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**The essence of *Jadidism* in Turkestan. In search of *anti-colonialism* and
liberation in the Jadid literature**

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Abstract

Jadidism and the Jadid literature have been subject to various interpretations by the western and nativist scholars. The Jadid literature is often perceived as anti-colonial resistance literature that aimed at liberating Turkestan from the Russian domination. This thesis would argue that overstating the Jadids' role and contribution, crediting Jadid literature as anti-colonial resistance/liberation literature should not invent a 'liberation movement' which was not there. Instead, the thesis proposes to deconstruct Jadidism by analyzing the literary works of Makhmudkhoja Behbudi (1875-1919), Abdulla Avloni (1878-1934), Hamza Hakimzoda Niyoz (1889-1929), Abdurauf Fitrat (1886-1938), Abdulla Qodiri (1894-1938) and Abdulhamid Sulaymon og'li Cho'lpon (1897-1938) on individual basis. The author analyzed and summarized the mainstream literature and the publication works of the six Jadid thinkers in search of anticolonial resistance, liberation narratives. The analysis showed that only Fitrat and Cho'lpon's certain literary and publication works manifested anti-colonial, liberation narratives. This has been achieved through thematic groupings of the Jadid works about Islam, different social issues, and the class and gender struggle. The content-based analysis has been chosen together with simplistic, minimalist interpretation to avoid generalization and exaggeration concerning the Jadid literature and Jadidism. The author chose to work with text in the domain of classical history to provide freedom to a reader to decide on the essence of Jadidism in Turkestan.

Key words: anti-colonialism, liberation, independence, Jadids, Jadidism, Jadid literature, traditional Islam, social ills, reform, revolution, gender, class, Turkestan.

Introduction

The Muslim intellectual movement which is categorized as Jadidism in the history of Central Asia has received great interest from scholars studying Tsarist and Soviet periods. As different perspectives evolve around the debate on Jadid's role and influence in society, the depth and complexity of analysis can only bring diverse points of views regarding the 'movement' and what it represented at certain periods of history. It is paradoxical to refer to Jadidism in Central Asia as a movement as Muslim intellectuals were not an organized group. It was far from organized, indeed scattered and apolitical, bearing the aspects of criticism through the literature primarily against the state. Jadids were not politicians as they spoke to Muslim society in order to achieve cultural change while the secular intellectuals, who had Russian (sometimes even a European) education, spoke to the Russian state and Russian society in order to achieve political change to assume positions of leadership (Khalid, 1998, p.106,107). The end of 19th century marks the beginning of Jadidism in Turkestan. The last Jadid representatives perished during the Stalinist purge in 1930s.

Jadids were primarily a young generation who radically criticized the established social order and values in it. The Jadids came from various backgrounds; a commitment to change and a possession of cultural capital were the things they had in common. Their sense of cohesion came from their shared vision of the future as well as their participation in common activities and enterprises (Khalid, 1998, p.103). In Uzbekistan Jadid literature is included in *Milliy Uyg'onish adabiyoti* (Literature of National Awakening). The term Jadidism itself became a product of history that created an illusion of unified or at least a group of likeminded educated youth who manifested their protest through their works, new method schools, publication work and social engagement. Their quest for cultural change was not quite popular and retained limited followers and readership. This in mind, literary works of the Jadids is an area which remains still confined to the following interpretations:

- Illiteracy and incompatibility of the existing education system, and it being the main reason for the region's backwardness
- Corruption of the religious clergy and the ruling elites; the 'old' halting the development and progress of the 'new'
- Anti-colonial sentiments calling for resistance, liberation and awakening of the nation

It is true that the origins of Jadidism owed much to the Tsarist rule in Central Asia. Changes they propagated were inspired by the European advancement through Russian colonization that served as a window. Europe remained the benchmark of modernity and civilization, even if the models of progress came to Central Asia from the Ottoman Empire (Khalid, 2015, p. 180). In his *Milliy*

Uyg'onish: Jasorat, Ma'rifat, Fidoyilik (National Awakening: Courage, Knowledge and Dedication) Begali Qosimov refers to Ismail Gaspirinski and socio-political developments in Turkey while defining Jadidism in Turkestan. The movement known as Jadidism in the literature of Central Asia, was part of a wider Muslim cultural and political movement that developed in response to imperialism throughout the Muslim world (Kara, 2002, p. 124).

An attempt to treat Jadidism in Turkestan as a part of a wider movement has its own pitfalls. It usually leads to defining and understanding the Jadid literature within an anti-colonial liberation framework as the 'movement' itself. Tsarist Turkestan interacted with the outside world, primarily with the developing and developed countries through Russia and Turkey. This interaction especially developed through a supposed introduction of change instigated by the marginal youth who studied or/and travelled to other Muslim and European countries in pre-Soviet Turkestan. These youth no doubt associated itself with the progressive forward-thinking Muslims of the world. Educated abroad – preferably in Turkey, France, and America (the pan-Turk ideal and the appeal of liberal ideas were mingled in this programme) -this national intelligentsia, intensely Muslim, would be able progressively to penetrate the administrative apparatus of Russian power and, by so doing, to eliminate Russia from Turkestan(Carrère d'Encausse, 1988. p.104).

In order to challenge the conventional view that treats Jadid literature as an anti-colonial liberation literature, the author decided to search for anticolonial liberation narratives in the literary works of Makhmudkhoja Behbudi (1875-1919), Abdulla Avloni (1878-1934), Hamza Hakimzoda Niyozzi (1889-1929), Abdurauf Fitrat (1886-1938), Abdulla Qodiri (1894-1938) and Abdulhamid Sulaymon og'li Cho'lpon (1897-1938).

Behbudi and Avloni are both the older generation intellectuals compared to Fitrat, Cho'lpon, Qodiri and Hamza. Behbudi and Avloni were well-read intellectuals who opened their own new-method schools and created their own textbooks. Both were active in writing articles and published their own journal newspapers. Behbudi was one of the founders of Turkestan Autonomy and got involved in political affairs after 1917. In 1919 he was captured and executed, allegedly on the order of the Emir of Bukhara. Avloni did not write much after 1917. He became an ambassador to Afghanistan shortly after the Revolution of 1917 and received *Sotsialistik Mehnat Qahramoni* (Hero of Socialist Labour) title in 1927. He died in 1934 in Tashkent.

Hamza wrote number of textbooks, published his articles, and opened his own school and started teaching. He took up different positions related to education, theatre work, disseminating propaganda after the 1917 revolution. He was killed by a hostile public on one of his propaganda trips

to Shohimardon, Ferghana in 1929. Qodiri's path differs as the first Uzbek novelist who was primarily involved in criticizing bureaucrats, journalists, and even local leaders with the help of satire in journal *Mushtum*. Economic issues, the state of schools, conscription and many more issues were also discussed and assessed by Qodiri in his articles published after 1917. His criticism diminished after a short imprisonment due to his harsh criticism of local politicians in 1926. Qodiri, was jailed in 1937 as the people's enemy and was shot in 1938.

Fitrat and Cho'lpon are the most popular Jadid representatives who receive particular attention by the Jadid scholarship. Fitrat studied in Turkey and occupied a ministerial position in 1920s in Bukhara. He was involved in overall political situation in the Emirate of Bukhara when the Emir refused to give into the reform agenda of the young generation who called themselves *yosh buxoroliklar* (the Young Bukharians). His political career diminished to teaching and writing literature after the 1924 territorial delimitation and 'ideological front' that began in 1926. Cho'lpon was one of the youngest representatives of Jadidism in Turkestan. He was one of the supporters of Turkestan Autonomy and even wrote the poem *Ozod turk bayrami*, which became the march of Turkestan Autonomy. His political involvement is marginal while his literary heritage speaks louder, especially after increasing political pressure on him from 1927. Both Fitrat and Cho'lpon were shot in 1938.

That said, the works of six Jadid representatives would be looked upon as literary figures and intellectuals who created the literary works dedicated to different social issues along with marginal political activism that called for the liberation of the East through the Soviet anti-colonial rhetoric in the post-1917 era. The main argument of the thesis is that Jadid literature should not be always viewed as anti-colonial resistance literature; this distorts other social ills addressed and leads to the interpretation of those issues strictly within the anti-colonial framework in one or another way. On the one hand, it is imperative to comprehend that the extension of the division of 'old' and 'new' to analyse the literary works of Muslim reformists confines the interpretation to 'us' and 'them'. On the other hand, one discovers the Muslim inferiority the intellectuals conveyed through their characters in their dramas, short stories, and novels.

Jadid's desire for inclusion into the mainstream of imperial life and the abolition of the distinctiveness of native status explains the polemic character of the Jadids' critique (Khalid, 2015, p. 46-47). Jadids' critique of society reminds the 19th-century Europe where colonial domination of backward 'oriental' societies was justified and explained as a need to civilize the Muslim 'other'. When the progressive youth associated itself with the forward-thinking Muslims, they marginalized their position in the society they lived. They were neither with majority of the population, nor were

they with the proponents of old order. This partially explains why the Jadids referred to Turkestan Autonomy as *hurriyat* (freedom) and great victory, because their quest for power was fulfilled and their understanding of progress and modernization was supposed to happen within the Russian Empire. No matter how critical the Jadids were of European domination and atrocities in the colonies around the world, they indeed tried to incorporate European progress to modernize, and reform the backward society they originated. Therefore, it becomes controversial to treat the Jadid literature as anti-colonial resistance literature with the final goal of liberation.

The classical definition of colonialism is the economic, political, and cultural domination of one cultural-ethnic group by another (Omvedt, 1973, p.1). Anti-colonialism would mean the opposite of colonialism, namely, searching for anti-colonial narratives should be understood as an attempt to find explicit or implicit rhetoric calling to end the economic, political, and cultural domination of Russians in Turkestan. It is in this sense that the term anti-colonialism or anti-colonial resistance/liberation narratives is used. To be more precise, 'anti-colonial' should be mainly understood as anti-tsarist before the revolution of 1917 and anti-Soviet thereafter.

Anti-Soviet is very often interpreted as anti-colonial by many scholars to justify the Jadids' role as freedom fighters. However, that is subject to debate because *anti-Soviet and nationalist (millatchi)* were commonly used to badmouth and ultimately eliminate the Jadid intellectuals. The very fact that Turkestan Autonomy (*Turkiston Muxtoriyati*), was established in 1917 after the collapse of the Tsarist regime shows that the intellectuals were less separatist willing to attain the autonomy, the right to rule on their own territory. According to the western scholarship, there is always a final goal of liberation in the interpretations of Jadid literature, while for the nativist scholarship it is the independence which becomes a goal. Jadids are portrayed as liberals and democrats who were educated abroad and desired to see their nation in line with developed western countries. This said, local rhetoric of freedom fighters inside the country and its repetition in western scholarship through a limited analysis of certain Jadid works where anti-colonial remarks persist should not bring the generalized cliché and invent the resistance literature. Jadid individuals should be looked upon as intellectuals who changed with the time and environment in which they lived. The rhetoric of their publication and literary works should be the manifestation of their stance at a specific time under specific circumstances.

Often the most basic details of the intellectuals are difficult to establish with any certainty, but it is possible to trace the basic outlines of a collective biography (Khalid, 1998, p.95). If the basic outlines of a collective biographies cannot provide sufficient details to construct the personalities of

the Jadid thinkers, then the only thing left is to analyse the writings of the intellectuals. At the end, the writings of the Jadid intellectuals which have lived out their authors should receive its honest credit. On this very note, Jadidism will become what their authors produced, but not what the Soviet, western and the nativist scholars made of it. In the age of digital revolution, the history has stepped through different stages where information could be taken for granted and spun in any direction. In the hope to satisfy the thirst of those interested in Central Asia and Uzbek modern literature to understand Jadidism through the Jadid literature, the author designed this postgraduate thesis on the summaries of dramas, novels, stories, poems and the limited newspaper and journal articles published during the Tsarist and Soviet periods. The author tried to resort to the minimalist interpretation which could give a glimpse of a sketch, the plot of the plays, novels, and poems instead of providing personal interpretation of certain scholars or group of scholars. This way, the reader will get a chance to think about the plot that could be helpful to understand the individual stance of Jadid intellectuals. The limitation of this style is that the reader will not be able to transcend through the linguistic and cultural layers.

The structure of the master thesis

This master thesis begins with a literature review which includes Uzbek and western scholars' perception of Jadidism and the Jadids in Turkestan. Both sides have their own understanding of Jadidism. Some look at it as a part of a wider 'movement' while others try to underline the differences of Jadidism in Turkestan. Some scholars treat them as nationalists with fundamental and radical views regarding Islam or as heroes who longed for the liberation, independence of their homeland Turkestan. The Jadidism was not a movement in its purest sense which brings us to why Jadid thinkers did not have a specific program on socio-political and economic issues. Jadidism was decentralized and included like-minded intellectuals who addressed the social ills in the hope to enlighten the nation through education and progress, the press and the literature. The literature they wrote has been exposed to different interpretations by historians and literary critics.

Overstating the role of the Jadid intellectuals like Makhmudkhoja Behbudi (1875-1919), Abdulla Avloni (1878-1934), Hamza Hakimzoda Niyoz (1889-1929), Abdurauf Fitrat (1886-1938), Abdulla Qodiri (1894-1938) and Abdulhamid Sulaymon og'li Cho'lpon (1897-1938) in political and social issues in the early Soviet period, in the modernization and secularization of the nation and country does exist in both western and local academia. An individual approach to each author's literary heritage reveals a slightly different picture when it comes to *anti-colonialism* and the *liberation* narratives. Fitrat and Cho'lpon are the two Jadid representatives whose certain literary works (mainly

poems) contain implicit anti-colonial rhetoric. Avloni, Behbudi, Qodiri and Hamza seem not to have explicit/implicit anti-colonial liberation narratives.

