CHAPTER 4
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It is indeed a puzzle how the region of Central Asia, which had once topped the Islamic world in the efflorescence of science, literature and learning all of a sudden, fell from the apex of grandeur to the nadir of illiteracy, corruption and evils of degenerating economy. They have been described as the people who were "living on margins of world history". The Russian explorers like Obruchev, Berg and Ignatiev and travellers like Polovtsoff, Vambery, Burnes and several others had painted the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the "Dark Ages," devoid of any good cultural or social achievements. The society said to have been characterised by conservative influences, which retarded the development of art and culture. In the Uzbeg Khanates, the political situation was tense. During second half of eighteenth century to the first half of nineteenth century, the ruling elite is said to have kept the common folks under the yoke of tyranny and subjugation. Exploitation and extortion was intense. The extent of dogmatist and the unchallengeable position of the religions authorities had further restricted the modernisation\(^1\). Polovtsoff had also given a very dark picture of the social life.
A careful study of the Persian sources however reveals that a somewhat different situation did exist. It is interesting to note that the medieval historians like Ibn-i Khaldun and others have highly appreciated the excellent and rich progress in the sphere of fine arts. The later chroniclers also eulogize the grand contributions made by the men of learning and fine arts. Yet they only confirm that the ruling elite had lost the sense of political wisdom and did not try to learn stratagem. They also write that the influence of religious groups had all along been very strong. In his memoir, Amir Alim Khan writes that the ruler had to abide by religious norms and forms. The "latest trends in society were nowhere clearly visible and the country still seemed to be backward." However, Chou Je Kua categorically says that even women had come forward to fight for their rights. They worked shoulder to shoulder with men folk to bring about their desired reforms and in this process they often resisted the commands of their family to sit back at home and not to join reformists.

While conceding that Central Asian social and cultural arena had few black spots such as retrogressive impact of adherence to age old custom, initial resistance by some to change, lack of awareness of modern thought and culture and fast developing science and technology. No Renaissance or
Industrial Revolution could touch "the land of Timur", like other Asian territories, Central Asia had also suffered under the yoke of Russian imperialists. All the evil effects of colonisation had destroyed its peace, prosperity and populousness. Its original potentialities had been eclipsed by the Mother Country's self-seeking administration. Under such circumstances, the backwardness of the country is understandable. The intentional records produced by the Russian explorers have given exaggerated reports of the mal-administration and retrogression but not only the Persian sources by and large contradict them but writers like Chou Ju Kua have provided the other side of the picture.

Central Asia was devoid of geographical barriers and exposed from all sides to nomadic invaders, its vast lands welcomed all newcomers with open heart. There were followers of Buddhism, Judaism, Manichaenism, Hinduism, Christianity, Zoroastriansm, Taoism and all other religions, which had their followers in all areas. Even during the reign of Timur they carried their idols with them when on march with the army. With the onset of Sufism and the beginning of Naqshbandi silsilah, the atmosphere further changed as the message of Sufi brotherhood and love dominated the scene. Although the Uzbegs were more inclined towards Sufi saints of Naqshbandi silsilah, they had allowed them to be strong
enough to be power behind the throne. The situation did not change much in the Bukhara Khanate. The ancestors of Uzbegs were friendly with the Muslims and their predecessors like Batu, Barake Uzbeg Khan and Kebek were all inclined towards Islam. Even in later years this religious group remained well entrenched in Central Asia though they shunned from rigid dogmatism. It was only in the nineteenth century, that they sought refuge and security in the precincts of Sufi saints.

Since its inception the social fabric of Bukharan society had been almost plural. The influence of Islam had been undoubtedly the most durable cultural impact on Central Asia, particularly Bukhara up to the establishment of Soviet regime. It is evident that Islam was widely accepted in Central Asia not only as a religion and way of life but also became popular due to its social values, which survived and embraced all invaders before the coming of Russians. Despite constant efforts of "Russification" and imposition of Russian language and culture, only a small number of people were drawn towards Russian culture during Czarist regime. The Russians on the other hand did not demonstrate their fear and hatred towards Islam openly but as a matter of fact they more or less have had shown tolerant attitude towards it. It is interesting to note that the openly contemptuous Russian
attitude towards Central Asian culture and way of life had not been able to eradicate their deep rooted values and Islamic influence on the people and society.

