortured by a few torturers [...].¹⁵⁸

He continues by describing his wish for the Emir and his throne's disbandment. He goes even further by placing blame for the unjust death of his brother on religious leaders, saying, "I wish these *muftis* and *kozis*, the *tershah* and the *vezir*/"

¹⁵⁵ Bečka, "Tajik Literature from the 16th Century to the Present," 560.

¹⁵⁶ Aini, *Pages from My Own Story*, 65.

¹⁵⁷ Bečka, *Sadriddin Ayni: Father of Modern Tajik Culture*, 36.

¹⁵⁸ Aini, *Elegy*, Section IV, quoted in Bečka, *Sadriddin Ayni: Father of Modern Tajik Culture*, 73.

to be dethroned and drowned in their own blood so that all this oppression, this evil and brutality might depart [...].”¹⁵⁹

Other events in Aini’s life furthered his dislike of the Emir. In one instance, he was summoned by the Emir and was accused of plotting the downfall of the Russians.¹⁶⁰ When he spoke with the Emir, he was accused of reading newspapers and meddling in topics, which the Emir, religious leaders, and other Russians thought unbecoming of him. The *qushbegi* told him that “You are a mullah, a poet, a learned man and the fact that you read newspapers makes people talk. Read the Qur’an and books that are fitting to your position [...] it is not proper for you to read newspapers.”¹⁶¹ The incident shows the rigid expectations of people’s roles in this society, and the threat to the government’s organization by people stepping out of these roles – whether by education or activism.

In time, the extent of the government’s fear of Aini’s activism becomes clearer. He was soon advised he had been appointed the *mudarris* of a major madrassa in Bukhara, which was an unexpected honor. However, the enormity of this promotion soon revealed an act of containment and control by the Russians. At the madrassa, his actions and readings could be more aptly surveyed under the control of a *mullah*. Even at that time, before 1917, he had been suspected of having revolutionary tendencies. He accepted the position,

¹⁵⁹ Aini, *Elegy*, Section VI, quoted in Bečka, *Sadriddin Ayni: Father of Modern Tajik Culture*, 73.

¹⁶⁰ Aini, *Pages from My Own Story*, 78.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 80.

but he escaped it by claiming it was too high an honor for him and ceding it to someone else.

AINI'S IDENTIFICATION AS A JADID

Sadriddin Aini's identification as a Jadid may seem transparent and clear, due to many scholars' presentation of his work in recent years. While his problematic relationship with both the Jadids and 'Abdalrauf Fitrat will be discussed thoroughly in Chapter 3, some of his self-professed views of the Jadids (often excluding himself as a member) will be related here.

Aini describes, in a rare and highly censored piece,¹⁶² the previously undefined program relating to the goals of the reforms of the Jadids. An abbreviated list of these goals follows:

1. Putting an end to the lack of knowledge and lack of ideas among the population.
2. To struggle with the debauched priesthood for this purpose: to show clearly before the people's eyes the baseness as well as meanness of the priesthood and *madrassa*.
3. To reveal and show to people the tyranny and evil of the governmental individuals.
4. Revealing and demonstrating to the people the prodigality and meanness of the Amir and the courtiers, explaining to the subjects (common people) that the treasury's money is not the Amir's [...] but is really the entirely that of the public.
5. Putting an end to profligacy and heresy among the population.

¹⁶² Allworth provides a translation of a rare and censored chapter of Aini's *Materials for a Revolutionary History of Bukhara* (1920-21) in his contribution to the work *Turkestan: als historischer Faktor und politische Idee* called "Suppressed Histories of the Jadids." This translation is on pp. 35-39.

6. Putting an end to ignorant prejudices among the population, to sectarian conflict, to rivalry, and to pride and arrogance toward one another.¹⁶³

In this piece, Aini's commitment to expressing a program for the Jadids is clear. He notes the pressing need for the reform of education in his society, writing:

And if things continue this way, if government circles fail to achieve reform and discipline, if the primary schools have not been able to multiply, if knowledge and awareness are not spread among the people, if the seminaries [madrassas] are not reformed, Bukhara's learned, social, economic and political life is in danger.¹⁶⁴

He considered himself a leader of the movement of this time, but he conceded that above all else, the movement was stagnated and frustrated because their main voice was through "stimulating interest through newspapers and by word of mouth."¹⁶⁵ Here, Aini ascribes the most blame of the stagnancy of their reforms not to the other Jadids, as he does in later years, but to the other religious dignitaries and leaders of his time.

Later on, however, Aini's most critical stance on the Jadids was that they simply did not do *enough* to reform society, and that their demands and requests were pedestrian in nature. He says of the Jadid movement,

The progressive movement of which I am speaking could not, by any means, be called revolutionary. It demanded only a few reforms – the reform of the schools and madrassas, the reform of a number of old-established rules and regulations, and as far as the political reform of the government apparatus in the Emirate was concerned they required only the cessation of license on the part of the Emir's officials and a certain

¹⁶³ Sadriddin Aini, *Materials for a Revolutionary History of Bukhara* (66) translated in Allworth's "Suppressed Histories of the Jadids," 36.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 37.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 38.

modification of the system of taxation. The *most important idea in the reform movement* was that of regulating the *land tax*, the tax paid by the peasants. Naturally I joined this progressive movement.”¹⁶⁶ (italics mine)

He claimed that this movement was not very revolutionary, and he scoffs at some of the ideas that Fitrat upheld most clearly, such as Fitrat’s desire to work with the Emir on reforms or promoting Islam as a viable framework in which reforms could take place. He nonetheless concedes that he was involved with the movement. He notes that the most important part of the reform movement for him was the land reform – interesting, considering the almost singular esteem most Jadids gave to educational reform. Even so, as Czech scholar Jiri Bečka notes, he later wrote an untitled play in Uzbek in which he criticized the Jadid concern for property while depicting them as part of a bourgeois and nationalist movement – a common Soviet era criticism of the Jadids that was largely repealed in the post-Soviet era.¹⁶⁷

In the introduction to *Personal History of a Bukharan Intellectual*, it is written that Aini described an educated and progressive ulema, including Sadriddin Ziya, and notes that there was a category of enlightened ulema whose ideas were close to the Jadids but did not coincide with them completely.