The first chapter is about Jadid polemic against traditional Islam. It is related to how Jadids envisioned reforming Islam through the literature and publications where they pondered about/discussed Islam, Hadith and Sharia. One thing should be clear that a distorted understanding of the Jadid stance exists when it comes to Islam. It is argued that Jadids were Muslims with fundamentalist views. However, a clear Jadid agenda is not something that exists due to the nature of the reformist 'movement'. Individual representatives could have resorted to diverse opinions regarding Islam, traditions and customs and the vision of a secular society if they had one. Very often Jadidis are looked upon as the ones who pioneered the early Soviet development in Central Asia. Social hierarchy in Turkestan and the power struggle are usually overlooked when it comes to Jadid aspirations to reform and modernize society. People of older age were in power structures as old age was associated with wisdom and young cadres were supposed to work hard and follow the dictate of their fathers, whether they liked it or not. The Jadid literature shows that the intellectuals were more reformist in nature leaning towards the opposition and criticism of social issues before 1917.

In the first chapter I analyse the following Jadid literature in search of anti-colonialism and liberation: Abdulla Avloni's *Muxtasar Tarixi Anbiyo va Tarixi Islom* (Concise History of Prophets and Islam, 1913), *Turkiy Guliston yoxud Axloq* (Turkic Gulistan or Morality, 1913), poems with religious tone; Fitrat's *Muxtasar Islom Tarixi* (Concise History of Islam, 1915), *Munozara* (Debate between a Bukharan Mudarris and a European, 1911), *Sayyohi Hindi* (Tales of an Indian Traveller, 1912), *Rahbari Najot* (The Guide to Salvation, 1915), *Qiyomat* (The Judgement Day, 1923), *Shaytonnig Tangriga Isyoni* (Satan's Mutiny against God, 1924); Hamza and Qodiri's published articles regarding Islam and Muslims available online. Avloni wrote a history of Islam in Turkic and a book on morality backed by the Quran and Hadith. The reform and importance of Turkic is a good indicator to notice the patriotism and the nationalism in these works. Fitrat's ideas lean towards fundamental or better said nationalist Islam where Islam is put over other religions both on mercy and control. *Munozara* (Debate) is an epic example of Fitrat's position when he lived in Turkey. It is full of quotations from the Quran and Hadith. This work manifests how obsessed Fitrat was with scripture-based Islam and the criticism of culturally embedded Islam in Turkestan. According to him, the reason for the backwardness and the subjugation of Turkestan was straying from 'true' Islam. *Munozara* (Debate, 1911), *Sayyohi Hindi* (Tales of an Indian Traveller, 1912) and *Rahbari Najot* (The Guide to Salvation, 1915) show Fitrat's understanding of religion and his commitment to his belief. Fitrat opposed following the division to old and new and promoted unity which could rid people of useless traditions

and ultimately contribute to educate the illiterate. Hamza, Fitrat and Avloni decided to engage with Islam by producing works which were supposed to enlighten the nation. This changed after 1920: Fitrat turned godless in his own words through his *Qiyomat* (The Judgement Day, 1923) and *Shaytonning Tangriga Isyoni* (Satan's Mutiny against God, 1924), while Avloni's poetry containing Islam related 'issues' with the religious tone ended before 1917 and Hamza turned revolutionary with his works supporting the working class. Thus, labelling Jadids altogether as pan-Islamists and fundamentalists is controversial to their ambition of moving forward, modernizing rhetoric. The conservative aspect of fundamentalism does not match. Hamza, Fitrat and Avloni showed signs of Muslim inferiority as local population lagged behind the Jews and Armenians. The idea that liberation/independence and freedom were the ultimate goal in the Jadid literature is just a hollow thinking that is usually compromised through diverse interpretations and generalizations.

The second chapter contains three subchapters: the Jadid drama and theatre, the Jadid prose, and the Jadid poetry. The Jadid drama and theatre subchapter includes the analysis and summary of Behbudi's *Padarkush* (Patricide, 1911-13), Avloni's *Advokatlik Osonmi?* (Is it Easy to Become a Lawyer? 1914), *Biz va Siz* (We and You, 1923), Qodiri's *Juvonboz* (The Pederast, 1915), *Baxtsiz Kuyov* (The Unhappy Bridegroom, 1915), Hamza's *Zaharli hayot yoxud ish qurbonlari* (A poisoned life or victims of love, 1916). The inception of drama led to the beginning of the modern theatre in Turkestan. After the failure of attracting more readership through journals and newspapers, Jadids understood the vitality of the performance in conveying their message through theatre work. Qodiri thought theatre work did not prove its viability as the spectators were considering it as *masxarabozlik* (mockery). Avloni, Behbudi and Hamza were the pioneers on the other side. The first Uzbek drama *Padarkush* (Patricide, 1911-1913) is not only a play that shows the illiteracy of a young man who caused his own father's death, but also a play that shows social hierarchy and mentality through its characters. *Advokatlik Osonmi?* (Is it Easy to Become a Lawyer? 1914) develops an additional story line showing the struggles of a young lawyer who studied in Europe. The young lawyer's attempts to contribute to his nation's progress reveals tragic circumstances where illiteracy, distrust, corruption and the gap between the have and have-nots are the main obstacles. The very fact that the elites and the clergy were in agreement with the Russians to hold the ordinary people subjugated not only to the colonizer but to the clergy and the ruling class shows the reality in colonized Turkestan. *Padarkush* (Patricide, 1911-1913) and Qodiri's *Juvonboz* (The Pederast, 1915) raise the question of failed education of a spoiled child from a rich family who turned into a murderer at the end. *Padarkush* (Patricide) received a wide interest as it is the first Uzbek drama published in 1913. Edward A. Allworth and Helene Carrere d'Encausse underrated *Padarkush* with anti-colonial and liberation tone

that has overshadowed other points the work addressed. The problematic becomes the issue that the intellectuals and Behbudi specifically, are given different and overwhelmingly exaggerated roles by the western and local nativist scholars. Behbudi and Hamza understood the importance of learning Russian and other languages together with education abroad to succeed in the future. Hamza's nationalism took on the inferiority of locals as the Jews and Armenians were doing better with the help of Russian language. Suicide of the main characters in the Jadid dramas could be looked upon as a sign of projected failure of the Jadid agenda. The conflict between the old and young, generational misunderstandings, the danger of evading traditions, social inequality, hierarchy and mentality, distrust, clergy and the elite betrayal are the themes which could be fleshed out if Jadid dramas are analysed based on character representation (what they stand for) and minimalist and simplistic interpretation outside the anti-colonial framework.

In the Jadid prose subchapter I go through the summaries and analyses of Hamza's *Yangi Saodat* (New Happiness, 1914-15) and *Uchrashuv* (A date/meeting, 1914-15), Qodiri's *O'tgan kunlar* (Bygone days, 1926) and *Mehrobdan Chayon* (Scorpio from the Altar, 1928), and Cho'lpon's *Kecha va Kunduz* (Night and Day, 1936) novel and his short stories *Doxtur Muhammadyor* (Doctor Muhammadyor, 1914), *Novvoy qiz* (Baker girl, 1928), *Qor Qo'ynida Lola* (Tulip in the snow, 1923), *Oydin Kechalarda* (In moonlight nights, 1922). Hamza's *Yangi Saodat* (New Happiness 1914-1915), the first national novel contained very positive plot and happy ending. Most of the Jadid works are realistic, tragic, and sadly negative as they usually served to criticize existing social ills. *Yangi Saodat* (New Happiness, 1914-15) is a story about one well-known family's rise and fall. The fall is associated with ignorance and illiteracy while education and hard work brought happiness and well-being. The portrayal of traditional female characters who are wise and clever can be found in both Hamza's novels. Qodiri's *O'tgan kunlar* (Bygone days, 1926) and *Mehrobdan Chayon* (Scorpio from the Altar, 1928) are both historical novels which raise political, social, and economic issues in Turkestan. Cho'lpon's *Kecha va Kunduz* (Night and Day, 1936) novel was actually unique in its own way as the events took place between 1914 and 1917, meaning the plot was more contemporary than in Qodiri's novels where events took place in much earlier period. Also, Cho'lpon's novel has more points about Jadidism, anti-tsarist sentiments etc.

The Jadid poetry subchapter includes Avloni, Qodiri, Hamza, Fitrat and Cho'lpon's poems addressing different social issues. Anti-colonialism and the rhetoric of liberation are usually expressed implicitly through the rhetoric of resistance in some of Fitrat and Cho'lpon's poems. Qodiri had included a complex choice of social topics in his poems: illiteracy, *bachabozi* (child prostitution), drug use, the condemnation of a goodwill of the educated, patriotism, jealousy, envy and backstabbing

within his nation. Hamza's address to the motherland, a nation that was not willing to wake up to cure its ills showed his changing will towards the working class. Fitrat's poetry provides an indirect anti-colonial rhetoric which makes one believe that he was against foreign intrusion of any sort. Cho'lpon's poems contain the rhetoric of resistance through rhetorical questions. Avloni's poetry includes different topics ranging from *millat* (nation), *vatan* (homeland), *ilm* (knowledge), *maktab* (school) to Islam, praising God, *zakot* (Islamic tax), *ro'za* (fasting) etc.

The final third chapter is about the emancipation of the oppressed and the ideological resistance that aimed to confront Imperialist West (the capitalist world). This illusion of emancipating the colonized East was propagated by the Soviet Union in post-1917 Turkestan. Hamza's *Qozining sirlari* (Secrets of Qozi, 1921-27), *Boy ila Xizmatchi* (Master and Servant, 1918), *Jahon sarmoyasining eng oxirgi kunlari* (The last days of the world's capital, 1927), Fitrat's *Vose Qo'zg'oloni* (Vose's Rebellion, 1927), *Arslon* (1926), *Chin Sevish* (True love, 1920), *Hind Ixtilolchilari* (Indian Revolutionaries, 1921-1922) and Avloni's *Portug'oliya inqilobi* (Portuguese Revolution, 1921) are analyzed and summarized to avoid interpreting these works as anti-Soviet, like it is usually done by the nativist scholars these days. There is enough evidence to understand that the Jadids were attracted to the Communist ideology in general. However, their belief and hopes from the Soviet government changed over a course of events. Women, orphan children, and the poor i.e. oppressed majority were given the hope of building Communism and fulfilling their social duties. Avloni, for example, was quite conservative and understood the modernization on his own terms. Traditionalist inside, he condemned young men's drinking, gambling, hanging out with women all night long etc. To him, it was a mockery to which the young generation threw themselves by imitating the European dressing, drinking, gambling. Hamza and Behbudi were more pragmatic: they opened schools, tried to educate the poor and orphans for free with or without the help of the rich. Hamza thought that the reason for handicraftsmen to lose their jobs and turn into *mardikors* (day-labourers) was primarily due to illiteracy. People were becoming beggars as they lost their jobs, but some were beggars by profession. However, even their situation would be solved during the Soviet period eventually. Hamza and Qodiri had genuinely believed to solve the social ills with the help of the Soviet government and they showed it through their literary works. *Qozining sirlari* (Secrets of Qozi, 1921-27), *Boy ila Xizmatchi* (Master and Servant, 1918) are about the emancipation of women and social inequality and its consequences. Fitrat's *Vose Qo'zg'oloni* (Vose's Rebellion, 1927) and *Arslon* (1926) are the dramas that contain the dynamic of the exploiter and the oppressed. Hamza's *Jahon sarmoyasining eng oxirgi kunlari* (The last days of the world's capital, 1927), Avloni's *Portug'oliya inqilobi* (Portuguese Revolution, 1921), Fitrat's *Chin Sevish* (True love, 1920) and *Hind Ixtilolchilari* (Indian Revolutionaries, 1921-1922) do possess anti-

colonial plots and resistance narratives, but it aimed at fitting the Soviet ideology of emancipating the colonized East from the Imperial West.

Research design, data sources and methods

This master thesis is a content-based literary analysis of the Jadid literature. The author has chosen a traditional approach of working with text in the domain of classical history. The literature and journal/newspaper articles of Makhmudkhoja Behbudi (1875-1919), Abdulla Avloni (1878-1934), Hamza Hakimzoda Niyoz (1889-1929), Abdurauf Fitrat (1886-1938), Abdulla Qodiri (1894-1938) and Abdulhamid Sulaymon og'li Cho'lpon (1897-1938) have been selected. The thesis will not be able to illuminate the position of the *qadimis* (proponents of the old order) as the main group representing the majority of Turkestani society, which attempted to preserve its' prestige and status quo. It is the limitation which is best left unexplored as this work will attempt to analyse the positions of the Jadid literary figures through their works and journal, newspaper articles available online.

There is a need to analyze the works of the Jadids on an individual level which would offer a separate insight on the marginal political and social activism of the Jadid representatives and their literary heritage. Furthermore, socio-economic, and political issues which were raised by the Jadids could help to expand the scale of the issues criticized and addressed by the Muslim reformists. In this regard, the dramas, prose and poetry written by six Muslim reformists will evolve around the topics of Muslim nationalism and the secularism in Turkestan. Articles published in different journals and newspapers would be an additional backup to get the full picture on the Jadid representatives, their changing position on social and political issues along with volatile and changing socio-economic and political circumstances of that period.

The structure of the thesis is as follows: along with introduction, the literature review and conclusion, the body includes ***Reforming Islam: Jadid polemic against traditional Islam, the Jadid drama and theatre, the Jadid Prose, the Jadid Poetry and From reformists to revolutionaries. The appealing character of class and gender.*** The author decided to stick to the minimalist interpretation of literary works of Muslim intellectuals to avoid exaggeration, glorifying and the misinterpretation that has served state ideologies (propaganda) and Western academia to portray Jadid intellectuals as the ones who struggled for independence or whose end goal was the liberation of their homeland. In order to challenge the conventional thinking of the Jadid literature as a resistance literature containing anti-colonial sentiments/rhetoric, this content-based literary analysis is accompanied by summaries (the essence could be understood by readers) of the Jadid dramas, prose and poetry.