The Khanate of Bukhara was regarded as almost exclusive centre of Muslim culture and people. Although there were a considerable number of Jews and Hindus but they were numerically insignificant. From amongst the Muslims, majority had followed the orthodox Sunni creed. But in central and eastern Bukhara there were population of Shia Muslims and majority of them were of Ismaili sect. The state was autocratic in nature and was ruled by hereditary monarch apparently in strict accordance with Muslim religious law and custom. On political front the state had a highly organised central administration along with semi autonomous provinces. The officials of the central administration did not come under the purview of salaried class. They were usually given land grants estates, inam grants or merely the subsistence allowance in the form of ulufa. It is however, opined that the officials depended more often on the fees and fines that they collected from their subjects from time to time. The provincial officials were entitled to collect money from their assignments in the form of tax revenue necessary for their own maintenance and for their customary style of upkeep in court.
In every province the king had his own share of revenue, which was called *Khassa* realized from the choicest lands. This amount was forwarded honestly to the Amir. There were *Khassa*, Diwan or state lands also to the Amir revenue of which was used for maintenance of court, for expenses of harem etc. In Bukhara the clerical body along with the hereditary social class and the mullahs formed a powerful groups in order to defend their tradition and religious orthodoxy.

Before the Russian conquest the social and cultural life of the inhabitants of Bukhara did not differ much from the peoples of other parts of the Muslim world. The state of Bukhara and its mechanism, these system of administration, land tenure and the taxation was more or less on the line of Perso-Arab administration of Transoxiana. The system of justice was on the basis of Islamic law but some time it was also guided by the customary laws (adat). Even since the Arab conquest and inclusion of Central Asia as a province of Abbasid Dynasty, there came to stay a highly centralised Perso-Islamic well-organised administrative machinery which continued even till the 19th century with minor changes or adaptations necessitated by local exigencies. The Sufi Islamic culture and Perso-Islamic institutions marked the social and cultural life of Bukhara. It is, however, evident that in almost
all spheres of life of the Bukharan people, society was under the direct impact of Islamic institution. The society that was divided apparently on two social groups is said to comprise settled people and nomadic tribes. But it appears that before the Revolution the whole social set up of Bukhara was transformed into two distinct historical formations — (a) the sedentary people who had sometimes much developed socio-cultural institutions and (b) the nomadic people who used to live in accordance with their tribal traditions. The formation of social group were further accentuated with the division of sedentary people into two more distinct racial groups (a) natives (b) Russians. The former itself consisted of many other social groups (i) the traditional feudal elite (ii) the religious elite (iii) the traders and artisans (iv) the peasantry (v) industrial workers. While the latter was divided itself into two classes (i) the newly settled Russian peasants (ii) the Russian workers.

So far as the family and its establishment is concerned we find the system of joint family in Bukhara as the basis of social unit. In both the social groups — sedentary and nomadic, the patriarchal regime prevailed. The head of the family was considered to be an authority and his decision regarding various aspects of life like marriages, allotment of property and family duties was supposed to be final. During
the second half of nineteenth century the sedentary people in Bukhara were in practice of keeping the property in common, but the later decades witnessed that they got rid off their earlier practice and the practice of dividing the family property started taking place after the death of their family heads. But we also find some references about the division of property even in the lifetime of their family head. Both Polygamy and monogamy are noticed but it is evident that the social elites of Bukhara used to practice polygamy. It appears the poor or economically backward people used to practice monogamy just because of their poor economic condition. But, both the rich and the poor had to pay the kalym (bride price). It seems that the practice of kalym in Bukhara had some social base and it was being practiced in lieu of mehr (dower), which had religious obligations in marriage. On the whole it may be said that the Bukharan family system was almost patriarchal. The system of joint family was the social basis and it had played an important role as the members of the family were closely connected. In the joint family system the position of mother was equally important as she was supposed to instil the traditions of the family into child's mind and in the process of socialization was expected to uphold and penetrate the values of religion, culture and society into youngsters' minds. It is also to be noted that in
the upbringing of their children, the families wanted the child to act in accordance with the rules and regulations of society and if they failed to do so actions were taken against them.

Following the tradition of marriage of family members both exogamy and endogamy were practiced. It is said that nomadic population mostly practiced exogamy but in this practice they took special care that a man must marry a woman who belonged to Ahl-i-kitab (Revealed religion).\textsuperscript{10} But the practice of Muslim girl getting married outside was forbidden. The sedentary people used to follow the practice of endogamy. The institution of marriage in Bukharan society was held to be so important that it was necessary for the boys and girls getting married to be of same social and economic status. It was perhaps in accordance with the Islamic concept of Kufu according to which both party should be of equal status but exceptions were there and it was not considered to be binding in all cases.

So far as the performing of festivals are concerned the people of Bukhara used to perform mainly the three festivals with zeal and dedication and religious fervour. At the end of Ramazan (the holy month of fasting) they used to celebrate Idul-Fitr (Kichik Bayram or Ramazan Hayit)\textsuperscript{11} as the particular day marked the end of Ramazan. The second festival, which they celebrated, was Idul Azha (Qurban
Bayram). The festival of Id-ul-Azha signifies the essence of sacrifice. Hence this festival was subjected to commemoration of Prophet Ibrahim's willingness to sacrifice his son Ismail as directed and in accordance with the wishes of Allah. The third one was Mavlud (anniversary of the birth of Prophet Muhammad). Almost all Bukharan people celebrated this particular holiday as a festival.\footnote{12}

Before the Russian conquest of Bukhara, the languages that were being spoken there included Persian and Turkish, most of the inhabitants being bilingual. These were the offshoots of two main lingual families (i) Ural Altai family represented by Turkic and (ii) Iranian languages of the Indo-European family. The Chaghtaian language prevalent in Transoxiana was a dialect of Turkish, which had the privilege of being the language of rich Turkic literature, which flourished in the region from fifteenth to seventeenth century. It was said to have been in dominant position until the twentieth century. During the Czar's Government, the government attitude towards the language and its use was said to be indifferent. The Russians used to carry on their official work in their own language and they were not supposed to study or learn the vernacular language.