¹⁶⁶ Aini, *Pages from My Own Story*, 73.

¹⁶⁷ Bečka, “Tajik Literature from the 16th Century to the Present,” 563. For further information on the importance of land-reform and usury in Bukhara at that time, see “Historical Veracity and Topicality of the Novel *Margi Sudkhur* by Sadriddin Ayni,” Jiri Bečka, pub. In *Yadname-ue Jan Rypka: Collection of Articles on Persian and Tajik Literature*. In this article Bečka demonstrates the importance of land reform and the influences of capitalism and banking as a motivating factor for Aini’s desire for their reform. Bečka also highlights the importance of Aini’s work as both a literary and historical piece, noting it ranks “among the books which every historian should read if he wishes to understand the economic situation prevailing in Central Asia towards the end of the Bukharan emirate.” (207)

Nonetheless, he still worked for the proliferation of the Jadid inspired new-method schools in his quest for an increased quality in education. He became a teacher and worked toward spreading propaganda for the reformed schools, although he had little experience in education. Bečka noted that, in fact, his role as a teacher in various new-method schools was his most important contribution to the pre-revolutionary era. In addition, Bečka said that Aini himself noted himself that “under the Emirate in Bukhara he was unable to produce anything of value and only the revolution had made him a writer.”¹⁶⁸ Aini, however, conceded that despite the failings of many Jadid efforts, they were under the oppression of the Emir, even while they paid service to him.¹⁶⁹

Scholar Edward Allworth takes a rare dive into the intellectual milieu of Sadriddin Aini, describing how even this Soviet luminary was subject to censorship in the 1920s. Allworth writes that Aini’s book, *Materials for a Revolutionary History of Bukhara*, written while Aini was in hiding in Samarkand in the early 1920s, was criticized for its ideological defects. Thus, when the first volume of the book was published in 1963, an entire chapter was omitted entitled “The Composition of the Jadid or the Young Bukharan Party and the Unwritten Program.” Other publishing houses acted similarly towards some of Aini’s works published amidst the peak of the Jadid movement. Edward Allworth, in his article “Suppressed Histories of the Jadids in Turkistan and Bukhara,”

¹⁶⁸ Bečka, “Tajik Literature from the 16th Century to the Present,” 535.

¹⁶⁹ Bečka, *Sadriddin Ayni: Father of Modern Tajik Culture*, 19.

published a translation of this extremely rare omitted chapter from Aini's *Materials for a Revolutionary History of Bukhara*.¹⁷⁰

From this published translation we can glean some precious information about the formation of the Jadids and Aini's early Jadid sympathies. Aini writes that after the new schools opened, and the ulema put up such a large fight against them, the sound minded people and clear thinkers grew closer together and began to form a special society. Aini then went on in this chapter to outline the goals of the society. When Aini writes of the Jadids, and includes himself as a member, he says they worked for ending the lack of knowledge and ideas in the population, struggling with the ulema according to this purpose, and that that the *madrassas* needed reform as well since they were the foundation of the ulema's knowledge. An attack on ignorance and misinformation would help to reveal the tyranny of the government and to defend the poor and rural inhabitants who faced the largest brunt of the government's despotism. In addition, they sought to educate the public about the finances of the state – in reality, the state money was the public's money, not only for the Emir to squander. Furthermore, they actively return to commonly accepted customs such as *toy* (the circumcision celebration) or *'aza* (mourning rites) instead of superstitions and extravagance, as well as promoting the end of sectarian conflicts and prejudices.¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ Edward Allworth, "Suppressed Histories of the Jadids in Turkistan and Bukhara," in *Turkestan als historischer Faktor und politische Idee*, ed. [Erling von Mende](#) (1998), 34.

¹⁷¹ Allworth, "Suppressed Histories of the Jadids," 35-36.

Aini continues in this chapter to note the successes of the Jadid work, in stark opposition to his musings that the Jadids were never able to accomplish anything, and had no support among their people.¹⁷² In fact, Aini states in his later autobiographical work, *Pages from My Own Story* (1940):

They spoke Turkish not only when speaking to each other but also in their speeches to the inhabitants of Bukhara, the majority of whom did not even know the Uzbek language. [...] They had not formally carried on any sort of propaganda for reforms amongst the towns people or the villagers nor were they able to begin it after February [Revolution of 1917]. They did not even have a program. The only thing they did do with their endless talk about reforms was to collect a mob of people around them and call that mob a "secret society."¹⁷³

He also states in his book *Dokhunda* that the Jadids largely failed to even make serious attempts at reform.¹⁷⁴ However, in the chapter that Allworth has translated, he seems to have many positive and optimistic things to say concerning the Jadids, of which at this time he is clearly a part. Indeed, Aini was writing out their program in the chapter Allworth has translated. Aini notes that on account of the youths' (Jadids') great efforts the reason for all the corruption and problems in his society have been made clear. According to Aini, this corruption was based on the "rivalry of generals," fanaticism, and corruption of government causing so many problems. Thus many types of intellectuals, according to Aini, came together to make the goal of *jihad* against "tyranny, corruption, intrigue, ignorance and fanaticism." The new-method school was the

¹⁷² Aini, *Pages from My Own Story*, 91.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Bečka, *Sadriddin Ayni: Father of Modern Tajik Culture*, 18-9.