Ziyouz and other internet websites have been used as the primary source to extract the Jadid literature and published articles of Muslim intellectuals. *Ziyouz* is a website where one can find dramas, short-stories, novels, poems, journal and newspaper articles, and literary criticism of the Jadid literature by different scholars. Secondary sources include academic articles and academic works written about the Jadids and Jadidism, and the analysis of their literary works. The author's capability to understand complex literary and academic works in Uzbek, Russian and English solves the problem of a language barrier. Glasgow University Library has an online access to different databases where needed academic articles were found. Academic articles and books in languages other than Uzbek, Russian and English are inaccessible to the author.

This master thesis has two limitations. First, the author was not able to find access to all the newspaper and journal articles published by the six Jadid intellectuals in different press. Thus, only those articles which were available online were used based on their relevance to the topic. Going through the complete journal and newspaper articles of the Jadids would require an archival research which could have taken more time and field research either in Uzbekistan or Russia. Second, some works were not included as they had similar content or unrelated content to the matter at hand. It should also be considered that some of Hamza, Fitrat and Cho'lpon's works were lost or destroyed.

I. The Literature Review

In Western academia, Jadidism has been discussed primarily by historians and area studies specialists unlike in Uzbekistan where Jadids are mainly treated as intellectuals and literary figures who fought for the liberation of their homeland Turkestan. Surprisingly enough, both philologists and literary figures in Uzbekistan on one side and the western scholarship, on the other side look upon Jadid thinkers as martyrs, heroes who longed for the liberation of their country. To avoid confusion, scholars from both sides come with their own justifications why they portray Jadid thinkers as the ones who longed for the liberation of Turkestan. It is common to notice the power of interpretation which becomes a useful tool in the analysis of the Jadid literature. Adeeb Khalid is one of the few scholars who insists on reading the Jadids' criticism of local society, its customs and traditions, and of the conservative opponents of reform literally as criticism, rather than as coded protest against the Russian or the Soviet order (Khalid, 2015, p. 20).

It is understandable why Jadid representatives such as Behbudi, Avloni, Fitrat, Hamza, Cho'lpon, Qodiri are glorified by the philologists and literary figures in contemporary Uzbekistan. While Jadid leaders are now celebrated and their legacy regarded as an important stage in Uzbekistan's long struggle for liberation, the state is also involved in creating new heroes for this era of post-Soviet independence (Shawn T. Lyons, 2003, p.299). It is a part of nation-building process where literary figures, poets or writers are the members of *Yozuvchilar Uyushmasi (Writers' Union)*. The Writers' Union was established at the beginning of 1930s to control the literature produced by local writers and poets. It is a social club created for poets and writers during the Soviet Union. The ones with independent thinking, deviating from the mainstream Communist ideology were not very successful in their careers. Fitrat, Cho'lpon and Qodiri are especially treated as national heroes not only because they were physically eliminated by the Soviet government, which probably adds certain value and sympathy, but also due to the fact that they were literary figures who were involved in the post-1917 politics.

Begali Qosimov is one of the pioneers who began studying Jadidism since the late 1960s and the founder of *Milliy Uyg'onish Adabiyoti* (Literature of National Awakening) in Uzbekistan who looked upon Jadids as the ones who fought for independence and attempted to create a democratic and legal state. Jadids were also characterized as waging struggle for independence among the ranks of the Basmachi movement by Xolboyev S. and Rajabov Q. (Abdurashidov, 2014, p.50,51). Alimova D. thinks that Jadids contributed to the growth of national consciousness and played a significant role in the development of national liberation ideology (Abdurashidov, 2014, p.55).

According to Begali Qosimov, national awakening and struggle for independence were the bases of Jadidism. Jadidism is portrayed as a socio-political and enlightenment movement which attracted all the layers of society and served as an awakening ideology. Jadids struggled for independence and Turkestan Autonomy was the first result of that struggle; they matched the press, education and civilization to socio-political goals (Qosimov, 2002, p.4,6). The most important aspect of the Jadid press was to awaken the nation and prepare it for independence. The Jadid press achieved it with pride (Qosimov, 2002, p.64). In Jadid literature *ma'rifat* (enlightenment) should be looked upon as a means, not a goal; Jadid literature was to understand the colonial system, and to eventually seek ways to get rid of it (Qosimov, 2002, p.128,129). Begali Qosimov claimed that our great grandfathers who fought for the independence, including the Jadids followed different paths:

1. Achieving independence with force to get rid of dependence on Russia (Mutiny of Dukchi Eshon, the events of 1916, *basmachis*)
2. The path of compromise. To reach *ma'rifat* (enlightenment) with the help of Russians. To obtain the rights on the matters of enlightenment to revive national characteristics (Ismail Gaspirinski, Makhmudkhoja Behbudi)
3. The path of cooperation. Participate in the programs of the Tsarist and then the Soviet governments, and be prepared to gain independence in the right moment (Munavvarqori Abdurashidxon o'g'li, Hamza Hakimzoda Niyoz, Abdulla Avloni). (Qosimov, 2002, p.231).

Jadid thinking consistently saw the enlightenment of individuals as the true path for the progress of society. This individualistic thrust of their thinking gave Jadids a natural affinity for political liberalism (Khalid, 1998, p. 231). This natural affinity could be problematic as it requires more than scholars' categorization of Jadidism and the Jadid literature as anti-colonial liberation literature. This, in no way is a rejection of the Jadid contribution. Instead, the aim is to synthesize perspectives from both literature and history to reach a certain middle ground. The attempts to create a 'movement', 'organization', or a 'group' influenced by literary idealism in the Jadid literature perhaps is not the best way to search for the essence of Jadidism. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that most scholars who have been interested in the Jadids so far have found it impossible to conceal their admiration for their subjects, and this admiration leads not merely to crediting them with more impact (and originality) than is warranted, but also to turning a kind of willful blind-eye toward the social, cultural, and intellectual bedfellows of the Jadid program (Deweese, 2016, p. 49).

Helen Carrère d'Encausse and Edward Allworth have primarily revealed the Jadid literature through Behbudi's *Padarkush* (Patricide, 1911-13) and Abdurauf Fitrat's selected works such as *Munozara* (Debate, 1911), *Sayyohi Hindi* (Tales of an Indian Traveller, 1912), *Qiyomat* (The Judgement Day, 1923) and *Shaytonning Tangriga Isyoni* (Satan's Mutiny against God). Helen Carrere d'Encausse notes that the thesis of *Padarkush* (Patricide) was the liberation of the Muslim peoples (Carrère d'Encausse, 1988. p.104). Edward Allworth takes a slightly different approach of interpreting *Padarkush* (Patricide) by connecting the failure of educating the young generation with the subjugation of the nation (Allworth, 1964, p. 677). Adeeb Khalid's analysis of Behbudi and his political stance is perhaps the only careful and objective assessment in this respect. Behbudi envisioned Turkestan as a self-governing part of the Russian Empire, on the basis of equal and universal franchise, with control over immigration and resettlement, education, and cultural life (Khalid, 2015, p. 48).

Helen Carrère d'Encausse attempts to connect Islam with liberation to define Fitrat's stance through his literary works. For Fitrat, the inner regeneration of the Muslim community could be realized only by a twofold process she claims: a spiritual renewal, involving the education of all individuals, and a political and social revolution, which would allow nothing to survive of the concepts, structures, and human relations of the period of ossification and which would give birth to a modern society and state. This inner regeneration was indispensable to guarantee external liberation, which was another of Fitrat's permanent preoccupations (Carrère d'Encausse, 1988. p.112).

Fitrat for over two decades fought against, first, what he perceived as the restrictive conservative Islamic thought and practice of local Muslim elites and later, the rigid dogmatism of the newly installed Soviet regime. He is treated as a liberal reformist (Abdirashidov, 2016, p. 103). Fitrat published copiously. A number of plays laid out a vision of progress that argued for struggle both against colonizers (the British as well as the Russians) and against conservative forces and habits in Muslim society itself (Khalid, 2015, p. 54). Fitrat, whether through poetry, drama or political essays, bitterly criticized English expansionism. His anti-imperial statements were presented in the context of two other jadidist arguments: the first attributed Central Asia's decline to the endemic corruption and irresponsibility of local leaders; and the second emphasized a moral obligation to resist tyranny and oppression in any form (Shawn T. Lyons, 2003, p.300).

Shawn T. Lyons claims that *Qiyomat* (The Judgement Day, 1923), *Bedil* (1923), and *Shaytonning Tangriga Isyoni* (Satan's Mutiny against God, 1924) are three allegorical dialogues written after 1917 toward a literature of resistance against Soviet domination (Lyons, 2004, p. 297). During the early 1920s Fitrat continued to advocate the liberation of the colonized East through his

editorial essays and dramatic works. Advancing anti-colonial activities was a major issue in Fitrat's editorial essays, which preceded *Chin Sevish* (True love, 1920) and *Hind Ixtilolchilari* (The Indian Revolutionaries, 1921-1922) (Shawn T. Lyons, 2003, p.304, 301). Kara's analysis of Fitrat's *Mening Kecham* (My Night, 1923) and *Mirrikh yuduziga* (To Mars, 1920) poems reveal that there is pessimism and melancholy as well as a wish for an end to Soviet domination for example (Kara, 2002. P. 126). It is exactly how the Soviet government interpreted these two poems after which Fitrat was labelled as anti-Soviet literary figure.

Shawn T. Lyons has also examined Cho'lpon's *Kecha va Kunduz* (Night and Day, 1936) novel as 'a bold critique of both Russian and Soviet colonialism in early twentieth century Central Asia' by bringing diverse perspectives of nativist scholars such as Bo'riboy Ahmedov and Ozod Sharaffidinov (Lyons, 2001, p. 176). Cho'lpon has shown some important principles of Jadid reformism such as the advocacy of modern, secular education, Muslim anti-colonialism, and women's liberation (Lyons, 2001, p. 178). Cho'lpon appeared to be critical of Soviet rule and its social and cultural policies of the time; themes and images of suppression and subordination of the oppressed peoples of East by European aggressors became dominant in his poems (Kara, 2002, p 126).

According to Begali Qosimov Hamza and Avloni struggled for independence by allying first with Tsarist and then with the Soviets while Behbudi negotiated with Russians to reach enlightenment (*ma'rifat*) (Qosimov, 2002, p.8). Hamza has remained a controversial figure after independence within Uzbekistan. Adeeb Khalid claims that Hamza has received more credit than he deserves. It was primarily because of his early death that turned him into a hero extolling the Bolshevik Revolution during the Soviet Union. Qodiri used satire to criticize mullahs, eshons, bureaucrats, fellow journalists, and even Communists until 1926. The Communist party felt powerful enough to seek to assert full control over the cultural field by opening the "ideological front" from 1926 to marginalize the old intelligentsia (Khalid, 2015, p.181,187).

Begali Qosimov and Shuhrat Rizaev look upon Abdulla Avloni as the one who put freedom (*erk va ozodlik*) above all other things. Avloni thought of education (literacy) being the only road to achieve freedom (Qosimov and Rizaev, 2016). Such conclusions are usually reached with no direct and explicit proof in the works of Avloni. It is even problematic to find concepts of *erk*, *ozodlik*, *istiqlo* (independence) in the literary works of Avloni. Instead, this conclusion is reached through the interpretations that is rife with exaggeration. For example, Salih Biçakçi resorts to the idea that the evolution of the concept of homeland generated the liberation notion (Bicakci, 2006). Serge A.

Zenkovsky refers to the Jadids as *liberals* in his *Kulturkampf in Pre-revolutionary Central Asia* (A. Zankovsky, 1955). Even the nativist scholars treat the Jadids not only as liberals, but also as democrats.

It is interesting how Western scholarship approached and analysed Jadidism as less ‘another country’ more like us, mirroring the ‘orientalist’ rhetoric of cultural condescension wielded in 19th-century Europe to justify and explain the need for colonial domination of backward ‘oriental’ societies (and hence less familiar or comfortable with the Muslim ‘other’) (Deweese, 2016, p. 46, 54-55). These scholars were on the same page with the Jadids in ways they could not be -literally-with the vastly larger body of Central Asians who were utterly uninterested in, unacquainted with, or opposed to the Jadid program. Such scholars saw something familiar in the Jadids, something they could relate to, and instead of stretching to understand the ‘majority’ world the Jadids opposed, they ignored it or, more often, adopted wholesale the Jadids’ critique of that world (Deweese, 2016, p. 50).

The anticolonial rhetoric of the party in post-1917 Turkestan produced hopes of some sort of decolonization. The Bolsheviks’ use of anticolonial rhetoric and their promises of national autonomy gave Muslim activists hope that they would act against *kolonizatorstvo* and, in effect, decolonize Central Asia Nations. The revolution, and anticolonialism fit perfectly together with a program for cultural transformation in the quest for modernity and progress (Khalid, 2015, p. 157-158, 339,392). The Jadids’ propensity to see the revolution through the prism of anticolonial national liberation got them into trouble as the party became less and less interested in polyvalent readings of its goals. But at a time when the party’s line was rapidly changing, constant reinvention of the self was the order of the day (Khalid, 2015, p. 336,391).

II. Reforming Islam: Jadid polemic against traditional Islam

Turkestan was a Muslim majority society. However, it did not mean that the followers of Islam could understand Arabic and have direct access to personal interpretations of God's words. Only those who went through a quality education (often in other Muslim countries abroad) could afford knowing Arabic. Some of the representatives of Jadidism were the promoters of Islam based on the Quran and Hadith. However, in Turkestan Islam was embedded in the social practices of transmission and interpretation, from which it could not be abstracted (Khalid, 1998, p. 33).