The art and literature that developed in Bukhara during this specific period could serve as an index of the mindset of
The development of the literature may be classified into two distinct categories. At first there were oral traditional literature that was associated with the nomadic people. The second was written literature mainly associated with the sedentary people. The land of Central Asia had already given excellent experts in the sphere of medicine, philosophy, logic, literature mathematics, historiography, astronomy, exact sciences, botany, zoology, chemistry, physiognomy etc. It is significant to note that in Bukhara philosophers and men of learning, historians, and poets were valued highly acknowledged and their acknowledgement clearly indicated the interest and understanding of the people of Bukhara about philosophy and literature.

The development of literature during the first half of nineteenth century in Bukhara had preferred to continue the classical literary tradition. Since this period was under the cobweb of infighting among the Khanates and characterised by prolonged disturbances great political upheavals. On account of this, the development of literature seems to be somewhat less as compared to earlier periods yet there were rich treasures of historical works and references of oral literature like ritual songs associated with weddings, funerals and examples of long epic poems. The literary history of Bukhara altogether transformed during the second half of
nineteenth century and up to the establishment of Soviet regime. It is surmised that after the establishment of Russian hegemony over Bukhara, the indigenous literature ceased to exist. However, the works produced during the second half of nineteenth century prove that the growth of literature in Bukhara was highly developed and all the forms of literature, prose, poetry, historiography are found equally progressing. A closer look at the literary pieces shows that there were two distinct ideological compositions. In the first phase of the growth and development of literature it seems that the influence of Russian culture and literature was all pervasive. The other side was gloomy under the influence of prevailing uncertainties, the clash between two forces — the package of modernism and progress wrapped in the imperialist cover and the indigenous tenor sharpened by the losing battle. Jadid Movement which also derived its reformist ideas failed to remove the gloomy mood and inspiration, from Russia a swift change may be seen creeping gradually in the literary genre of Bukhara after Russian invasion. It is said that the patriotic mood of literary epics collapsed among local intellectuals after mid nineteenth century, though these reflections are seen flickering both in prose and poetry. Historiography developed considerably. The unusually interesting chronicle of Muhammad Saleh, the son of Qara
Khwaja had beautifully summed up the events between 1847 and 1853 and had narrated analytically how Russians managed to occupy Central Asia. In Khiva the continuation of Mir Khond and Khwand Mir's history written in late nineteenth century is also valuable. Muhammad Mir Alim Bukhari's *Fathnama-i Sultani* has very useful details about system of taxation and included the historical description up to 1826. Shir Muhammad Moonis compiled a history of Khans of Khiva and Bukhara. Muhammad Reza had further extended the account of Moonis up to 1872 at the request of and in collaboration with Agahi. The works of Reza and Agahi are not only prose pieces but a piece of art with nice illustrations, Hakim, Khan Tura's *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh* is another valuable history written later but containing the account of first forty years of nineteenth century. Besides, the works, like *Tarikh-i-Shahrukhi*, *Tarikh-i Salatin-i Manghitia*, *Hudud-ul Hikma*, *Tarikh-i Bukhara*, *Tarikh-i Nafi*, and Memoirs of Amir Alim Khan etc. are really very valuable. There were several novels written during the period.

It would, therefore, be wrong to presume that the literature and its development in Bukhara before and after Russian conquest were mainly under the orbit of poetry. It is however, to be noted that the poetic development of this era
in the form of literature was quantitatively (though not qualitatively) more numerous and more or less flourished and was nurtured by the then tensions within the purview of political dimensions. We have the names and the accounts of a number of poets and their contributions in literature. These guide us in determining and understanding the different aspects and varied forms of literature. In order to get a better understanding about the literature, it is inevitable and indispensable to go through Sadruddin Aini's book *Namuna-i-Adabiat-i-Tajik* and Wazeh's description *Tohfat-ul-Ahbab fi Tazkirat-ul-Ashab*. In the long chain of poets in Bukhara (to be discussed separately), we have Mirza Muhammad Sadiq who happened to be a court poet of Amir Haidar (1800-1826) and was considered to be a follower of tradition of Bedil school. From among his contribution the masnavi, *Dakhma-i-Shahan* (Sepulchre of Shahs) happened to be his master piece, a work of splendid nature that was written in 1785. Though this book does not cover the period of our study its study is essential as it throws light on the state of affairs of Bukhara Amirs of the time. In Khiva, under Khan Muhammad Rahim II was written the famous work "the collection of 30 court poets — the *Rah-i Firuza". Another famous poets Ahmad Tabib (pen name Tabibi) had earned a great name for himself for his excellent poetry. He was a follower of Navai
and used to say, that, "all of them love and follow him (Navai) but none is as talented as Great Navai." Two poets of this period namely Fazli and Mashraf had contributed two separate volumes with the name "Majmua-i Shuara". In Khoqand in the beginning of nineteenth century arose the talented democratic poet Makhmur who had very openly criticised the feudal system and the exploitation being perpetrated by the feudal lords and nobles. His poems are full of expressions of sympathy with the miseries of people. In his Mukhammas, his famous work "Khapalak" is considered to be one of the best pieces of classical Uzebeg literature.