true glue that held them together, Aini continued.¹⁷⁵ Edward Allworth goes on to make a note that, indeed, Aini was the leader of this group at this time, although later Fitrat would become the certain leader of the Jadids.¹⁷⁶

Aini returns to practicality later in the chapter, noting certain conditions that halted the abilities of the Jadids; however, unlike in previously cited instances in which he claims the Jadids were not doing enough to further their own reforms, here he notes the circumstances delaying reforms. He notes that even though people's minds were being widened and enlightened, the most that could be done was to spread their word through newspapers and word of mouth, on account of the *qushbegi's* fear of the ulema. This, Aini says, made it "impossible to do a single thing in a period like that."¹⁷⁷ Moreover, Aini appears to support the Emir in this earlier stage, but claims that he was led astray by many instigators, influencing him on political grounds. These instigators, and it is unclear who exactly they may be, would tell him that the New-Method schools could lead to the people demanding more freedoms and privileges from their government, which would exact more stress on the Emir.¹⁷⁸

A further extraordinary point revealed in this chapter was Aini's praise of 'Abdalrauf Fitrat, who he definitely disregards and marginalizes in later works, such as *Pages*. Aini writes positively of Fitrat's time spent completing his

¹⁷⁵ Aini's "The Composition of the Party of the Jadids or young Bukharans and the Unwritten Program" pub. in Allworth's "Suppressed Histories of the Jadids," 37.

¹⁷⁶ Allworth, "Suppressed Histories of the Jadids," 37.

¹⁷⁷ Aini's "The Composition of the Party of the Jadids or young Bukharans and the Unwritten Program" pub. in Allworth's "Suppressed Histories of the Jadids," 38.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 39.

education in Istanbul, and he notes the Fitrat “was considered the most gifted and erudite of the Bukharan students.”¹⁷⁹ Compare this to a passage in *Pages* where he writes: “After the February Revolution the reformist movement was headed by such Jadids as Fitrat and Usman Khoja who had been educated in Turkey and conducted Panturkic propaganda.”¹⁸⁰ Sadriddin Aini’s loyalties turned increasingly Soviet as he learned more about this Revolution; he became more antagonistic towards Fitrat’s Turkic influences. Aini became increasingly aware of the distinction of Tajik culture, and eventually, as Soviet nationalistic demarcations privileged a separate Tajik state, Aini too grew to take the side of Tajik pride and preference in this case.

AINI’S CRITICISM OF THE JADIDS

Aini organized a secret society to the exclusion of Fitrat and other more extreme reformers. Although at this stage in his life, Aini was heavily criticizing the work of the Jadids, he noted that in comparison, his secret society also “proved ineffective.”¹⁸¹ When his group came under closer scrutiny by the Emir, they had to increase the level of secrecy within which they operated. As activities leading

¹⁷⁹Aini’s “The Composition of the Party of the Jadids or young Bukharans and the Unwritten Program” pub. in Allworth’s “Suppressed Histories of the Jadids,” 38.

¹⁸⁰ Aini, *Pages from My Own Story*, 90. Osman Khoja was one of the other founders and important leaders in Jadids from the earliest years. See Adeeb Khalid’s “Osman Khoja and the beginnings of Jadidism in Bukhara,” in *Reform Movements and Revolutions in Turkistan (1900-1924): Studies in Honour of Osman Khoja*.

¹⁸¹ Aini, *Pages from My Own Story*, 91.

up to the February Revolution of 1917 increased, many in Aini's society saw little relevance left in the organization. Eventually this society disbanded, and many joined Fitrat and his group again. Aini claims that he continued to offer Fitrat ideas on how to get better results in their efforts for reform.¹⁸²

Aini had rising suspicions about the commitment of the Emir to promoting any kind of reforms in society. Aini claimed that the Emir was highly connected to the Russians and through various bribes and agreements; therefore, efforts at reform were pushed back over and over.¹⁸³ Aini tried to convince Fitrat and other Jadids that the Emir was not serious about reformist ideas. He claimed that he could not work with Fitrat and the Jadids anymore because of the great differences in the substance and approach of their reforms. For Aini, land tax reform was exceedingly important, while the Jadids still wanted to utilize the Emir and his power in their reforms, especially in education.¹⁸⁴

Muhammad-Sharifi Sadr-i Ziya, a companion of Aini, whose personal diary has been used in this thesis for its added perspective on Jadidism during this period, worked as the Chief Justice in Bukhara at this time (1917). Ziya came across documents that indicated the Emir was not sincere in his propositions for reform, and the Emir actually sought to persecute reformers instead. Ziya alerted Aini to this, showing him a secret letter from the *qushbegi*.¹⁸⁵ Aini passed on this information to other reformers; he noted with disdain, "The Jadidist leaders,

¹⁸² Aini, *Pages from My Own Story*, 92-93.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 90.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 93.

¹⁸⁵ Shakuri, Introduction to *The Personal History of Bukharan Intellectual*, 9.

however, would not listen to my advice and demands and made ready to express their gratitude to the Emir.”¹⁸⁶

AINI THE AUTHOR

Many sources and people have identified Aini with the establishment of a Tajik literary tradition, and his contribution to Soviet literature and Tajik literature is not lost on contemporary writers. Jiri Bečka writes as late as 1994 about Aini’s influence on modern Tajik writers, who utilized the “traditional style of Aini.”¹⁸⁷ He further notes that Aini’s knowledge of the history of the Tajik nation and factors important to their progress and hindrances to progress made Aini a successful writer. When he wrote historical works, Bečka continued, he framed the history progressively so that the Central Asians could see clearer the paths and actions that had brought them to their current state.¹⁸⁸

Scholar Keith Hitchins, in the *Encyclopedia Iranica* article on Aini, notes that “All of Aini’s works of fiction were, in a sense, studies of Tajik history and society, but he also investigates his people’s cultural development and ethnic character in numerous works of original scholarship.”¹⁸⁹ He believed in the authenticity and history of Tajik literature, naming both Rumi and Jami as its

¹⁸⁶ Aini, *Pages from My Own Story*, 97.