In contemporary world, Jadid's stance to learn Arabic to be able to follow individual literal interpretations of Islam could lead to the labelling of the intellectuals as the promoters of 'foreign or 'pure' Islam. One of religion's modern faces is what may be usually labelled fundamentalism, and that many aspects of the Jadid program had a great deal more in common with fundamentalism than is often admitted (Deweese, 2016, p. 68). Only Islam purified of all accretions of the ages could ensure the well-being of Muslims, the Jadids arrived at a new understanding of Islam and what it meant to be a Muslim as they saw modernity fully congruent with the 'true' essence of Islam (Khalid, 1998, p.113).

It is imperative to understand that the Jadids who promoted scripture-based Islam did so with good intentions to eradicate the toxic customs/traditions that were sinking the poor and perverting the rich. Perhaps, this was how Jadids imagined secularism: a country where religiosity/ religious practice shrinks to an individual level. To decentralize Islam by promoting individual understanding/ interpretation of religion is still a revolutionary and to an extent utopian idea. Another version would be to treat the Jadids not quite as 'secularists' who constantly drew their arguments from Islam as their understanding of Islam was situated squarely in a desacralized world defined by progress through history (Khalid, 1998, p.175).

However, one should not marginalize the social hierarchy and the power struggle between the Jadids and the defenders of old order, in other words representatives of the religious establishment. Local clergy were limited in their skills in Arabic and in disseminating proper knowledge. It is highly probable that they were aware of it. However, it did not mean that they had little support from the majority. The version of Islam that existed in tsarist Turkestan was a dominant force, undoubtedly 'politicized' Islam which was the embodiment of the establishment. This said, the Jadids' vision/program regarding Islam and secular society remains still murky. That makes one think of Jadids as literary figures in the first place rather than political figures. They were mostly preoccupied with fighting against local customs and traditions because they were non-Islamic and expensive. It is well portrayed in the literature of the Jadid thinkers.

The Jadids were promoting reforms within the existing Islamic establishment. It was neither a revolutionary approach that aimed at replacing the Islamic hierarchy itself in Turkestan, nor it was a movement where Islam was embedded into the liberation of the homeland. In this sense, Jadids stance on Islam could be figured through Abdulla Avloni's *Muxtasar Tarixi Anbiyo va Tarixi Islom* (Concise History of Prophets and Islam, 1913), *Turkiy Guliston yoxud Axloq* (Turkic Gulistan or Morality, 1913) and poems, Fitrat's *Muxtasar Islom Tarixi* (Concise History of Islam, 1915), *Munozara* (Debate, 1911), *Sayyohi Hindi* (Tales of Indian Traveller, 1912), *Rahbari Najot* (The Guide to Salvation, 1915), *Qiyomat* (The Judgement Day, 1923) and *Shaytonnig Tangriga Isyoni* (Satan's Mutiny against God, 1924) and Hamza and Qodiri's published articles.

Hamza's criticism showed that he truly questioned the origins of certain traditions and customs. For example, a bride makes circles around the fire before entering the groom's house; if a newly married bride died, there is a custom called *yuz ochuv rasmi* (tradition of opening the face) where her relatives come to see the dead with their presents as if she was alive. Hamza questioned both traditions. It was either Zoroastrianism or traditions/customs which was not in Sharia he claimed. Hamza thought that the nation should unshackle chain of such traditions with the help of education (Niyozzi, 1914a). According to Hamza, Friday should be a day when people after praying should visit each other and discuss the issues regarding religion and the nation, it should be a day when the whole nation come together and take care of those who are in need through viable solutions (Niyozzi, 1917).

Abdulla Avloni's *Muxtasar Tarixi Anbiyo va Tarixi Islom* (Concise History of Prophets and Islam) written in 1913 was aimed at enlightening interested students with the history of Islam. Avloni began this work with short paragraphs about Adam and Eve and continued with concise information about the prophets and their deeds and contribution to human civilization (Avloni, 2012a, p. 1-30). This work was written in the hope of giving school children an introduction to Islam. This was especially aimed to fulfil the need to understand the history of Islam in Turkic since teaching Arabic would take years to learn and understand the Quran. It was a shortcut to teach students about Islam in Turkic so that they could proceed with other disciplines.

Fitrat's *Muxtasar Islom Tarixi* (Concise History of Islam, 1915) treated Islamic History as the history of which each Muslim should be aware. This work is more history oriented as it underlines personal/individual and general history and their importance. According to Fitrat, history is a discipline aiming to teach the progress of nations and the reasons for their collapse. Fitrat described the circumstances under which Islam appeared in the Arabian Peninsula. The prophet's birth, marriage and his life path were described in relation to people who surrounded him. After explaining the first

call for jihad, Fitrat elucidated famous Muslim battles under the prophet's conduct, and shed light on Muslim expansion under Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman, the Umayyads and Abbasids. He discussed the prosperity and decline periods of Islam under certain Muslim Khalifs such as Muovia, Marwan, Harun Ar-Rashid, and Mamun etc. Fitrat brought an example of Andalusia which was under Muslim rule and was eventually reconquered by the European Christians. He claimed that when Muslims conquered Andalusia, they did not mistreat Christians, however, after Christians returned Andalusia, Muslims saw no mercy. The ultimate result was that there were no Muslims remained (Fitrat, 2010, p. 36-61).

Turkiy Guliston yoxud Axloq (Turkic Gulistan or Morality, 1913) is one of Avloni's most popular pedagogical works written as *taqlid* (imitation) to Saadi Sherazi's *Gulistan*. Morality, laziness, jealousy, envy, good and bad behaviour, how to raise children, the role of physical training and health in clarity of thought, hygiene, motivation and courage in life, satisfaction with what one has, patience, discipline, temptation (*nafs*), honesty and justice are the issues discussed and analysed from the Islamic perspective. Sharia, the prophet's words, and occasional quotes from ancient Greek philosophers were brought to justify the points Avloni mentioned. For Avloni, parents, teachers at schools and the government, were all responsible for educating the young generation as for Turkestan it was an issue of survival (Avloni, 2012b, p.1-47).

This work served a good read for school children to think about what they wanted in life. Additionally, Avloni touched upon the issue of language and the importance of keeping it from excessive influence of other languages. This could be referred to as nationalism to strengthen the role of *Turkic*, and an attempt to shift the access to the understanding of Islamic morality and history through Turkic language. The work is divided into good and bad worlds manifesting what virtues ideal (*kamil inson*) person should have to contribute to the development of his society. In this respect, Fitrat contributed to the development of Uzbek language and literature too. He wrote tractates about Uzbek literary language and rules in Uzbek language. He showed an interest in analysing the works of Turkic writers such as Navoi, Turdi, Yassavi, Balasuguni, Mashrab etc. especially under the increasing political pressure of the 1920s.

In his foreword to *Munozara* (Debate, 1911) Fitrat mentioned how the conflict between *jadids* and *qadimis* (proponents of the old order) was nothing more than a gossip and a mistake of certain traitors of the nation. According to him, this division should be overcome by 'a collective effort' and thus *Munozara* should serve as a reconciliation to solve the conflict (Fitrat, 2000. p.47). The lines between the two groups always remained porous (Khalid, 1998, p.6). *Munozara* is a discussion between the followers of the usuli jadid and usuli qadim educational system (Shorish, 1994, p. 163).

Fitrat expressed his views through the foreigner's arguments and speech in *Munozara*. He blamed Muslims and the Islamic clergy of Bukhara of straying away from the straight path, God's word i.e. the Quran and Hadith. Weakness of existing Islamic states and their dependence on Western powers were solely due to this reason. The clergy that was supposed to check on the morality of the populace (prostitution, *fahsh* in Samarkand mentioned) and defend Islam from foreign influence through *jihad* were unfortunately drawn into immorality themselves by posing obstacles for the functioning of the Jadid schools (Fitrat, 2000. p.67).

It is striking to see how Fitrat's fears of seeing the younger generation turning into *nasroniy* (Christian, abandoning Islam) came true eventually. The Russian law being superior to Sharia and the ulama of Samarkand visiting Russian celebrations were strictly criticized by the European during the debate (Fitrat, 2000. p.67). However, it should not be understood as in strictly Soviet *millatchi* (nationalist) term as the foreigner persuaded that there exist humane Christians who care about others. In this work the foreigner confronted *Mudarris* (teacher at madrasa) quoting the Quran in Arabic and the Hadith. Fitrat linked two notions closely: that of the good Muslim and that of the patriot, but the nationalism that appears on every page of his writings did not exclude a broader vision, of the Islamic community as a whole (Carrère d'Encausse, 1988. p. 112).

In *Sayyohi Hindi* (Tales of an Indian Traveller, 1912) Fitrat criticized the Bukharan society as an Indian traveller. It begins with Muslims being prevented from entering Bukhara while several Armenians were allowed to enter the city regardless the fact that it was late, and the gates were closed for others (Fitrat, 2000. p. 101). Fitrat speaks from the position of an outsider in *Munozara* (Debate, 1911). In *Munozara* and *Sayyohi Hindi* the foreigner criticized the existing type of Islam and its representatives with quotes from the Quran and credible Hadith. Fitrat articulates a pan-Islamic views in most of his works thinking that the reason for the pitiful political and economic conditions is the Muslims' poor practice of religion (Shorish, 1994, p. 163). Fitrat attributed *besoqolbozlik* (child prostitution) to the *muftiy* and *muddaris* of Bukhara (Fitrat, 2000. p.108,109,128). He criticized the dishonesty of *qozis* (judges) who were impoverishing an already poor population and condemned the practice of usury by *sudxors* (usurers).

In *Rahbari Najot* (The Guide to Salvation, 1915) Fitrat discussed life and the concept of life within the Islamic philosophy by urging youngsters to read the Quran directly instead of waffling around with gossips and incorrect interpretations of religion produced by the clergy. The indicators of radical approach of dividing and analysing societal structure into right and wrong based on Fitrat's understanding of the Quran, Hadith and Sharia exist in all three works: *Munozara* (Debate), *Sayyohi*

Hindi (Tales of an Indian Traveller) and *Rahbari Najot*. Fitrat's paradoxical stance bears the idealization of the Quran as a canon which supposedly answers all the questions and problems society was confronting. It is a sign of radicalized views based on today's academic literature; however, it could be rationalized to confront the clergy in Muslim majority Turkestan back in that period.

Power of knowledge and its vitality and importance is justified by the prophet's words and the Quran. Knowledge of Arabic and other languages, history, geography, medicine, chemistry, physics, astronomy, philosophy, biology, zoology etc. should be of primary focus to change society to catch up with the advanced world in Fitrat's *Rahbari Najot* (The Guide to Salvation, 1915). Fitrat addressed the clergy overtly saying that he was not their enemy as they perceived, he was their friend as he considered himself to be on the same side with people who disseminated knowledge (Fitrat, 2010. p.117). His criticism emanated from his deep concern about his nation and its situation. One can find an analysis of virtues that benefitted and vices that degraded societies which were well explained from the Islamic perspective.

Hamza, for example, put his faith in God, who he hoped would not let the nation of Islam lag behind the Jews and Armenians. Hamza thought of Islamic nation as God's most favourite which could relate him to pan-Islamism partially. (Niyozi, 2016). Avloni quoted the Quran, involved Khalifs to bring examples or justify his points through his poems. He addressed the almighty to help guide the nation. Additionally, he gave *pand-u nasihat* (advice) for the younger generation to study. Avloni showed the path of enlightenment and its benefits. He has poems about *haj* (pilgrimage), *namoz* (praying), *zakot* (Islamic tax), *ro'za* (fasting) which contain religious tone (Avloni, 2009, p. 198-200). For Fitrat, reconciliation of all Muslims and pan-Islamism were the outcome of the whole reformist enterprise, and he showed this clearly by ending his major work *Munozara* (Debate, 1911) on this theme (Carrère d'Encausse, 1988. p. 112).

Truth be told, Fitrat's first works published in Turkey were highly influenced by the political and social environment within Turkey and geopolitical changes occurring in the world. This all might have had its imprints on Fitrat's works written in Turkey which would surprisingly change after 1917 revolution. In his published article that carried a response to Jalil Boybolatov's critique which labelled Fitrat as pan-Islamist and pan-Turkist, Fitrat admitted that his literary writings were pan-Islamist and pan-Turkist in nature, which led him to become a godless person, a person with no religion eventually (Fitrat, 1929). It could be that the overall political environment of the late 1920s forced Fitrat to change his outlook towards Islam, when the Soviet government was already working on eliminating the intellectuals.

Qiyomat (The Judgement Day, 1923) is a short story written by Fitrat at the beginning of 1920s when he came to Russia escaping political pressure in Bukhara. Pochamir is the main character addicted to drugs and questions the nature of the judgement day through his thoughts. He dreamed that he died and was going through a process to determine if his deeds earned him a place in heaven or hell. However, he faced a disorganized environment where even angels were sometimes clueless to his questions. He ended up introducing a queue to the crowd that was awaiting its turn to determine its good and bad deeds (Fitrat, 2000, p.169-180).

Shaytonning Tangriga Isyoni (Satan's Mutiny against God, 1924) is a drama written in a poetic style. Satan rebelled against the Almighty with his position regarding the creation of human being. While angels were surprised and confused whether to submit to God's will to admit the human being superior to themselves, Satan decided to rescue humans from under the God's protection with the help of science and education, not God's words and orders. The work ends with Satan, human beings, and angels' disappearing after some lightning and trembling (Fitrat, 2000, p.220-231).