Another democratic poet of Farghana was Gulkhani who had very nicely drawn the caricature of different classes of people like Sultan, royal officials, Sufis, Saiyids. Junaidullah Makhdum Haziq comes next to Mirza Muhammad Sadiq. R. Hashim considered Makhdum Haziq as a fine poet of Amir Nasrullah's reign. In the first half of the nineteenth century Haziq migrated from Heart to Bukhara. Dastan-i Yusuf-o-Zulaikha was considered as best work of Haziq. It is said that the masnavi entails some reformist ideology and was supposed to be written under the influence of reformist tendencies. Beside masnavi, it appears that Haziq had also left some important works but that have been either lost or are not extant.
An era of enlightenment that overtook Central Asia in the middle of nineteenth century produced many significant poets and writers in Bukhara. Ahmad Makhdum Danish born in Bukhara in 1827 AD was one of them. Danish himself was a well-read man and acquired proficiency in different fields of education. Apart from poetry and music he also served as a court astrologer. Although he was not much patronised or favoured and was unable to achieve worldly gains and high esteem by the fundamentalists on account of his moderate ideas, he was supposed to be an asset to the empire which he served. Danish was sent to St. Petersburg thrice as an ambassador of Bukharan Amir mainly due to his scholarship and vast knowledge, despite the opposition from the group of theologians. During his visit to St. Petersburg he came across with the real picture of Central Asian society that was reeling under poverty and backwardness. It is said that the journey to St. Petersburg played an instrumental role in shaping his reformist ideas and he pledged to work for the betterment of the people and for accomplishment of his project, he assembled a group of intellectuals like Shaheen, Sauda and Asiri etc. around him. This so-called group of intellectuals, inspired by the reformist ideas plunged themselves into revolutionary activities and came into clash with government. Danish was of the view that the Amir should be a servant of
people and therefore, he must undertake all possible efforts for the well being of his subjects. He visualized that suppression and atrocities are the factors for an undeveloped society. He was of the view that everyone has the right to be educated on modern lines. In the pursuit of modernity and modification Danish held the view that the Russian language should be the medium of instruction in order to get acquainted with the cultural and educational development. Danish had the privilege to present the notion of Tajik-Russian friendship in the field of art and literature. He also held the view that for a civilized society it is essential that everyone should be equal before the eyes of law irrespective of social status and political privilege. However, Ahmad Danish could not get success in evolving society according to his dreams on account of political and social constraints.

Among the various literary works of Danish Nawadir-ul-Waqae is supposed to be one of the best, as this work covers all his lofty ideas and ideological theories. This work was written between 1875-82. In Nawadir-ul-Waqae he had taken up people's day today problems and miseries. Danish had suggested Amir Muzaffar that in Bukhara a canal should be dug out to overcome the problem of water faced by the people. In the said book Danish looked to be impressed and
influenced by the Russian language and culture. It appears that under the influence of modern trends, Danish used to suggest that the Amir of Bukhara should make some advance on Russian lines. In his book he encompasses all aspect of Russian life and further more he throws light on the importance of science and technology that had been developed in Russia at that time. From ideological point of view the importance of another book *Tarjumani-i-Hal-i-Amirani-i-Bukhara-i-Sharif* comes next to *Nawadir-ul-Waqae*. It is said that Danish himself did not suggest the title of his second book and therefore it was to be known as *Risala* and *Tarikhcha*. In this treatise Danish has condemned and criticised the Amirs of Bukhara and their system of governance. During his last span of life Danish had written two more books, which were considered as religious in nature. The first one was *Namus-ul-Azam* and the second was *Mirat-ad-Din*. Danish had extra ordinary literary skills and he strongly advocated the idea that any literature is written in simple form would leave long lasting effect.