¹⁸⁷Jiri Bečka. “Literature and Men of Letters in Tajikistan.” *Journal of Turkish Studies* 18 (1994): 36.

¹⁸⁸ Bečka, “Tajik Literature from the 16th Century to the Present,” 562.

¹⁸⁹Keith Hitchins “Ayni, Sadr-al-Din,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Online Edition, December 15, 1987, <http://www.iranica.com/articles/ayni-sadr-al-din>.

early proponents. Hitchens, however, comes to a different conclusion about the point of Aini's works than the present author believes. He notes that, "Drawing upon diverse sources relating to the period 1900-18, he shows why and how revolution came to Central Asia."¹⁹⁰ Retroactively speaking, again, an author supports Aini's later claim that he had been for the Bolshevik and Soviet Revolution all along.

AINI IN THE POST-TSARIST ERA

Since most of the information we have for Sadriddin Aini is autobiographical and written during the Soviet era, much of what is written must be examined and utilized carefully. Furthermore, the secondary sources written about Aini also tend to be written in the Soviet era, making certain biases evident no matter where one looks. Aini, then, to fit in with his cultural surroundings and situation, often retrospectively analyzed his works as revolutionary. For example, in *Pages from My Own Story*, Aini notes that he had no involvement with the working class movement in Russia, and he says that had he known about the movement, he would not be toiling away for minor reforms.¹⁹¹ In addition, scholar Jiri Bečka contends, "When the threat posed by the clergy had been eliminated after the

¹⁹⁰ Hitchens, "Ayni, Sadr-al-Din," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

¹⁹¹ Aini, *Pages from My Own Story*, 87.

revolution, the endeavor of progressive individuals and patriots, such as Aini, spurred the rapid growth of secular education.”¹⁹²

As will be discussed further in Chapter Three, when the Emir announced plans for reforms in 1917, Aini was imprisoned and beaten after becoming involved with crowds reacting to the Emir’s announcement. He was beaten severely at this time, and flogged to near death (75 lashes.) After these beatings in Bukhara, he speaks more positively of the Soviet Revolution, saying that the revolutionary guards came to liberate everyone in prison. He notes that he was saved by the revolution from the oppression of the Emir.¹⁹³ He fled to Samarkand after that, but a group of mullahs decried his presence there, saying that an “infidel” should not be allowed in a city of Muslims. These same mullahs were soon ordered to protect Aini by the new revolutionary forces, and Aini remained in Samarkand until at least 1940.¹⁹⁴ Right away in 1918, Aini began teaching in a school for the Soviets, but the stress of this position was too much for Aini and he soon focused on his literary career, writing novels and newspaper articles.¹⁹⁵

After the establishment of the Bukharan People’s Soviet Republic (1920-1925), subsequently the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic beginning in 1924, which further broke down into a Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic in 1929, Aini’s main goal became to establish a definitive body of Tajik language, culture, and

¹⁹² Bečka, “Traditional Schools,” *Archiv Orientalni* 39: 3 (1971): 317.

¹⁹³ Aini, *Pages from My Own Story*, 108-9.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 112.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 115-6.

literature. Thus, for example, Bečka's fitting appellation for Aini in the title of his work, *Sadriddin Ayni: Father of Modern Tajik Culture*. While his fame lies in his literary works, he also advocated for use of Latin characters in the Tajik language to promote easier writing of the language. However, as he was over the age of fifty by the time he endeavored on this project, he continued to use the Arabic script in his writings for the rest of his career.¹⁹⁶

In 1926, Aini published *Namunayi adabiyoti tojik* in which he set about a clear defense of the distinctness and singularity of Tajik literature and culture, and he gave examples of Tajik literary examples throughout the ages.¹⁹⁷ In the 1930s the Union of Tajik Writers was founded and Aini was its first president till his death in 1954.¹⁹⁸ He continued working for the emergence and legitimization of Tajik literature and language through the rest of his career, and continued his focus on the efforts of the Soviet party in this regard. He is most remembered for his contributions to the establishment of the dominance of Tajik language in society and its proliferation as a serious literary language.

¹⁹⁶ Bečka, *Sadriddin Ayni: Father of Modern Tajik Culture*, 82. Tajik was written in the Persian alphabet through the 1920s, briefly switched to the Latin alphabet in the 1930s, and has been written in the Cyrillic alphabet since the late 1930s. There is a current debate as to whether Tajik will return to the Persian alphabet soon to reconnect with the larger Persianate world.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 26.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 27.

CHAPTER THREE: FITRAT AND AINI IN COMPARISON

In this piece, the lives and works of ‘Abdalrauf Fitrat and Sadriddin Aini have been presented in order to provide the reader with an overview of their personalities and contexts in a singular location. In this chapter, the relationship between the two reformists and authors will be closely examined in a twofold fashion. First, Aini’s perceptions of Fitrat, will be presented, which are numerous and varied. Then, a review of their relationship by scholars of Central Asia will be discussed, especially focusing on the works of Adeeb Khalid and Jiri Bečka, among others. It is hoped that through this analysis, a new dynamic concerning Jadidism in Central Asia will be observed. In this manner, it is hoped to further expand the multiplicity of meanings inherent in the term “Jadid” by examining two of its leading figures in a critical light.