It is true that Fitrat mentioned overall Muslim majority countries experiencing colonialism and backwardness, but it does not make him pan-Islamist and fundamentalist per se. First, there is little rhetoric of urging Muslims of the world to unite which is one of the main illusionary pillars of radical or fundamental Islam. This can be justified with the fact that the crumbling Khalifate existed when Fitrat wrote his *Munozara* (Debate, 1911), *Sayyohi Hindi* (Tales of an Indian Traveller, 1912) and *Rahbari Najot* (The Guide to Salvation, 1915). He is the only intellectual who seemed to be attracted to an idea of anti-colonial struggle for liberation through Islam in his literary works. Second, to be fundamentalist, there should be a conservative call present in Fitrat's works to go back to the pure version of Islam which allegedly existed during the lifetime of Prophet Mohammad. This in turn contradicts the incorporation of moving forward, modernizing, progressive aspects of Fitrat's proposal which education was supposed to bring. Instead, he touched upon *diniy birodarlik* (religious friendship, namely reconciling conflicts within Islam, for example between Shias and Sunnis etc.), which would pave the way to the attainment of *umumiy, umumbashariy birodarlik* (common, universal, overall friendship encompassing all humanity,) in the world; according to him, this concept does not only exist in Islam but also does in other heavenly religions (Fitrat, 2010. p. 200-201, 204).

III. Social ills raised in the Jadid literature

1. *The Jadid drama and theatre*

Behbudi's *Padarkush* (Patricide, 1911-13) had started a new literary genre, drama in Uzbek literature. There were many more tragedy and comedies that followed Patricide and most of them were taken from the daily life of Turkestan. Written in 1911, it was published after a long censorship in 1913. The old Muslim hierarchy failed even with extreme measures to halt the rise of a modern theatre, revealing the weakness of its hold upon many educated believers and dramatizing the vulnerability of the conservative Turkestani position to liberal influences (Allworth, 1964, p. 681). Avloni had also written plays for the theatre and had been involved as an actor, director, and manager who founded Turkestan's first regular theatre troupe (Tursunov, 1983, p. 10-12).

Hamza wrote a lot of plays and was very passionate about the theatre work in Turkestan. His plays were theatricalized, and he contributed greatly to the foundation and development of the modern theatre in Turkestan and later in Uzbekistan. Cho'lpon published a lot of articles about drama and theatre work in Uzbekistan. His critique of actors, and certain plays are of high value content-wise, but his articles contain a harsh tone. Qodiri's perspective on theatre was a bit different. According to him, theatre had become a source of entertainment showing things which did not happen in real Turkestani life. Theatre was supposed to show the social ills of a society and serve a reflection, while it did stray from this agenda and began being treated as *masxarabozlik* (folk theatre, satire) (Qodiri, 1919).

Padarkush presents the spectacle of a father's willful refusal, despite repeated warnings, to meet specific religious and social obligations by giving his illiterate, adolescent son an education (Allworth, 1964, p. 676). *Boy* (rich person) represents not only the old system as much as a thin layer of rich people that emerged due to who they knew but not what they studied. *Domulla* (*mulla*- local religious representative) and *ziyoli* (educated Muslim nationalist who studied in Russian school) are younger and more dynamic representatives of progress. The ignorance and the material wellbeing of the *boy* let him question the benefits of studying if one like *domulla* could not earn his living with it (Behbudi, 2012). This in turn, showed the place of educated and talented people in society where Jadids lived. It was not a priority to be educated to become successful. Jadids lived in a society where money and connections came before knowledge and talent.

Avloni's *Advokatlik Osonmi?* (Is it easy to be a lawyer? 1914) is a comedy that conveys a similar message of 'who you know, not what you are'. The author showed how Davronbek, a young lawyer educated in Europe became frustrated in his daily professional life. Davronbek was frustrated with the situation in his country and his struggle against illiteracy, lack of morality and backwardness.

There were several complainers who came to see the young lawyer so that he helped them in their disputed affairs. The dialogue that happened between the complainers and the lawyer needs attention as it encompasses the manner of speech, attitude between a young lawyer and older complainers. The lawyer asserted his position with his social status first, and the fact that he was educated and qualified came next.

The issue of trust is an important aspect as the complainers did not want to believe that their cases were limited and could be solved through restricted means. The complainers tried to negotiate by paying more for the lawyer's service as they did not understand legal affairs and things can change when money comes in. Also, distrust manifested itself in Davronbek's universal answer to all of the complainers to come and see him at 3 pm to gather their papers. The procrastination of his assistance to the next day by going to do his own business shows how abuse of responsibility was a norm in already doomed society. Davronbek's attempts to help uneducated to know their rights and change things for better became doomed as he realized how hard it was to hope for change when you were dealing with masses of illiterate people who knew nothing but *fotiha* (essential element of ritual prayer in Islam) (Avloni, 2014a, p.130-145).

In Abdulla Avloni's *Advokatlik Osonmi?* (Is it easy to be a lawyer? 1914) drama the lawyer dealt with interesting cases. For example, a complain came from a man who ended up organizing a huge wedding ceremony by borrowing money from a local bay in danger of losing half of his assets (Avloni, 2014b, p.130-145). *Baxtsiz Kuyov* (The Unhappy Bridegroom, 1915) is a tragedy where Qodiri touched upon one of the hotly debated issues of marriage that demanded a lot of money. People who could not afford expensive feasts (instead of having modest *nikoh*, marriage in Sharia), still committed to it by borrowing money (from the rich, *boy*) and getting into debts that destroyed their future eventually (Qodiri, 2007 p. 21-41).

Behbudi was one of those intellectuals who pioneered criticizing the value system of Turkestanis; for example, he questioned the reasonability of *to'y va maraka* (feast or wedding and death ceremonies) spending which had left many people broke and in debt for the rest of their lives (Behbudi, 1913a). People would spent 10-20 years saving up money to waste in 2 or 3 days while they could have used this money to educate their children abroad. Especially the younger generation who were educated, more dynamic and could communicate in Russian were to be careful not to repeat the same mistakes warned Behbudi in one of his articles.

In *Patricide ziyoli* (educated person) condemned those illiterate and unaware majority by mentioning that people who learnt Russian and worked for the *Tsar* wearing the official uniform were

usually mocked while those who wore old European clothes and earned their living through hard work, *qora mehnatkashlar* (ground level workers such as *izvoshchi* (cart drivers)) were not criticized (Behbudi, 2012). It appears that the ordinary people associated themselves with hard work and condemned Russian and Russian-related things backed by the local clergy and elites as they allied with the colonizer. This rhetoric shows that the public relatively understood its dependence, subjugation to the Russian Empire and thus rejected to associate itself with the colonizer. The clergy made sure that the ordinary people would react negatively to anything new that was implemented or just happened to enter everyday life.

Behbudi's *Patricide* and Qodiri's *Juvonboz* (The Pederast, 1915) (short story) have certain similarities in the message it carries. *Juvonboz* (*Bachaboz*, *Besoqolboz*) is a story of two young Turkestani men who ended up in exile in Siberia for their murder crimes. Sa'dulla was spending his life wasting his father's money on alcohol, drugs and his partner Rahimjon. Sadulla's father Raufboy was a rich tradesman who spent his days on business trips while his son was a *madrasa* student with little interest in studying. In one of those days, Sadulla and his partner Rahimjon organized a plot to kill three other guys who bullied and made fun of them (Qodiri, 2007, p.41-48).

The thesis of *Padarkush* (*Patricide*, 1911-13) was that the liberation of the Muslim peoples depended upon the prior formation of a national intelligentsia which had to be recruited from the young bourgeoisie, dynamic cadres that had sprung up in the course of the nineteenth century (Carrère d'Encausse, 1988. p.104). Behbudi showed that failure to train the young men of contemporary Turkestan for useful roles in society would keep the people in subjugation and bring further disaster to the area (Allworth, 1964, p. 677). Interpreting *Padarkush* as an anti-colonial literary work is sustainable, however, one should not overlook the fact that the narratives of commitment to educate the youth to reach harmonious and prosperous future can in fact exist without further extension to liberation. The responsibility of the educated youth was to prepare teachers who could teach in new method schools by implementing new disciplines which would diminish the shortage of cadres and could halt the dependence of one nation on others (Behbudi, 1914).

According to Behbudi, the goal of educating and sending the younger generation to gain knowledge and experience in Russia and the West was needed to produce local cadres who would take up proper positions in society and government and would eventually push for modern ideas by serving the nation (Behbudi, 1913a). Educated abroad – preferably in Turkey, France, and America (the pan-Turk ideal and the appeal of liberal ideas were mingled in this programme) -this national intelligentsia,

intensely Muslim, would be able progressively to penetrate the administrative apparatus of Russian power and, by so doing, to eliminate Russia from Turkestan (Carrère d'Encausse, 1988. p.104).

Behbudi believed that Russian was vital to do business by pointing that Bukharan trade with other countries was done through Russia, indirectly showing its economic dependence. *Turkestanis should know Russian to succeed in serving the nation by taking up higher positions in the government, while Arabic should remain the language of Islam, and Turkic (mainly spoken in Turkestan) together with Persian (language of literature) should remain the languages of communication and literature respectively* (Behbudi, 1913b). Surprisingly enough, Behbudi's criticism of Fitrat's *Munozara* (Debate, 1911) reported that *Munozara* was a good example to understand that young generation was not learning Russian as the clergy disseminated the idea that students learning Russian and attending new method schools became *kofir* (a person following other religion than Islam) (Behbudi, 1913b).

Hamza thought that children should attend Russian schools to progress in the future. Most locals who could afford schooling did not send their children to Russian schools. The Jews and Armenians took up the opportunity to learn Russian and educate their children to create their own future. The Jews and Armenians, small stateless communities, even more than the powerful imperial nations of Europe, proved to the Jadids the truth of their general assertion that knowledge was the key to progress (Khalid, 1998, p. 144). Meanwhile, the educated and the intellectually capable talented local youth were dying in hands of their parents due to the backwardness, illiteracy, and moral decay. Hamza was hopeless when it came to the progress in education (Niyozzi, 1914b). To defend their status and avoid embarrassment before *xalq* (people), parents pushed their children un/intentionally to follow the elders' will and so called 'traditions' that ended with suicide of the young generation. The young intellectuals'/characters' deaths in Jadid dramas projected the failure of Jadidism in decades to come.

Mahmudxon and Kamol are the national intelligentsia who studied abroad in Hamza's *Zaharli hayot yoxud ish qurbonlari* (A poisoned life or victims of love, 1916) and Avloni's *Biz va Siz* (We and You, 1923) dramas. *Zaharli hayot yoxud ish qurbonlari* is similar in plot to other dramas written by the Jadid writers. Mirzo Hamdamboy was a rich man who disapproved his son Mahmudxon's wish to marry Maryamxonim. Although Maryamxonim and Mahmudxon loved each other, famous Hamdamboy was embarrassed that his son wanted to marry someone way below their social status. Maryamxonim faced forced marriage to an *eshon* (religious leader) who was old and had already married 6 times before. Maryamxonim and Mahmudxon were educated and represented a new type of thinking in the play while the *eshon*, Hamdamboy and Maryamxonim's parents represented the traditional, old order. Dialogue between *eshon* and Maryamxonim shows the hypocrisy of the clergy

regarding marriage in *sharia*. In fact, parents were blamed for the tragic death of Maryamxonim (she committed suicide). The clergy were not the defenders of *sharia*, but the traitors instead. Mahmudxon committed suicide in the end. *Jaholat* (lack of knowledge) and *g'aflat* (ignorance) were to blame (Niyozzi, 2014a, p. 105-122).

Kamol is Avloni's main character in *Biz va Siz* (We and You, 1923) drama. He spent 10 years in Europe and was facing problems readapting to Turkestani lifestyle. Kamol's parents tried to get him married to a daughter of a respected *boy* (a rich person). Kamol means complete, infallible person who has reached the high level of maturity. One of the central themes of the play is that parents were killing their own children with their old looks and behavior. Although, the main hero was in love with his uncle's daughter Maryam from the very young age, Kamol's father Karimboy opposed the marriage between cousins due to differences in social status. Generational differences that came to surface is important as they usually represented the Jadidism and its foundation, meaning everything it opposed and tried to change in social life of the populace (Avloni, 2014b, p.156-186).

According to the father, his son was sidelining the traditions accompanying the society for centuries primarily due to his education and time spent in Europe. The misunderstanding that arouse between Kamol and his parents and people involved were perceived as old and backward by the main character. Kamol's rejection of the values and so-called rules by which society lived is the main extreme example of a clash between traditional society being influenced by changes occurring in the world. In the end, emotionally unstable Kamol went through a forced marriage and realized that his mother was tricked being shown another girl before the wedding. Maryam and Kamol committed suicide not being able to instigate changes in their personal lives. (Avloni, 2014b, p.156-186). In this work one can notice the inferiority of the 'self' through Kamol and Maryam's monologues where they blamed the period and the ignorance.

2. The Jadid Prose

As prominent representative of Jadidism, Hamza contributed greatly with this works. *Yangi Saodat* (New Happiness, 1914-15) published in 1915 was the first attempt of writing a novel long before Abdulla Qodiri created his epic *O'tgan Kunlar* (Bygone days) in 1926. It is a *milliy ro'mon* (national novel). Hamza wrote *Yangi Saodat* in the hope to give a chance for readers to read something different than '*Jamshid*', '*Zarqum*', '*Aldarko'sa*', '*Bayoz*', '*Dalli Muxtor*', '*Gulandom*', and '*Afandi*' (epic/folklore/dastans named after the main characters in them). He thought that these works contaminated people's morality.

Yangi Saodat is about Olimjon's ambition and motivation to study and his ultimate experience in new method school (Niyoz, 2014b, p.399-433). Olimjon's grandfather G'oziboy was a rich man that died leaving his wealth to his son Abdulqahhor. Both the father and the son were *johil* (illiterate, uneducated) men regardless their fortune which made them respectable and wealthy in society. Abdulqahhor abandoned his mother Rozvon, wife Maryam, children Olimjon and Khadicha after he had lost all his fortune to gambling and drinking. Maryam (her parents died early although she was from a good family) was left alone with her children and mother-in-law to survive. She sold what she could and began to do menial jobs at her neighbours' to raise her children. Olimjon was talented and well-behaved, receiving his teacher's sponsorship to study in a new method school.