In the literary history of Bukhara Abdul Qadir Khoja Sauda comes next to Ahmad Danish. Sauda was considered as a literary genius of Bukhara who was born in 1823. The annals and other literary sources written in between latter half of the 19th century and first half of twentieth century
describe Sauda as a promising poet, philosopher, painter, musician and possessor of many other good qualities. The *Namuna-i-Adabiat-i-Tajik* has also thrown light on Sauda's poetic genius and literary skills. It is said that Sauda had also visualized the despondent and sadist attitude of the Bukharan Amirs towards their state and subjects as and when he was compelled to work under them. He not only castigated the officials of Bukhara but also the class of theologians on account of their rigid and imbalanced attitude and behaviour. We do not find any specific collection of works of Sauda but rare references of his works on different forms of literature may be found though it was made available after his death. After going through his rare collection it may be ascertained that like other poets of the erstwhile Turan, he too was under influence of Bedil's style. In the later period of his life the style of Sauda in poetry presents particularly a clear change from Bedil's style. This deviation indicates that Sauda wanted to keep himself in close touch with the ordinary people and their grievances. It is also said that Sauda had composed slang's at the behest of Amir.

Shamsuddin Makhdum Shaheen entertains substantial place in the lineages of poets in Bukhara. Shaheen who was born in 1859, attained special significance on account of his poetic value and personal calibre though it was short lived.
Since 1889 Shaheen is said to have developed close connections with the court. During his short span of life he had left behind some invaluable works both in prose and poetry. Among his collected works *Badae-us-Sanae* is considered as the most important, which was written during the last years of his life. This work consisted of proverbs, advices for line of actions regarding way of life and criticism. In 1888 Shaheen wrote a remarkable masnavi *Laila Majnu*. In this masnavi, Shaheen symbolically talks about the position and condition of women in the erstwhile society. In this work he depicted his heroine as different from another woman who enjoys her marital status in society. Through this Shaheen had categorically made critical assessment about the position of woman in society. This masnavi was supposed to be a dedication to his beloved wife who died before Shaheen. It is said that through his poetry by which Shaheen had attained significant position was nothing but an index of social and political conditions of his state and its mechanism.

Sadruddin Aini (1878-1945) was considered as one of the most celebrated poet and thinker that Bukhara had ever produced. His philosophy on art and literature may be divided into two distinct phases that had developed before the Revolution and gloomed after it. His contribution regarding literature and poetry was supposed as a link
between the two worlds. Aini is said to have spent his early
days in Bukhara in utter poverty and helplessness. Despite all
odds against him, Aini got himself engaged in study and
creativity. During his period of struggle in Bukhara, like
other students, he too believed that the rule of Amir had
divine origin and nature. Since the beginning of his early life
he came across the hard realities and saw the true picture of
Bukharan Emirate, which were totally against the faith, and
dreams of Aini; he owed much to the transformation of his
thought and action. Like other poets Aini too got himself
associated with the Jadid movement. Consequently he
continued to strive for the betterment of schools and system
of education. He became member of a secret society called
Talim-i-Tiflan.\textsuperscript{29} The most remarkable achievement of the
Jadids was their perception cultivated through minute
observation and an idea that in order to make a civilized
society it is necessary that talents of able persons be used in
the right direction. For them educating people and elevating
them up to the mark is a theoretical issue and political and
economic necessity, hence it was a moral duty. It is said that
Aini alongwith Mirza Abdul Wahid Munzim being under the
influence and guidance of Jadid ideology had taken pains to
open a new method school in the early decades of twentieth
century at the latter's house. Aini had attempted the similar effort in 1901 but failed miserably.

Sadruddin Aini was considered as a prominent advocate in castigating Bukharan Amirs attitude. Ever since his association with the Jadid Movement, Aini became the victim of Bukharan Amirs and for that matter he was forced to leave Bukhara several times. In his book "History of Manghit Bukharan Amirs", published in 1920 he describes the undemocratic attitude of the government. In one of his marsiahs, that was considered one of the best literary works in the whole history of literature in Tajikistan, he lamented over the system of government in Bukhara and held it responsible for the death of his brother that occurred in 1918. Aini was such an accomplished poet that he not only got himself acquainted with the development in his own country but the occurrences and happenings in other countries also may be seen from the variety of poetic verses which he had written from time to time.

In his marvellous piece of work Namuna-i-Adabiat-i-Tajik, Aini praises the people of Tajikistan for their splendid nature, humble behaviour and great sense of culture. Aini is said to have believed that prose in comparison to poetry is more powerful weapon in describing the events and manipulating the minds of the people. Aini is also credited to
have taken great interest in the development of prose writing. Apart from having indulged in social and political activities, it was the genius of Aini that produced such a marvellous and splendid work in Tajik literature. Aini is also honoured to write first and foremost novel in Tajik language. In most of his works he had mentioned the various dimension of people's life, their cohesion, social utility and mode of necessity, their sorrows, happiness and pains etc. In his autobiography that was supposed as the last supper in the literary life of Aini, he recalls the happenings of his entire life. The voluminous work makes one to understand about Aini's philosophy, his literary skills and the way of his struggle in shaping his own life through the thick and thin of the phase of political turmoil, and revolutionary movements which had influenced the celebrated author and accomplished poet who transmitted these ideas to posterity.