AINI’S PERSPECTIVES ON FITRAT

As far as the present author has found, Fitrat does not specifically mention Aini in his works, however, Aini has extensively written about Fitrat and the Jadids in his own works. As has been shown, the relationship between ‘Abdalrauf Fitrat and Sadriddin Aini as Jadid reformers is difficult to ascertain. Furthermore, the perspective of Aini concerning Fitrat’s involvement with new-method schools and other reformist efforts is particularly perplexing. In some instances,

especially earlier in his career, Aini commends the work that Fitrat does, and he considers Fitrat an ally. However, as the Soviet presence takes societal precedence, Aini distances himself from the Jadids' movement, critiquing Fitrat and his ideologues. Aini reverses his previous dedications in order to fit into the political environment of the time. In the following passages we will track Aini's development through his own phases of Jadid sympathy and participation as well as disillusionment and critique.

In a previously omitted and thus highly censored section of Aini's *Materials for a Revolutionary History of Bukhara*¹⁹⁹, Aini writes that Fitrat was "considered the most gifted and erudite of the Bukharan students" before his travels to Istanbul to study.²⁰⁰ Aini further commented, surprisingly, that Fitrat contributed to the modernization of *Tajik* with his style of prose. Through the work of Fitrat, Aini continues, Tajik got a new form.²⁰¹ In another instance, Aini reports that *Munazarah* was a popular and useful tool for reform; in fact, one teacher he knew distributed 150 copies of it alone.²⁰² Aini has also commented on Fitrat's highly effective writing style, and in *Examples of Tajik Literature*

¹⁹⁹ Allworth provides a translation of a rare and censored chapter of Aini's *Materials for a Revolutionary History of Bukhara* (1920-21) in his contribution to the work *Turkestan: als historischer Faktor und politische Idee* called "Suppressed Histories of the Jadids." This translation is on pp. 35-39 of the article.

²⁰⁰ Aini's "The Composition of the Party of the Jadids or young Bukharans and the Unwritten Program" pub. in Allworth's "Suppressed Histories of the Jadids," 38.

²⁰¹ Qtd. in Khan, *Muslim Reformist Political Thought*, 118. From Sadriddin Aini, *Namuna-I Adabiat-I Tajiki*, Moscow 1926 (531).

²⁰² Qtd. in Khan, *Muslim Reformist Political Thought*, 119.

(*Namunai adabiyoti Tojik*)²⁰³ he upholds the value of *Tales of an Indian Traveler* and *Munazarah* as reformist works perpetuating education and modernist thought.²⁰⁴

There were two general groups of reformists in this society; there were more traditional figures concerned with limited smaller scale reforms and more radical reformers who had organized themselves into the party of Young Bukharans in 1916.²⁰⁵ Often, however, Aini mentioned that Fitrat was one of the reformers who simply did not do enough for the reforms of society, even while he was a part of the Young Bukharans and many large-scale demonstrations for reforms.

When the Emir was set to announce new reforms on April 7, 1917, there was a divide among the Jadids as to whether they should publicly show support for the reforms. Aini was part of only a small group of Jadids who resisted publicly supporting the reforms; in their opinion, the reforms announced were baseless. Fitrat, on the other hand, wanted to publically support the reforms in order to publicize the reforms and force more accountability on the Emir. Fitrat and his colleagues managed to convince many more Jadids to support the reforms publically.²⁰⁶ The ulema, in this situation, saw a chance for their power to increase, as they told the masses of people the reforms had not been given to them for approval first because the Emir knew it contained anti-religious

²⁰³ This book is now out in a new edition that was unavailable to the author at the time of writing: *Namunai adabiyoti Tojik: Best examples of Tajik literature*. Dushanbe: Adib, 2010, in Tajik.

²⁰⁴ Karimov, "Islam and Politics," 185.

²⁰⁵ Carrère d'Encausse, *Réforme et révolution*, 197.

²⁰⁶ Seymour Becker. *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia*, 246.

working. The ulema in this case worked with the confusion of the general public on their side and organized a counter attack on the Jadids coming out to support the Emir.²⁰⁷ After the riots and demonstrations following the announcement of the reforms, many Jadids were arrested for their actions. Interestingly, even for Aini's refusal to be a part of the public response, he was arrested and severely beaten after this incident, while Fitrat apparently was not.²⁰⁸

Edward Allworth relates Aini and Fitrat as both being "Reformists" (Jadids) when he notes that "The Reformists (Jadids) of Central Asia, nearly all pious men like 'Abdalrauf Fitrat, sought to encourage in their communities and state a faith devoid of fantasy, ignorance, and superstition;" therefore, the ulema considered the Jadids unbelievers and denounced them.²⁰⁹ Interestingly, however, Allworth sources *Materials for a Revolutionary History of Bukhara* written by Sadriddin Aini for this information, indicating that the Jadids, including Fitrat and Aini, were together in both their vilification by the ulema and in their piety.

OTHER SCHOLARS REFLECT ON THEIR RELATIONSHIP

In addition, many scholars, both the reformers' contemporaries and those of the subsequent generations, have left their own mark on the biographies of 'Abdalrauf Fitrat and Sadriddin Aini. Through their accounts, the perception

²⁰⁷Carrère d'Encausse, *Réforme et révolution*, 204-207.

²⁰⁸Ibid., 208.

²⁰⁹ Allworth, *Evading reality: The Devices of Abdalrauf Fitrat*, 55.

that Jadidism was a singular body of knowledge has largely been upheld. There are very few accounts presenting thorough and well-researched perspectives on Central Asian Jadidism in accounts of Central Asian society and culture under Tsarist Russia. There are fewer still of these accounts mentioning specific key proponents of reform. When the Jadids are mentioned, they are usually referred to as one group with singular ideas and methods. In the case of Fitrat and Aini, who have hitherto been shown to have at times a strong distaste for each other or each other's methods, this is still true. After a careful combing of works and research on this topic, it can be seen that the overwhelming perspective of Jadidism is a largely singular view of their univocality, contrary to the complex relationship between them that has been shown. In addition, many works seem to favor certain reformists' perspectives as more correct, or more in line with the *true* Jadid message. The privileging of certain perspectives secures their dominance, thus dismissing the multiplicity of approaches to reforms and styles.