Dialogues between the teacher and Olimjon are very mild and full of respect, showing the real representation of the educated. Undoubtedly, education opened the doors of opportunity for Olimjon. He started working for Abdulrahmonboy who was a rich man and married his daughter Nazokatkhon out of mutual love. Olimjon found his father and brought him to his wedding. In the end, Khadicha got married to Olimjon's childhood friend who had initiated Olimjon's acceptance to a new method school when they were kids. In conclusion, it is a story which shows how Olimjon revived the happiness and wealth his family had lost due to *jaholat va ilmsizlik* (illiteracy and lack of education/knowledge).

There is a grain of truth in if you stayed apolitical and followed the course of events as they were, you would probably achieve success through your hard work, submission, education and skills. The implications were way more serious; it meant as long as you were not questioning the status quo you would proceed. Perhaps, that was the problem by the younger and more dynamic generation that saw the world differently. Social hierarchy of Turkestani traditional order was not revolutionary enough to mobilize. It could be why Jadids remained on margins in Tsarist Turkestan. Their support was not strong enough to attract the needed audience. There is no doubt that the Jadids like Hamza were intellectuals and perhaps well respected, however they were minority.

Cho'lpon's *Doxtur Muhammadyor* (Doctor Muhammadyor, 1914) is similar to Hamza's *Yangi Saodat* (New Happiness, 1914-15) content-wise. It is a short story about a young and talented Muhammadyor who received modern education with the help of his father Hoji Ahmad. Although Hoji Ahmad was not a rich man, he decided to educate his son by spending all he had. Hoji Ahmad hired a Russian teacher for a year and then could not make ends to send his son to a government school. The rich of the city did not help either. Hoji Ahmad was killed by a gambler in the street while he tried to give an advice to couple of gamblers who were fighting over money. First, Muhammadyor wanted a revenge, but soon he realized that it was *jaholat* (illiteracy and ignorance) which caused his father's

death. He understood that the only remedy for *jaholat* was education. Muhammadyor's address to his nation revealed the Muslim inferiority compared to Armenians who were succeeding in trade, business and educating their children. Muhammadyor questioned the laziness and lack of desire to modernize in his nation/people. Islamic charity society funded Muhammadyor's education in Baku and Petrograd. He studied medicine and wrote a novel and a drama too. After travelling in Europe and Middle East he came back to Turkestan and started curing the poor in his *shifoxona* (hospital). Buying a plot of land brought revenue through its natural resources, oil, and Muhammadyor founded a charity to help educate the youth. He started teaching and publishing newspapers too (Cho'lpon, 1994 p. 270-282).

Hamza's *Uchrashuv* (A date, 1914-15) is a romantic story about Yusuf's feelings, love towards Shirin. Abror fell in love with Shirin and was trying to divorce his wife Soliha who loved him a lot. Abror and Soliha had a young daughter. Abror was thinking how to get rid of his family so that he could be with Shirin. However, Shirin had feelings towards Yusuf. Yusuf and his sister Halima lost their mother and grew up with their stepmother Sora. Although Abdurahmon was content with his son Yusuf and daughter Halima, he regretted his second marriage with Sora, as she was the opposite what his first wife Salima was (Niyoz, 2014c, p. 434-448).

Salima and Maryam are clever and wise female characters employed in Hamza's novels to show the importance of female role in educating the young generation. In Abdulla Avloni's *Advokatlik Osonmi?* (Is it easy to be a lawyer? 1914) Davronbek's monologue translates into Avloni's stance that women should be educated for a nation to become civilized. Both, Salima and Maryam contributed immensely to educating their children with certain hardship and patience. Hamza aimed at showing the ideal picture of womanhood in traditional family. According to him, wise and clever females could change the course of history if they studied and made their children study. This in turn, would influence common good, in other words could instigate a social change.

Cho'lpon's female characters have specificity in the role they are asked to play in his short-stories and novel. The language and the style of Cho'lpon's work makes us think how emotional the writer portrayed a forced practice by O'lmasboy towards a baker girl in the short story *Novvoy qiz* (Baker girl, 1928) (Cho'lpon, 2012a). Cho'lpon was critical and judgmental of a society in which the girl lived. This was a manifestation of a protest to a morally sinking society of which the writer and like him decided to take the responsibility for by allying with the Soviets perhaps. The gender dynamic is certainly something to pay attention in this short story.

In *Qor Qo'ynida Lola* (Tulip in the snow, 1923) an old *eshon* married a young teenage girl (Sharofatxon) whose father was a bankrupt business guy (Samandar aka). The paradox is that the

bankrupt businessman became *eshon's murid* (disciple) after he lost his so-called luck and wealth. There is a forced marriage and the manifestation of hierarchy where the old clergy occupied a strong position due to their social ties and wealth within society. The story is a strong criticism to arranged and forced marriage and corrupt morality which was a primary reason for backwardness and ignorance. Additionally, the way girls were treated as an object of exchange is another hugely realistic points that should be noticed (Cho'lpon, 2012b).

In *Oydin Kechalarda* (In moonlight nights, 1922) Cho'lpon touched upon the theme of cheating and drinking. One can notice how the religious clergy or uneducated male partners were replaced with cheating and drinking habits by the author in this story. Qodirjon spent his nights out although he was newly married. His wife sobbed from this situation and her mother-in-law became her soulmate as she had experienced the same with Qodirjon's father (Cho'lpon, 2012c).

Zebi is the main character of Cho'lpon's *Kecha va Kunduz* (Night and Day, 1936) novel. She is a free-spirited girl who was unfortunately born in Razzoq sufi's household. Razzoq sufi was a *murid* (disciple) to *eshon* and represented the lazy and free-rider type who survived without an effort, typical of the clergy in pre-1917 Central Asia. His brother's attempts to bring him back to honest path to earn his own living went in vain while Zebi's beautiful voice made her popular among the locals. She was noticed and hosted by the first two wives of Akbarali mingboshi. Akbarali mingboshi was not a smart type, however he had contacts and money, and was very often managed by his right hand Miryoqub. Zebi was forced to marry Akbarali with pressure from *eshon* who held his will over Razzoq sufi. Akbarali's first two wives played a big role in this fourth marriage as they were jealous of the third favourite wife. Akbarali, based on Noib Tora's request forced the closure of a Jadid school. The Jadids sided with the rich who financed and generally supported the Jadid schools and attacked those who did not support the Jadid activities in their newspapers.

Polygamy, WWI, political circumstances around the Russian empire and the threat of the Bolshevik ideology, historical works, and manuscripts were the themes which Noib Tora discussed with Miryoqub. The dialogues between male and females reveal the nature of the relationship and the female position within family and society. This touches Russian families and Russian women in the novel too. For example, Noib Tora's wife described *sarts* as resilient and submissive as a sheep. Maryam, Russian lady with whom Miryoqub travelled to Crimea, referred to Miryoqub as *Asian*. Miryoqub was enlightened on his way to Moscow by a Jadid intellectual and liked his thoughts about education, knowledge, conduct, western preponderance over the East, Russian females' superiority in front of Turkestani females, Turkestan's subjugation etc. Akbarali himself called the nation sheep and

saw himself as the shepherd serving the *oqposhsho* (Russian Tsar). In his dialogue with the guest, one can notice quite a straightforward rhetoric where the guest condemned Akbarali's short-sightedness and selfishness in seeing Russia as a friend and Turkey and Germany as foes in WWI. Miryoqub's departure showed how dysfunctional Akbarali became in his affairs. He got into trouble as he could not solve the conflict between the rich and the poor in *Qumariq*. Meanwhile, Poshshoxon, Akbarali's second wife wanted to poison Zebi, however, she killed Akbarali instead. Akbarali's death was politicized and Zebi was held responsible and sent to an exile in Siberia (Cho'lpon, 2000, p.1-287).

Anti-tsarist sentiments do exist in Cho'lpon's *Kecha va Kunduz* (Night and Day, 1936) novel. However, one should not forget that the work was written in 1936 and was extended and fit into the rhetoric of Western domination over the East. Cho'lpon's harsh criticism treated Russia as enemy of Turkestan in pre-1917, which could translate into Russia being an enemy in the Soviet disguise after 1917. Shawn T. Lyons has examined Cho'lpon's *Kecha va Kunduz* novel as 'a bold critique of both Russian and Soviet colonialism in early twentieth century Central Asia' by bringing diverse perspectives of nativist scholars such as Bo'riboy Ahmedov and Ozod Sharaffidinov (Lyons, 2001, p. 176). Cho'lpon has shown some important principles of Jadid reformism such as the advocacy of modern, secular education, Muslim anti-colonialism, and women's liberation (Lyons, 2001, p. 178).

Abdulla Qodiri's *O'tgan kunlar* (Bygone days, 1926) is the most popular novel in Uzbek literature. It is the first sophisticated novel that portrays cultural, political and social life of Turkestan with a certain style. One can notice the formation of early Uzbek literary language and the culture through it. The scene of Bygone Days is set in the khanate of Kokand in the middle of the nineteenth century when it lay under the threat of Russian domination (Hayit, 1965, p.49). It begins with Otabek's arrival to Marg'ilon where he met Mirzakarim *qutidor*'s daughter Kumushbibi and married her. Otabek was a young tradesman who travelled quite a bit and he was a representative of a young generation. Kumush and Otabek were from rich and notable families. Otabek admitted Russian superiority in governance and sided with monogamy while Homid was portrayed as *xotinboz* (womanizer) who tried to marry Kumush, take her as his third wife. Due to political circumstances (Tashkent rebelled against Kokand, Otabek's father was close to Azizbek, Tashkent's ruler) Otabek remained in Marg'ilon and ended up in jail together with his father-in-law. Homid was the main reason behind the imprisonment. Homid's letters full of fabricated accusations almost killed Otabek and his father-in-law. Otabek's father Yusufbek Hoji ended up siding with Kokand to rescue his son.

Yusufbek hoji was a voice of reason who pondered about internal and external situation of Turkestan; he brought up the approaching threat of Russians, lack of unity and the massacre of

qipchoqs within the country. Azizbek was ousted and Tashkent remained under the control of Kokand. Yusufbek Hoji rejected the promotion through which the writer showed his patriotism and honesty. Otabek's mother O'zbek oyim made her son marry Zaynab from Tashkent as Kumush's parents were not willing to let her relocate. Meanwhile, Homid hired Sodiq to kill Otabek, and used Jannat opa as a messenger to deliver the fake letters to Kumush and Otabek. Those fake letters made Otabek separate from Kumush for a certain period. When Otabek realized Homid's past envious deeds and intention to kidnap Kumush, he killed Homid and his accomplices. Kumush gave birth to a son and was poisoned by Zaynab. Otabek left for Marg'ilon after Kumush's death and divorced Zaynab. He died in a battle against Russians (Qodiri, 2008, p. 1-209).

Mehrobdan Chayon (Scorpio from the Altar, 1928) is Qodiri's second popular historical novel which the author dedicated to one of the last feudal rulers, Khudoyorkhon and his oppression against his own people. Solih mahdum was a well-known teacher who came from the family of ulama. He and his wife Nigorkhonim owned a school where they both taught. The main character Anvar was born in a poor family and lost his parents when he was a child. Solih mahdum's mother decided to adopt Anvar and hoped her granddaughter Ra'no to marry him when they both grew up. Anvar was a smart and talented young man who ended up working for the government. There were people who started promoting Anvar and he became *sarmunshi* (*mirzaboshi*) unwillingly. He had to accept the promotion as Solih mahdum intervened to benefit from the situation. Anvar wanted to turn down the offer as he considered the position to be full of backstabbing and dishonesty. In this parallel, the writer presented the historical overview of Khudoyorkhon's rule and the emerging political challenges. His oppressive and controversial character caused him a fortune of losing his power three times. Khudoyorkhon used forced labour in constructing buildings and canals for example. This is impressive the way Qodiri managed to show the relationship between the establishment and the ordinary people through the parallel characters of the Khudoyorkhon and Anvar. The details of Khudoyorkhon's harem were collected from Roziya oyim, one of Khudoyorkhon's wives. Anvar and Ra'no's happiness was hindered by Khudoyorkhon's proposal to marry Ra'no. Anvar understood that it was communicated to the Khan by his enemies at work who were envious enough to destroy not only Anvar's career, but also his personal life. Abdurahmon (imam) was the envious figure who plotted Anvar's downfall and Rano's engagement to the khan through his dirty tricks. In the end, Anvar left for Tashkent (already under Russian rule) together with Ra'no with the help of his friend Sultonali, Safar and his brother Qobil (Qodiri, 1994, p. 1-149). Friendship, love, honesty, and loyalty are the main themes of the novel.

3. *The Jadid Poetry*

In his *Ahvolimiz* (Our Present State, 1915) and *Millatim* (My Nation, 1914-15) or *Millatimga Bir Qaror* (Advice/a decision to my nation, 1914-15) Qodiri deplored the political and cultural resignation of his people, thus associating himself with the reformist movement then operating in Turkestan. (Hayit, 1965, p.49). It is fascinating how Qodiri managed to touch upon illiteracy, *bachabozi* (child prostitution) and drug use in one poem. The poet showed how the ignorance of people was responsible for their 'current' state. He called his nation to unite to resolve the social ills by establishing schools and universities that could wake up and enlighten the nation. In *Fikr Aylag'il* (Think (it over), 1915) Qodiri mentioned jealousy, envy and backstabbing inside his nation along with the problem of wasting money on unnecessary things (Qodiri, 1915).