**JADID MOVEMENT**

The Jadid movement in Bukhara started in the second half of nineteenth century. The term Jadidism literally refers to the "Progressivism" and denotes educational reforms and the cultural and political awakening of the Turko-Tatar people. The process of modernization and gradual shifts from medieval way of life and thought to newer and greener pastures had started in Central Asia under the impact of
Turkish reform movements. The entire programme of social and cultural reform with the focus on education and system of instruction was to be used in the reformed schools. The political and social awakening through press and elevation in the status of women were the main features of the movement, which came to be known as Jadidism. The so-called Jadid movement was spearheaded under Ismail Gasprinskii\(^1\) as this newspaper; *Tarjuman* (the interpreter) founded at Bakhchisarai in 1883 became the voice of supporters of Jadid movement. The movement, which started on a low key and on a limited scale initially, seemed to engulf the entire region within a short span of time. In Bukhara, the reading of newspapers in public was prohibited earlier and messages could not be otherwise spread far and wide so easily. When a number of newspapers were introduced, "down over Samaranqand" was soon noticed.

There is a great deal of controversy regarding the nature and origin of the Jadid movement. It is said that Jadids confined themselves to the cultural demands of Pan-Islamists as they did not have taken interest in the development of class-consciousness in Central Asia.\(^2\) Here, it may also be pointed out that the Jadids are also blamed for double cross — on the one hand they supported the Czarist rule and on the other they appealed to help the Amir of Bukhara.\(^3\)
It also seems irrelevant as espoused by some historians that the Jadid movement was progressive in nature and may be compared with the reform movements in the field of society and education being launched in India, led by Raja Ram Mohan Roy and others. However, it may be said that somehow the Jadids had the influence of Young Turks and in this way the influence of nationalism in India and Persia altogether on Jadid movement may not be totally rejected.

It appears that the Jadidists got a proper and fertile atmosphere for the development of their activities through continuous exchange of ideas due to frequent visits of students, travellers and merchants between Central Asia and Turkey.

So far as the origin of Jadid movement is concerned it originated and developed in a very crux situation. It appears that apparently the Amirs of Bukhara during the specific period were not at all happy with the Czarist regime. Ironically enough, it was they who were in forefront to establish their loyalty by visiting Russia during Russo-Turkish war as may be seen from the personal visit of Abdul Ahad Khan to Russia in 1905. The socio-political condition of Bukhara at that time had paved the way for Jadid movement as the gentry and common men were not at all happy with the Amir's mechanism. This situation, however,
may well be understood from the writings of the poets like Danish, Shahin, Sahba, Aini as has been discussed in detail in preceding pages. It is said that the advent of railroads in 1885 and the establishment of printing press in 1901 had ignited the ground for revolutionary activities in Bukhara in the form of Jadid movement. The seed of Jadid movement was sown in Bukhara under the patronage of Tatar reformist especially under the guidance of leaders of Pan-Turkism like Ismail Gasprinskii and Abdur Rahim Ibrahim. The Tatar newspapers like Tarjuman, Ulfat, Heyat and Irshad played an important role in propagating and substantiating the revolutionary ideas.

A new era began in the history of Jadid movement after the establishment of number of schools on modern lines. A new system of imparting education was established as Usul-i-Jadid, the term originally applied to the system of instructions used in the reformed schools. In the beginning of twentieth century, the pace of reform of Bukharan reform movement was slow but the events of 1905-1908 gave rise to the movement with defined perceptions. It appears that the effect of revolution on Bukhara was to encourage the native liberals who were said to influenced and inspired by the political awakening of Muslims of Russia since 1905. It is significant to note that since 1905 the Bukharan reform
movement was exclusively meant to establish new method school on the pattern of these of Gaspiranskii and other Russian Tatars. It may well be understood from the fact that Tarjuman and other journals were being read with great interest and it gained wide circulation in Bukhara after 1905. Under such encouraging situation Gasprinskii is reported to meet Abdul Ahad and urged him to open a new method school under the patronage of state for both Bukhara and Tatar children. Amir Abdul Ahad had rejected the idea under pressure from the theologians. In October 1908 the first new method school exclusively for Bukharan peoples was reported to be opened and in order to equip the students with text books, a society of "Bukhara the Noble" was founded. The activities of the Jadids by establishing new method schools got set back by the end of 1909 when under the pressure and hostile attitude of the theologians the government succeeded in closing first the Bukharan and then Tatar school. This situation further worsened when the enrolment of Bukharan students to the new method school was totally prohibited by the order of Amir. Up to 1914 it is said that about half a dozen new method schools had met the same fate and reported to have been closed in the same manner.