For example, in his introduction to *Personal History of a Bukharan Intellectual*, Muhammadjon Shakuri privileges Aini's perspective when he comments that writers such as Fitrat viewed the events of their time critically, but figures such as Ziya and Aini "did not only use the color black" to describe the events and history of their homeland. He continued that Ziya, as well as Aini, took pride in their homeland and viewed it as a place of great scholarship and honor. The author implicitly states that while Aini and Ziya held critical yet

optimistic views of their homeland, Fitrat was wholly critical.²¹⁰ As it was demonstrated in Chapter 1, one of Fitrat's motivations, in fact, was to return to the greater points in Bukharan history of Islamic prominence. These eras, when Bukhara was a shining place in the Islamic world and within the scientific community, are remembered with fondness for Fitrat. While he does criticize the traditions of his own time, his criticism is not at the expense of the times that came before. Earlier in the introduction to *The Personal History of a Bukharan Intellectual*, Shakuri notes that both Aini and Fitrat played chief roles in examining and scrutinizing their contemporary realities; according to this author they both "cast light on the social realities of their time."²¹¹ This perplexing view of the two reformers is revealing for its broader implications in the perceptions of the reformers; it embodies the ambiguity of the relationship between these authors.

Czech scholar Jiri Bečka has been incredibly helpful in his elucidation of the works of Aini, as well as Aini's contribution to Jadid reformers in education and Tajik literature. In addition, he has spent some time describing the works of Fitrat and other Jadid reformers comparatively. Bečka has had differing responses to the work of Aini and other Jadids, but much of what he has written has been through a Soviet lens. For example, he writes concerning the Jadids in *Sadriddin Ayni: Father of Modern Tajik Culture*, "Some of the Jadids became

²¹⁰ Shakuri, Introduction to *The Personal History of Bukharan Intellectual*, 26.

²¹¹ Ibid., 19.

outstanding agents in the political and cultural Soviet construction. Thus also Aini was a Jadid, at first, but he never professed Pan-Turkism."²¹² Bečka, in this Soviet inspired piece, makes a distinction between seemingly more appropriate non Pan-Turk, pro-Soviet Jadids and those who continued with Pan-Turk leanings.

While Jiri Bečka usually saves his accolades for the works of Sadriddin Aini, in his article entitled "Traditional Schools in the Works of Sadriddin Ayni and Other Writers of Central Asia," he mentions that both Aini and Fitrat are particularly useful in explicating the educational systems.²¹³ He also writes that Aini and Fitrat share common values concerning education and he uses both *Munazarah* and various works from Aini to support this claim.²¹⁴ Bečka also speaks of the prose and the didactic works of Aini and Fitrat, saying they "both criticized and suggested the institution of reforms."²¹⁵

Turkish scholar Halim Kara ascribes to the Jadids a great deal of power in society, noting that the "reformist movement influenced every aspect of Central Asian intellectual life, including literature."²¹⁶ Kara identifies the Jadids as one group, devoted to modernism and the use of literature as the main tool that would guide their community towards reform. While Aini and Fitrat were both heavily involved with the literary milieu, they were not necessarily involved in a

²¹² Bečka, *Sadriddin Ayni: Father of Modern Tajik Culture*, 19.

²¹³ Bečka, "Traditional Schools," *Archiv Orientalni* 39: 3 (1971): 286, 289.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 313.

²¹⁵ Bečka "Traditional Schools," *Archiv Orientalni*. 40: 2 (1972): 160.

²¹⁶ Kara, "Reclaiming National Literary Heritage," 125.

solitary one. Kara, in contrast with the perspective of Aini, supports the prominence of Jadidism in Central Asian society at their time; he gives both writers eminence that Aini does not confer to any of the Jadids, not even to himself.

AINI THE TAJIK, FITRAT THE UZBEK?

Traditionally, Sadriddin Aini has been touted as the champion of Tajik literature, while Fitrat is usually associated with Uzbek literature; however, these roles have occasionally been muddled. Fitrat was often accused of promoting Uzbek nationalism because he defended views on Central Asia's literary identity as more Turkic,²¹⁷ yet Aini was praised and honored for his exclusive promotion of a Tajik nationalist literature. In *History of Iranian Literature*, Jiri Bečka writes that Aini did not become a Tajik "chauvinist," but he still used Uzbek at times. Bečka furthers this by saying that Aini significantly contributed to the gamut of Uzbek literature.²¹⁸ In another source, *Sadriddin Ayni: Father of Modern Tajik Culture*, Bečka noted that Tajik literature was lacking in prose, but Fitrat's *Tales of an Indian Traveler* indicated a new presence and style in Tajik prose.²¹⁹ However, a few pages later, Bečka differentiates the work of Aini and Fitrat. He writes that Aini used an older, more favorable style of interspersing text and poetic lines

²¹⁷ Khan, *Muslim Reformist Political Thought*, 121.

²¹⁸ Bečka, "Tajik Literature from the 16th Century to the Present," 561.