Hamza's patriotism manifested itself in his poem *Jonlarni Jononi Vatan* (The dearest homeland). This poem is very emotional and is dedicated to *Ona Vatan* (Motherland). Hamza questioned what people gained by selling their motherland and shooting at it with a blind eye. The illiterate had not noticed but the literate did not give a helping hand either to perceive and develop the feeling of *Vatan*. This poem can perhaps reflect certain anti-colonial sentiments indirectly through the expression of love towards the homeland, however, it is not the necessity as the poem stands on its own and comfortable with the perceivable surface message of homeland love. *Dardiga darmon istamas* (No will to be healed, 1916) is a poem where Hamza called upon the Uzbek nation to wake up when other nations were progressing. He condemned the Uzbek nation of not being willing to find a cure for their backwardness and feared seeing his nation destroyed eventually (Yo'ldoshev, Q. Qosimov, B. Qodirov, V. Yo'l doshbekov, J. 2017, p. 17-20). Hamza's *Kitob* (Book), *Ilm Izla* (Seek for Knowledge) and *Endi Ilmsiz yashamoq Gumon* (Impossible to live without knowledge now) poems were the call for the young generation to understand the importance of knowledge and studying to achieve good life and content future (Niyozzi, 2011). *Uyg'on* (Wake up) which was written in 1918, showed Hamza's enthusiasm and hope for positive change in Turkestan. The poet mentioned that it was time to let the past go with its backwardness; it was time to support workers and move forwards (Niyozzi, 1988, p.157-158).

Yurt Qayg'usi (Country Grief, 1917) is a collection of different style poems where Fitrat addressed the country as mother and asked if she needed to be rescued from her enemies. The poet referred to his country as *Turon* where Turkic tribes had been living historically. There are four poems under the same title and all four had been published in July, August, October, and December 1917. (Fitrat, 2000, p. 232) Fitrat involved historical figures such as *Temurlan*, *Chingizkhan* and *O'guzkhan*

to remind the period of victory and prosperity. There is a line of questions asking the reasons for the current slavery state of the country. The poet's dream of a sad, barefoot woman standing in a torn dress submerged in mud up to her elbows who was unable to shout, and escape showed the portrayal of an enslaved country on the verge of demise. His emotional response revealed his patriotism where he intended to save his motherland at any cost. Fitrat expressed his feelings of distress about the country while standing in front of *Temurlan's* grave where he asked for forgiveness as he felt guilty of inaction (Fitrat, 2000, p. 31-35).

Mirrix Yulduziga (To Mars, 1920) is a poem where Fitrat posed rhetorical questions to express his views on people with double standards who were destroying their compatriots in need of help. Also, he condemned people who had sold their country for personal gains. Anti-colonial sentiment is especially pertinent when the poet asks if there exist masters on Mars who burn and destroy one country and survive on it (Fitrat, 2000, p. 36-37). *Sharq* (The East, 1920) is a piece reminding the violence of the West inflicted upon the subjugated East. Fitrat described villages on fire, pile of corpses, rivers flowing with blood, the suffering etc. as the deeds of the 'civilized' West (Fitrat, 2000, p. 41-42). *Mening Kecham* (My night, 1923) is a sad poem describing the silence reaching the night because birds did not want to sing. Instead of flying and having life griefs, they opted for sleeping. Buildings lost their greatness and shape while people went to sleep. The poet felt left alone with a candle and his soul; he liked such calm nights with no lies and fake smiles, away from the enemies and friends (Fitrat, 2000, p. 44-45).

Kara claimed that *Mening Kecham* (My Night, 1923) and *Mirrikh yuduziga* (To Mars, 1920) express pessimism and melancholy as well as a wish for an end to Soviet domination of his native land (Kara, 2002. P. 126). While it is true that *Mirrikh yuduziga* contains anti-colonial tone, however, this may not be the case in the *Mening Kecham* poem. The Soviet government labelled *Mening Kecham* as anti-Soviet and nationalistic poem, reflecting a pessimistic mood. However, it does not mean that the content of the poem reflects the description given above.

Cho'lpon's poetry is distinct and contains a powerful voice. *Buzilgan O'lkaga* (To the destroyed country, 1921) is about a beautiful country which is tortured and thus there are tears instead of happiness and harmony. The poet organized the poem in set of rhetorical questions. Cho'lpon asked his motherland why those who had no right (outsiders meant here) were degrading you like slaves. The poem ends with a helpless and hopeless note bringing up the strength which the motherland had lost (Yo'ldoshev, Qosimov, Qodirov, Yo'l doshbekov, 2017, p.305-307). *Ko'ngil* (Heart) is another very beautiful poem in which Cho'lpon asked the soul why it embraced the chains and relinquished

rebelliousness. *If you are alive then you are a human* claimed the poet and pushed it not to succumb as it was born free like everyone else. Here, an address to *ko'ngil* (heart or soul) could be understood as an address to motherland (Yo'ldoshev, Qodirov, Yo'l doshbekov, 2014, p.7). *Men va boshqalar* (Me and others) is a poem told by an Uzbek girl. It shows the oppressed condition of Uzbek women through the girl's language. She said she was treated like an animal; imprisoned bird with wings that do not fly. In his poem *Xalq* (People, 1921) Cho'lpon described people as sea, wave, power, rebellion, revenge, fire, unstoppable force that wiped out the crown; people's desire was to make this country free claimed the poet (Cho'lpon, 2007, p.10). *Yong'in* (Fire, 1921) is a poem describing the calamities caused by the European imperialists through an emotional and harsh language (Cho'lpon, 2007, p.8-9).

Yovlar (the enemy), *qullar/qullik* (slaves/slavery), *erkin* (free) were frequently used in Cho'lpon's poetry. When poems were about the nature, seasons of the year or other themes, the poet still managed to employ a line or two about the enemy, slavery, and freedom. It is remarkable how Cho'lpon managed to embed anti-colonial rhetoric in most of his poems.

Avloni's poetry include poems about *millat* (nation), *vatan* (homeland), *ilm* (knowledge), *maktab* (school). Most of his poems were written under the pseudonym Hijron. His poem *To'y* (The Feast) addressed the nation which wasted great amount of money for the feasts instead of sending children to schools (Avloni, 2009, p. 143). Also, while other nations looked and laughed claimed Avloni, we were drowning ourselves and drowning those in need (Avloni, 2009, p. 144). *Hurriyat Marshi* (March of Freedom) was dedicated to the working class; it was a call to work and create (Avloni, 2009, p. 230-231).

IV. From reformists to revolutionaries. The appealing character of class and gender

Most of the intellectuals were sceptic of Bolshevism from the very beginning. When words part away from actions it does provoke the reassessment of commitment. The first decade after the Bolshevik takeover was relatively free for writers and poets to publish their thoughts within certain institutional and bureaucratic constraints. However, the Soviet government began tightening the screws of censorship from 1926. Such circumstances made the Jadids produce works supporting Communist ideology. Jadids transformed themselves into Muslim Communists and asserted the claim to speak in the name of the Muslims of Turkestan (Khalid, 1998, p.289).

Socialist realism had to be supported by the literary works of the local intellectuals to promote Soviet propaganda. To some it was a requirement to create works matching the ideology while to others it made sense to address class and gender struggle. Perhaps, the Jadids were not the ones who stood for equality of masses and genders per se; however, the intellectuals had addressed the issue of poverty which was the question of the majority ordinary people. They also addressed the poor, orphan children and women's position in Turkestani society before the Bolshevik revolution. Very often most ordinary people, the oppressed majority were put against the rich, ruling class exploiters. This analogy of oppressed and oppressor extended to inequality of opportunities between males and females. It translated to the struggle of the working class: the poor majority of the world against the rich, capitalist and imperialist world (Western colonial powers).

Avloni's *Portug'oliya inqilobi* (Portuguese Revolution, 1921) begins with a conflict between those who were for the king (*shohparasts*) and the ones who took sides with republicans/revolutionaries (*jumhuriyatchi*). Peace, justice, and freedom would come only after the annihilation of the king and his *vazirs* (ministers) by establishing the red flag - claimed a young revolutionary Broga (Avloni, 2014c, p.187-214). This was to be done for the oppressed, the poor and underprivileged. However, English spies arrived to save the king from the revolution justifying the British imperialism. In the end, the king was toppled, and the revolutionaries triumphed. This work could be a good example of how political fragmentation made people to decide what sides to take (Dolqoriyo was a revolutionary while his daughter Margaret was anti-revolutionary, *shohparast*). It seems that the work was dedicated to the Bolshevik Revolution indirectly.

Madaniyat To'lqunlari (Waves of Culture/Civilization) raised the issue of poverty and degrading social order among the population. Avloni chose to describe houses, buildings where the poor resided. The poor were surviving while the rich were wasting their money on feasts to show off in public. Unemployment and laziness were the reasons justifying fault not only in the establishment

but also in people. According to Avloni, being civilized or modernized starts with fixing social problems such as cadre shortage, quality of education, social care for the poor and orphans (Avloni, 2015).

There were several (rich) people whom Hamza listed in one of his articles to thank as they assisted several children with their generous donations. Children from poor families and the ones who did not have family were the primary beneficiaries of the opportunity to study at *Dor-ul-aytom* (school) (Niyoz, 1914c, d). In Turkestan, there was no rich person who was ready to contribute to the common good, namely, to organize charity and educate those talented and in need of support as was happening in other nations (Behbudi 1913c). Regional differences should not be overlooked as Hamza was from the Ferghana valley while Behbudi was from Samarkand.

In 1914 Hamza published an article *Faqirlik nimadan hosil o'lur?* (How does poverty originate?) in which he pondered about the economic state of the handicraftsmen who were well off just 20 years ago. Most of them lost their jobs and become either *mardikor* (day-labourer) or turned into beggars. It was not only handicraftsmen and their labour, but also other professions as well. Hamza looked at a bigger picture. All this was due to illiteracy. People who had to obey others did so as they were not educated and enlightened. He brought the example of handicraftsmen who had to work for others when they lost their jobs because they could not do anything else (Niyoz, 1914e).

However, poverty should not be confused with begging. One of the social ills was *tilanchilik* (begging) that had become an easy profession (passing from generation to generation) for certain individuals who avoided earning their living through hard work. Qodiri's criticism aimed at targeting begging as something that was supposed to bring help to people who were incapable of work, who had physical difficulties or were orphans or too old (Qodiri, 1920).

Hamza and Behbudi were involved in creating schools where orphans and children in need could study. Fitrat on the other hand proposed to establish a body to help the poor in *Rahbari Najot* (The Guide to Salvation, 1915) (Fitrat, 2010. p.176, 186, 191). Hamza condemned Ostroumov, Ilminsky and those who violated the rights of the poor and disadvantaged hoping for justice. According to him, people should be vigilant who to follow and should unite around common good when needed. Hamza accentuated primarily on the youth and their role (Niyoz, 1917a).

It appears that Hamza truly believed in the Communist ideology especially after seeing certain minor changes happening regarding orphan children, schools, and school programs (Niyoz, 1922). He had set of poems supporting the working class and the Soviet government. His enthusiasm can be noticed in his dramas too. *Jahon sarmoyasining eng oxirgi kunlari* (The last days of world's capital,

1927) was written to support the Bolshevik revolution and Communist ideology. Hamza took a symbolic stance in naming the characters in the play. *Oltin* (gold), *Ruhoniy(at)* (Religions/Spirituality/religious representative), *Saltanat* (kingdom), *Urush* (war) and *Zulm* (injustice) are the characters representing the West, capitalist world. *Kuch* (power/strength), *Inqilob* (revolution), *Ishchi* (worker), *Kosib* (craftsman), *Dehqon* (farmer, land renter) represent the Communist world. Additionally, Hamza involved characters like *Sharq* (East), *G'arb* (West), *Tarix* (History), *Millatlar* (Nations) etc. to portray the oppression of the Eastern world by the Western capitalist world (Niyoz, 2014f, p. 194-213). The play ends with the capture of the representatives of the world capital and the triumph of the Bolsheviks.

Qozining sirlari (Secrets of Qozi, 1921-27) was written to support the emancipation of women, the unveiling campaign and the condemnation of the clergy and clergy related issues. Saodat was absent in the mornings for five months when her husband received a response that she was checking on her sick mother. The truth was that she was attending a school at *Jenotdel* (Women's department). Her husband Teshaboy did not know anything about it. Saodat even concealed her will to unveil her *paranji*. When Teshaboy realized the truth, he dragged his wife to the *qozi* who confirmed their marriage based on Sharia (*nikoh*) to discuss the issue. Meanwhile, *qozi* remained without a job for ten years as *Jenotdel* was dealing with marriage and divorces. He was imprisoned once for his misdeeds and ended up being arrested again as he wanted to marry Saodat instead of solving the quarrel between the married couple. The couple reconciled embracing the emancipation of women and supporting the Communist party (Niyoz, 2014d, p.214-229).

Boy ila Xizmatchi (Master and servant, 1918) revealed the situation of Solihboy, who was very rich and had three wives. He fell in love with his servant, G'ofir's wife Jamila. With the help of false accusations and his contacts boy was able to get rid of G'ofir and married Jamila against her will. Solihboy's second wife Xonzoda was a sister of Qodirqul mingboshi who was preparing for the local elections. She appeared to be an evil character who was the reason why Solihboy's third wife (Gulbahor) with her infant child had died. It is extremely interesting to analyse the position Solihboy's mother held in the family, regardless of her gender compared to three wives. Jamila committed suicide, G'ofir ended up in exile and Hamza managed to fit the rhetoric of exploiter and the oppressed in the play that adhered to the Bolshevik ideology (Niyoz, 2014e, p. 123-190). The rich do what they want while the poor must embrace the suffering. Moral decay and corrupt mentality in Islamic society were vividly expressed through Hamza's characters.