The rationale behind the Jadid movement was educational improvement in Bukhara in order to eliminate
illiteracy. Simultaneously its aim was also to create awareness among the people about their own rights and obligations. They soon recovered their original courage to challenge the authorities on their unjust behaviour. The arbitrary attitude of government and Amir's illegal use of state revenues were no longer seemed to justify. It was keenly felt that the needs of the country and the people were more important. The attempt to establish new method schools had been almost hampered by the government. Ultimately, the liberals of Bukhara who were exiled for their zealous activities in the context of Jadidism founded the *Bukhara Tamim-i-Maarif* (Bukharan society for the Dissemination of knowledge) in Constantinople with clear objectives to establish schools in the Khanate and to stimulate the Bukharan students to study in Constantinople. Since 1910, gradually "the clandestine activities" of liberals or revolutionaries also started in Bukhara where they had formed the *Jamiat-i-Tarbiat-i-Atfal* (society for the education of children). The objective of the secret organisation had also became more political than educational in nature as it is said that the members got themselves engaged in fighting government abuses and anti-government agitation became a regular feature. The rules and regulations of the secret society were supposed to be very tough for
the newly recruited members. Such was the acute and intense desire for continuous revolutionary activities that organisations were rejuvenated. Members of the society were very carefully recruited and screened, sworn to secrecy and total devotion to enlightenment, reform, moral purity and abstinence from alcohol. All the activities of organisation were kept in strict secrecy and hardly any new recruits were initiated into society's inner core. It appears that activist of this secret society succeeded in gaining some success in a brief period. They managed to secure the support of A. A. Somov's, the political agent, and succeeded in persuading the Amir of Bukhara not to create hindrance in the circulation of newspapers like *Bukhara Sharif*, published from Moscow from March to July 1912 and the other paper *Turan*, the Uzbeg biweekly newspaper published under the editorship of a Bukharan who had his education in Constantinopole. These two newspapers openly condemned the government. At the request of Amir of Bukhara, the political agent closed the two newspapers on 2nd January 1913.

During the reign of Saiyid Alim who became Amir after the death of his father, Abdul Ahad in 1910, it appears that the Bukharan Jadid or the reform movement could not make much headway. It is said that Alim had chosen the middle path to deal with the reformist on the one hand and the
theologians on the other. Since Alim had spent his early days in Russia and for that reason it may be inferred that he may have some sort of soft corners for the advocates of reform, he did not bother to close down the reformists clandestine activities and Jadid schools though their establishment and existence in the nook and corner of the Empire was widely known.

Apparently, it seems that due to irresistible pressure from the conservative section he had once ventured to ask the Political agent to suppress the Jadid’s newspapers in 1912 and was also opposed to sanction grants to the new method schools to be functional openly. It seems that Mir Alim had made several attempts to eliminate the corruption in government. In his political pursuit he did some splendid task in issuing a decree in which it was reported that the Qazi’s would not be accepting more than the entitled legal fees or total prohibition on the presents given to Amir, his courtiers and civil servants. These measures undertaken by Alim had, however, elevated the position of Amir and somehow he became successful in restoring the faith of the people in the existence of Amir. But the events indicate that the promises regarding reforms made by Alim had remained partly unfulfilled and therefore proved superficial. It seems that the Amir who had initiated a number of reforms could no longer
sustain the pressures and finally came under the influence of theologians. Whether it was the threat to his own political existence or a call for return to the fold of religious groups to safeguard his interests in the wake of increasing Russian power, the Amir in July 5, 1914 finally ordered the closing of new method schools running in Bukhara openly or secretly.\textsuperscript{46}

The outbreak of World War-I brought a spate of great harassment to the revolutionaries or Jadidists who had developed close connections or intimate relations with Turkey which was pitted against Russia in World War-I and which had made them a great suspect in the eyes of Russians. The Russian Government established special department of political police in Bukhara under the Governor-General of Turkistan to make searches and arrest of revolutionaries who had any connection with Turkey. The Amir of Bukhara then found himself in a very complex situation when the Sultan of Turkey against the Allied forces proclaimed the Holy war. However, the Amir of Bukhara had proved his loyalty to Russia by donating one million roubles to the Russian war effort though probably it was in anxious and forced measure of helplessness and to dispel the recently aroused suspicions of Russia.\textsuperscript{47}

During the reign of Abdul Ahad and Saiyid Mir Alim the development of reform movement was said to be only a
humble attempt to bridge the gulf between the spirit of Islam and the modern west. It seems that the reform movement in Bukhara was a cultural progress although it had specific connections with the economic phenomenon. The leaders of the reform movement were primarily from the middle class and being the writers, poets, educators they had tried to awaken their countrymen through their efforts and by establishing contacts with Russia or Turkey. In their endeavour, the group of merchants, shopkeepers and petty officials supported them both morally and financially. It appears that the reform movement which developed in Bukhara soon started showing signs of decline as a new movement, which then was in a nebulous stage was taking shape and finally emerged to engulf Central Asia.