²¹⁹ Bečka, *Sadriddin Ayni: Father of Modern Tajik Culture*, 44.

similar to that of classical writers, while other attempts at this style had been “rather clumsy” in works such as *Munazarah* and *Tales of an Indian Traveller*.²²⁰ In another work citing the distinctions between Aini and Fitrat’s usage of Tajik or Uzbek, Paul Bergne’s *Birth of Tajikistan* portrays a scattered image of Fitrat. A book with a title as encompassing as “Birth of Tajikistan” would need to include information on the Jadids, as vital as they were to the intellectual and linguistic growth of the new nation. Bergne’s treatment of both Aini and Fitrat, however, is hard to follow. He writes that Aini saw Fitrat as the founder of *Tajik* literature, and that he was one of the leading writers in that field. He also noted that Fitrat developed a simple classical style, which qualified him to be considered the founder of Tajik literature, in opposition to what we have seen to be the case.²²¹

Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, a noted French scholar on Russia and Central Asia, wrote one of the seminal works on Jadidism in Central Asia entitled *Réforme et révolution chez les musulmans de l'Empire russe; Bukhara 1867-1924*. She mentions both Aini and Fitrat often in her work, both as singular figures and in connection with each other. She notes that Aini and Fitrat were both men of humble means, and together they represented the needs of their society at that time, especially in the period 1910-14.²²² In this work, D'Encausse maintains that Fitrat went farther than other Jadids because he advocated for a true and fundamental change in the social order. In this instance, Fitrat is viewed as

²²⁰ Bečka, *Sadriddin Ayni: Father of Modern Tajik Culture*, 63.

²²¹ Paul Bergne, *The Birth of Tajikistan* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 139n10.

²²² Carrère d'Encausse, *Réforme et révolution*, 155.

having no enemies among the Jadids. Thus, even though Aini had a markedly different destiny (and a more positive one, at that) than Fitrat with the Soviets, it was Fitrat that was able to elucidate in his works the realities of life within the Emirate.²²³ Indeed, Fitrat had rapidly become known as the ideologue of the movement, and his societal clout had increased rapidly between the years 1909-1914.²²⁴

Artistically and pedagogically, Aini and Fitrat differed as well. Aini much preferred literature and learning beautiful poetry, whereas Fitrat was more practical.²²⁵ Fitrat wondered about the applicability of teaching children poetry and literature that had no modern equivalents, and to him, no real relevance or value in the modern age.²²⁶ Aini insisted on the aesthetic value of poetry and learning was still important, as indicated from his early leanings and appreciation of poetry. These literary styles are another instance of the variability of the Jadids and the differences in approach and style of these figures.

²²³ Carrère d'Encausse, *Réforme et révolution*, 178.

²²⁴ Ibid., 165.

²²⁵ Aini, *Pages from My Own Story*, 74.

²²⁶ Khalid, *Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, 171.

THE LEGACIES OF AINI AND FITRAT

From 1971 to 1980 the *Ozbek sovet entsiklopediayasi (Uzbek Soviet Encyclopedia)*²²⁷ published 14 volumes on all facets of Soviet life and history, primarily related to the Republic of Uzbekistan. Articles were published concerning Fitrat's work that decreed his works produced during the Soviet period to be contradictory, exhibiting "bourgeois nationalist ideals." Thus, at that time, the political situation was still too tense for the "Uzbek literary intelligentsia to reconcile the lives and writings of Fitrat [...] with the requirements of Soviet literary policy of the time."²²⁸

During the period of *glasnost* (a policy of openness and transparency in the Soviet government), even, the Jadids were still considered politically sensitive and their works were censored during this period. In October 1986, the Uzbek Writers' Union was summoned to study the writings of Fitrat. This group made contradictory reports, stressing on the one hand that certain works of Fitrat were socialist and pro-Soviet in topic and style, while noting on the other hand that Fitrat had made significant ideological errors, especially concerning the development of the new Soviet ethno-nationalist cultures. After this criticism by the committee, however, the committee conceded that Fitrat had really been

²²⁷ The *Uzbek Soviet Encyclopedia* is one of many republic-specific encyclopedias published by official government parties. The most well known of these encyclopedias is the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, which was issued by the Soviets from 1926-1990 and resissued beginning in 2002 as the *Great Russian Encyclopedia*.

²²⁸ Kara, "Reclaiming National Literary Heritage," 128.

more socialist than not, posthumously correcting for his works. Subsequently, many of Fitrat's works were republished, albeit still censored; Halim Kara writes concerning these reissues that the works selected "were uncontroversial works that aimed to propagate socialist and atheistic notions among Central Asian people and that were written under the pressure of the Bolshevik government in the 1920s and 1930s."²²⁹ Scholar Jiri Bečka writes that in 1988, Jadidism and its supporters were exonerated in Tashkent. The magazine *Sadoi Sharq* published a work in 1990 equating Jadidism with enlightenment and that Soviet Tajik literature had only been made possible by the precedents left by Jadid writings.²³⁰

The trend of posthumously rectifying anti-Soviet remarks and writings was not exclusive to this committee or to 'Abdalrauf Fitrat. Many individual literary figures of that time claimed about Fitrat that some Jadids simply did not understand Marx or Lenin well enough, and if they have they would have written more cohesive arguments and been better Soviets. Indeed, "The critics essentially ignored the blatantly anti-Russian, anti-socialist and nationalist sentiments in [...] Fitrat's writings."²³¹

Aini, on the other hand, largely thrived in the post-revolutionary world, going on to publish many works, often criticizing his former colleagues and reformist ideas, and he was elected as a leader of many Soviet organizations and

²²⁹ Kara, "Reclaiming National Literary Heritage," 128-9.

²³⁰ Jiri Bečka. "Literature and Men of Letters in Tajikistan," 28.

²³¹ Kara "Reclaiming National Literary Heritage," 131.

academies, including the Tajik Academy of Sciences. Whereas Fitrat died at the hands of the Soviets during the intellectual purges of Stalin, Aini continued to serve the Soviets in a leadership capacity for more than two decades after Fitrat's death.