Fitrat was able to show the survival of the ordinary people under the ‘exploiter’ through his characters of the *Emir* in *Vose Qo’zg’oloni* (Vose’s Rebellion, 1927) and *boy* in *Arslon* (1926). *Vose Qo’zg’oloni* is a historic tragedy taken from life of *tajiks* who lived under the Emirate of Bukhara. This tragedy is dedicated to the rebellion that took place during Abdulahadxon’s rule. Villagers declined paying the taxes imposed by the emir as they simply did not have means to do so. This led to a social upheaval and the death and failure of Vose and his rebellion (Fitrat, 2003, p.165-192).

Fitrat’s *Arslon* (1926) drama is taken from the lives of *dehqans* who lived during the Khanate of Bukhara, but it was dedicated to a successful and just land reform which was being executed by the *jumhuriyat*. *Arslon* is a kind and hard-working character trying to save up money to marry his love Tolgun. Mansurboy is an oppressive character, a rich landowner and a usurer. Close people around *Arslon* started suffering from the poverty partially because they had to borrow money from Mansurboy and could not pay it off. Mansurboy used it for his own advantage and with the help of *bek* (the governor in this case) he imprisoned *Arslon* and his friend to be able to marry Tolgun. *Arslon*’s friend died in prison while *Arslon* himself had to sell his land to *boy* to get out of jail. In the end, *Arslon*’s mother died and he killed the boy and his son (Fitrat, 2003, p.92-164).

Muslim national communism represented a new expression of the secular Muslim nationalism that had motivated the Jadids before 1917, now expressed in the language of revolution combined, seamlessly in the minds of those involved, with anti-colonial struggle (Khalid, 1998, p. 299). The Soviet ideology itself became the promoter of anti-colonial rhetoric, however, not towards itself, but towards capitalist, imperialist West.

After the Russian Revolution of 1917, there were several publications that showed Fitrat’s overt opposition to the exploitation of the East by the European West, including Turkestan’s subjugation to Russia. According to Fitrat, the old system was not experiencing any changes. In his article *Turkistanda Ruslar* (Russians in Turkestan) he claimed that ‘*we were supposed to mix with civilized Russians (carriers of European culture) to benefit from European social and cultural means*’. To the question if Russians contributed to the progress in Turkestan in 50 years of their rule the answer was negative; ‘*they repressed our intentions to communicate with civilized European nations by establishing newspaper publication on top with Ostroumov and by banning schools that aimed at awakening the youth*’ (Fitrat 1918 a).

Fitrat, blamed the West of treating the East as backward and savage by promising to bring civilization and modernity which had clearly brought *fohishaxona* (brothel) and *mayxona* (the place to drink alcohol) instead (Fitrat, 1919). Fitrat despised Western hypocrisy, especially that of Great Britain

and France and their deeds in colonial entities in the Middle East and Northern Africa, thus preferred Turkestan to stay under Russians rather than becoming a prey for Britain due to geopolitical situation that was forming over the course of WWI (Fitrat, 1918b). He understood decreasing influence of great powers and could see that subjugated nations would start negotiating with the colonizers. Turkistan was supposed to follow the same path. Fitrat also expressed his understanding of political situation in Russia during the WWI in 1917 by pointing that Turkestanis should be vigilant to take sides in the conflict between Bolsheviks and Kerenski (Fitrat, 1917).

Love between Nurridinxon and Zulayho is intertwined with the struggle against the colonizer in British India in Fitrat's *Chin Sevish* (True love, 1920). The story took place in Delhi. Rahmatullahxon and Sarvarxon were the educated youth who debated the European injustice and dishonesty towards the East, namely Muslim countries. Rahmatullahxon fell in love with Zulayho and hired Sherxon to get rid of Nuriddinxon with the help of the English who were the establishment. Nuriddinxon and his friends were accused of having connections with people who bombed the head of English police in Peshawar and were jailed for some time. When the police discovered the anti-British conspiracy gathering of Nuriddinxon, Sarvarxon, Karimbaxsh (Zulayho's father), some police officers died as a result of a shooting. Rahmatullahxon was shot too while defending Zulayho (Fitrat, 2003, p. 5-41).

Fitrat's *Hind Ixtilolchilari* (Indian Revolutionaries, 1921-1922) starts with the dialogue between Dilnavoz and Rahimbaxsh who are in love. Lolahardiyol, Indian *qalandar/darvesh* contributes to the dialogue with his understanding of love between the couple which translates into the love of homeland. Dilnavoz and Rahimbaxsh were imprisoned by the head of English police Okunar who happened to like Dilnavoz. The couple were accused of conspiring against the government. This was a separation for the couple and Rahimbaxsh decided to join the group of people uniting against the colonizer to take his revenge and liberate his country. Rahimbaxsh succeeded in rescuing his love Dilnavoz and killed Okunar who held her hostage for three months. However, this happiness was short-lived and Dilnavoz was taken hostage again when the government realized that Rahimbaxsh and Dilnavoz were both with the revolutionaries who were trying to liberate India. At the end, Rahimbaxsh was able to rescue Dilnavoz again and both together with other compatriots prepared to liberate India (Fitrat, 2003, p.42-91).

The two dramas remain uniform in their political demand, calling for revolution as the Soviet state sought to impose domestic control, stability and unification and, therefore, would not simultaneously support the East's myriad liberation efforts, a reality, however sobering, that Fitrat

defied (Shawn T. Lyons, 2003, p.309). Fitrat's dramas served two disparate functions: as political allegory they criticize the continuation of colonialist governments throughout the world, but as biography they betray a regretful abstraction of Fitrat's own activities as a Bukharan reformist who ultimately collaborated with the movement that destroyed Jadidism (Shawn T. Lyons, 2003, p.311).

Military strength was one of the main factors how the West established its dominance over the East. An army was a necessity to find and demand your rights to defend and proceed with the independence reckoned Qodiri. Governing bodies were being filled by Muslims as Russians slowly withdrew from their responsibilities and there was a call to a voluntary conscription of Muslim workers to the army. However, Qodiri claimed that this call could remain on paper like others. While comparing the Afghan struggle for independence with the struggle in Turkistan, Qodiri condemned the passivity and cowardness of the latter (Qodiri, 1919b). Qodiri understood and probably followed closely the news regarding Turkey and other Muslim countries and their political and economic dependence on European powers. He condemned Europe's survival on the subjugated East (Qodiri, 1923). Although Qodiri's articles showed the support for the October Revolution and Bolsheviks which promoted hard-working people from the working class, his political opinion regarding colonizer and colonized showed certain idealism where colonized would reach independence (Qodiri, 1922). This was certainly true as the world was changing and subjugated nations began fighting for their freedom, however, Turkestan would become one of the last areas to reach its independence.

Interestingly, there were several articles published in 1924 and after that that showed Qodiri's dissatisfaction, pessimism and perhaps hopelessness towards educational reforms and the state of *maktabs* (schools). He criticized the shortage of materials and tools for schools. One can notice that he was not that content with the national delimitation which was dividing nations (Qodiri, 1925). Another problem was the shortage of qualified personnel. The issue of local cadres was a serious problem undermining the Soviet policy of nationalization. Unlike, Fitrat and Cho'lpon, Qodiri got into trouble for mocking and, disrespecting local politicians: Yuldosh Okhunboboev and Akmal Ikramov in his *Yig'indi gaplar* (All the words) article published in Mushtum in 1926.

Conclusion

The Jadid literature speaks for itself. Perhaps, the literature is not the best way to assess its owner, but when it comes to individuals like Makhmudkhoja Behbudi (1875-1919), Abdulla Avloni (1878-1934), Hamza Hakimzoda Niyoz (1889-1929), Abdurauf Fitrat (1886-1938), Abdulla Qodiri (1894-1938) and Abdulhamid Sulaymon og'li Cho'lpon (1897-1938) it should not be the matter of misinterpretation and simplification. If Jadidism, as it is usually described, owns much attention, then the literature they created could be one of the best ways to understand its' authors. That said, the liberation of homeland narrative is the result of the Jadid literature being treated as carrying a social and political protest with anticolonial narratives containing the criticism of the established traditional order. This reminds the orientalist rhetoric of the 'other'. Keeping this in mind, the author has not focused much on the state of *qadimis* (proponents of the old order). The Jadid literature should not be viewed as an anti-colonial resistance literature based on the scholars' interpretations. It blurs the vision and confines the understanding of the Jadidism and the Jadids strictly within the anti-colonial framework. Although the division into 'old' and 'new', 'us' and 'them' may seem a bit outdated, it has its benefits. Based on the summaries of the Jadid literature, Jadid characters reveal Muslim inferiority through the roles they were given. The Jadids were not part of the educated youth who suffered, and in most cases even died due to the backwardness of their parents and they were not part of the majority ordinary, poor, oppressed population either.

Referring to Jadidism as a part of a wider Muslim cultural and political 'movement' does not provide enough insight about Central Asian Jadids. It treats the Jadids and their heritage developed in response to imperialism throughout the Muslim world. H. Carrère d'Encausse and E. Allworth discovered the Jadid literature mainly through Behbudi's *Padarkush* (Patricide, 1911-13) and Abdurauf Fitrat's selected works which contain anti-colonial message. Shawn T. Lyons discovered the Jadid literature mainly by Cho'lpon's *Kecha va Kunduz* (Night and Day, 1936). Hamza, Avloni and Qodiri's literary heritage has received limited attention; and when it did, it was interpreted with a final goal of liberation just like it was interpreted by the nativist scholars within Uzbekistan. Adeb Khalid is careful not to treat the Jadids as revolutionaries, instead he opts for reformists, which matches the Jadid intellectuals' profiles especially before 1917. Central Asian Jadids should not be treated as the part of a wider Muslim cultural and political 'movement'. Their agenda, the so-called Jadid program is not something solid which could be analysed due to the nature of the Jadidism in Central Asia. Thus, deconstructing Jadidism, individual analysis of the Jadid literary figures through their works, but not through their biographies or scholars' interpretations has counted for something more than liberation, resistance, and anti-colonial narratives in the Jadid literature.

The Jadids cannot be generalized as Muslims with fundamentalist views either. Avloni and Fitrat had produced works about Islam. Avloni's ideas did not directly challenge the social hierarchy built around Islamic and traditional values in Turkestan. His conservative stance can be figured from his published articles or poems that contain religious tone. Fitrat's case shows more explicit criticism of the Islamic hierarchy in Turkestan. His obsession with the Quran and Hadith could be noticed in his works published in pre-1917 period. Hamza's religious stance manifested itself in his published works where he showed Muslim inferiority through a comparison with the Jews and Armenians who were doing better than the locals. Adeeb Khalid's opinion that the Jadids were the youngsters who challenged the traditional knowledge production and the production of culture is of paramount importance to understand the Jadidism. However, one should not overlook the power dynamic which is always there. Following the scripture-based Islam and desire to modernize the society (clearly it contained aspects of western development) triggered the Jadids' alienation and their association with liberals. No doubt that the traditional elites perceived it as a power claim. However, the situation changed after the 1920s when Fitrat turned godless, Hamza became revolutionary and Avloni became more of a pragmatist by putting his literary career on hold.

Although the Jadids' role and influence remained marginal, the social issues they addressed through their literary works in pre-1917 included topics such as illiteracy, social hierarchy and mentality, abuse of responsibilities and distrust, gap between the have and have-nots, generational conflict between old and young, evading traditions etc. The Jadid novels and stories help understand wise, clever, helpless, deprived of their rights traditional female characters, political social and economic portrayal of the homeland, anti-tsarist sentiments etc. The Jadid poetry is especially worth an attention as Fitrat and Cho'lpon wrote poems that have anti-colonial narratives indirectly. The resistance was channelled through rhetorical questions. Hamza, Avloni and Qodiri's poetry included diverse topics such as homeland, illiteracy, schools, Islam, jealousy, envy etc. These are the issues that come to surface through the summaries and the minimalist interpretations of the Jadid works outside the anti-colonial framework.

The Soviet government labelled the Jadids as pan-Islamist, pan-Turkist and eventually anti-Soviet nationalists. These labels have little to prove and should be used rather carefully to avoid the generalization and posthumous glorification of the Jadid literary figures. Anti-Soviet is usually interpreted as anti-colonial by the Jadid-centric scholarship. If some of the Jadid literary figures were arrested/killed with labels such as anti-Soviet, nationalist, pan-Turkist, pan-Islamist it does not mean these terms should be taken as they are. First, today the meanings of the terms differ from what they meant then. Second, the terms should not serve to discover the Jadid literary figures. There are many

more technicalities and details to be considered. Fitrat, Hamza and Avloni expressed their enthusiasm for the Soviet government and the Communist ideology through their dramas. Their dramas reveal their hope to resolve certain pressing issues with the help of the Soviet government. Issues such as poverty among the ordinary population, social and gender inequalities particularly were the themes raised by the Jadid writers and poets in their literary production. Moreover, the dynamics of the 'exploiter' and the 'oppressed' were employed by Avloni, Hamza, Fitrat, and partially by Cho'lpon and Qodiri to fit the Soviet ideology where the workers, the oppressed poor struggled against the exploiter, the imperial West.

In the end, the Jadid literature should not be treated as anti-colonial resistance literature of which the end goal was liberation. If it is treated as one, then the scope of the narrative should be controlled with time and space factors included, so that to avoid further generalization, glorification or even vilification of the Jadid literary figures and their works.

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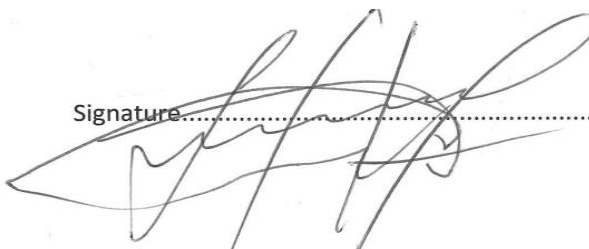
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