Overall, one can say that one of the leading distinctions between Aini and Fitrat is that Aini actively tried to distance himself from the Jadid movement during the immediate post-revolutionary period as well as throughout his tenure working for the Soviet government. Fitrat did not renege on his previous commitments; instead, others wished to distance Fitrat from his work posthumously.

Nonetheless, both figures have been the brunt of misrepresentation historically. At times, the methods and ideas of one have been privileged over those of the other. Rarely are the diverse characteristics of the Jadids taken into account, and it is to this aim this thesis has striven.

CONCLUSION

Although this piece focuses on Islamic reform in Central Asia of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the collapse of Tsarist Russia, the transition into and out of Soviet rule on the ideas and lasting impressions of the Jadids is still highly intriguing and worthy of a succinct exploration here.

Fitrat has received many different treatments throughout Jadid, Uzbek, and Soviet history. In Jadid circles, he was usually revered as the ideological leader of the movement, even to outsiders. For many, he helped found an Uzbek literary tradition, although some others believe that Aini was responsible for this instead. At times, the Soviets chose statements from his works which seemed to fall into line with the official doctrines while disregarding the far more copious examples of his criticisms of the failings of the Soviet state or Central Asian culture. In the post-Soviet era, Fitrat was then uplifted as an exemplar of Uzbek heritage through the convenient avoidance of his works in Persian or dependence on the rich Islamic traditions of Central Asia that transcend modern nationalistic lines.

In the years following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, there were certainly many efforts to create national heroes and legacies to establish national independence, both as a political and cultural reality. This has affected our ability, today, to process the histories of many figures and events of this time. Uzbek officials re-examined and studied the cultural and literary heritage of

Uzbekistan, which have been considered some of the first public critiques of Soviet tyranny.²³² Many scholars have now conceded that during the Soviet era, writers could not have and did not properly report on the reality of life, and thus they were often deceptive in their writings.²³³ Aini and Fitrat both of course continued to write during the Soviet era, and their works have most often been critiqued considering the degree of their subscription to the Soviet message.

Even now, post-Soviet Uzbek literature has praised the lack of socialist elements in the works of Fitrat.²³⁴ In both conditions, during the Soviet era and afterwards, one often seeks to idealize the ideological and cultural values that are desired in the image of a society by those who seek control over that image.

Thus,

The Soviet custom of exaggerating a person's 'good' or 'bad' qualities has remained in Uzbekistan, and has been employed both against and in favor of [...] Fitrat over the years. [...] Since the middle of 1990, however, they have been 'idealized' and 'deified' on the basis of Uzbek national literary heritage.²³⁵

Aini enjoyed a different fate than Fitrat in his life, death, and legacy because of his commitment to the Soviet party. Although all elements of his life and works have not been preserved in Soviet historiography, we can thank his relationship with the Soviet government for a thorough catalogue and many publications of his works nonetheless. In Dushanbe there is even a "Sadridin

²³² Kara, "Reclaiming National Literary Heritage," 133.

²³³ Ibid., 136.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Ibid.

Aini Square,” where a statue of Sadriddin Aini stands, erected in 1978, and depicts Aini surrounded by all of the characters in his books.

Both Aini and Fitrat are remembered chiefly in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, respectively, for their contribution to literature, and they are not usually remembered for their contribution to Islamic reform. However, the accuracy of their portrayals has been skewed by the ideologies of their historians. Therefore, their specificity has been lost in many accounts of Jadidism. Each reformer has not only made his contribution to the literary milieu of his era, but also to the ideals and standards of what it meant to be a Muslim at that time.

This thesis fits in with other recent scholarship on Jadidism and specific reformers. It is hoped that as we enter the third decade since the collapse of the Soviet Union, increased access to archives and information will make scholarship concerning this era more accessible and clear. However, there are some other works that have dealt with the reformers spotlighted in this thesis, especially Edward Allworth’s *The Preoccupations of Abdalrauf Fitrat, Bukharan Nonconformist* and Jiri Bečka’s publications on the works of Sadriddin Aini. Other works have examined some of the ideas of Jadid reformers, their goals, and methods, such as Adeeb Khalid’s *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform* and his numerous other articles. Building upon these models, in this piece a comparative study has been undertaken to examine two figures that have often been classified together as Jadids, although they have often held conflicting views on reform in their own writings.

The comparative aspect of this paper adds another dimension to the works of Devin DeWeese, Adeeb Khalid, and Edward Allworth, scholars who have all shown a commitment to interpreting Islam in Central Asia critically and thoroughly. Their commitment stems from a rejection of the more commonly used historical approaches in this field of area studies and Sovietology; instead, they utilize a greater critical analysis of Islam as the chief mode of understanding the region. This thesis has aimed to illuminate a sense of Muslim identity essential for understanding the reform efforts in Bukhara at this time in concert with other critical analyses.

This thesis has utilized a variety of sources to address issues of Islamic reform in Central Asia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many of the literary works of Aini and Fitrat are available in their original languages and a number of them are in English translations. Persian primary texts, English and French translations of primary texts and secondary analyses have all been used in collaboration to produce this work. It is hoped that this work may be joined and catalogued with other similar works to provide future scholars with a better starting point for future studies. Topics of further study may include a greater representation of Jadid reformers, also held in a comparative light, or studies involving the evolution of Islam during the Soviet era and how ideas of the Jadids were incorporated into Islam during that time.

The examination of the works of Sadriddin Aini and 'Abdalrauf Fitrat highlights their similarities and differences. Traditionally the Islamic reform

movement of this time had been considered a singular effort towards reform, with a cohesive body of reformers and subscribers. In fact, this group was quite complex – the Jadids came from various backgrounds and promoted different goals, offering distinctive approaches in attaining their goals. As our resources and access to information concerning the pre-Soviet and Soviet era increase, an understanding of the Jadids' force and mission in society will become clearer and richer.

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