EDUCATION:

It is generally presumed that Bukhara and its inhabitant "seemed to be less influenced by the terms like cultural developments, social change and secular education". On the other hand it is opined "they glorified themselves with the traditional education, religious instinct and had presented a model for the people of other countries to follow. Another view stresses that by all means, Bukhara at times is said to be at par with the famous centres of Muslim world like Baghdad."
That is why it was called *Bukhara Sharif* (Bukhara the Noble) or *Qubbatul Islam* (cupola of Islam).

Here it may be pointed out that the people of Bukhara in particular and its surrounding in general had always outshone themselves in traditional religious learning and education. It is important to note that the tradition of Islamic learning and instructions went back to early medieval centuries where we find an old established oral literature, which paved the way to the development of memory and imagination. To say that during nineteenth century, Turkestan was supposed to be the 'most backward country in the Islamic world'\(^{48}\) is to deny the basic fact that even in late 19th century Bukhara retained its reputation as a centre of theological education and attracted students from far and wide. During the first half of twentieth century the process of building of *madrasahs* in the Khanate was accelerated perhaps on account of improved economic conditions. The system of building *madrasahs* and *maktabs* was essentially with a view to develop the traditional education. Education in Central Asia also followed the same old pattern as prevalent in other parts of the Muslim world. This system can be classified into two— *maktabs* (primary schools) and the *madrasahs* (higher schools). The maktabs were mainly situated in mosques and were funded by both private and public hands.\(^{49}\) The students in *maktabs* were
supposed to finish their early traditional education in Arabic within two to five years. In these years, they used to learn how to write by copying original text, the study of Qoran and also received some formal training in religious ceremonies. It is, however, interesting to note that the so-called maktabs for girls were conspicuous by their near absence. It seems there was girl's education in Bukhara but on a lesser degree. Meakin during her sojourn in Bukhara visited a girl's school where about 45 students were studying. The second stage of this system of learning of traditional education was supposed to be accomplished after going to madrasah from maktab. Madrasahs at that time were independent and self-supporting institutions. We also find some stray examples of madrasahs funded and financed by the income from waqf (religious endowments). The faculty was composed of mudarris (teachers) who were paid whereas the students received meagre amount in the form of allowances from the income, which was derived from the waqf assignment to the madrasahs. The madrasahs were run by waqf lands were usually managed administered by a mutavalli (steward) who was responsible for all management and administration. It is evident that around mid nineteenth century the number of madrasahs in Bukhara had been estimated to be about 180 with 15,000 students and 1800 maktabs with 1,50,000
pupils. The curriculum and way of learning in almost all the madrasahs at that time were same. The subjects taught mainly included Arabic, theology, philosophy, besides subjects like Persian, Turkish, logic, arithmetic, geometry and history. The students under the shadow of tutorial and seminar systems completed the madrasah education and training in twelve or more years. The pass outs of these madrasahs were supposed to be capable of Persian and Arabic teaching and giving lessons literary languages, thorough knowledge of Qoran and sayings of prophet besides teaching theology and through higher teaching they were producing philosophers, historians and geographers of the Muslim world. It is interesting to note that the graduate of the madrasahs hoped to become a teacher or professor, manager of a philanthropic institution or a judge of law of jurisprudence. It should be noted with great concern that whatever is the personality of a graduate of a madrasah or his personal endeavour it was almost certain that in order to get a suitable place he was supposed to develop connections. But apart from his profession the graduates were expected to be the leader of thought in the community. It would not be irrelevant to quote Sadruddin Aini’s testimony regarding educational opportunities, system, training and functions in the Bukharan Emirate:
"Among the students of the Bokharan madrasahs, Sharif Jan unquestionably belonged to the modest number who possessed beautiful penmanship, had mastered languages and grammar and loved and understood poetry. He considered himself a patron of education. Every week on Tuesday when the free evening came, the house of Sharif Jan Makhdum turned into a gathering place of poets, devotees of literature, tellers of interesting narratives and wits."

Mohammad Sharif Jan Makhdum (Sadr Zeya), (1865-1931), who is mentioned in the above passage was a Tajik thinker, poet, court astrologer, diplomat and moreover, Sadruddin Aini's benefactor and teacher. Muhammad Sharif Jan Makhdum outshone himself as a historian, prolific poet and a politician as well. He compiled an anthology in 1910 of the nineteenth century Bukharan Tajik poetry called Tazkirat ul ash'ar (remembrance of the poems) from the manuscripts preserved in his library, which was considered to be as one of the richest in the city. He had also written extensive memoirs (though unpublished) concerning political and cultural life in Bukhara during the late nineteenth century. He served as a qazi (judge) and held other official posts until 1917.

It is said that before the Russian conquest the graduate of the madrasahs were able to monopolise the administrative
posts and controlled the framework. On account of their theological background they often achieved great influence on the state and minds of the people in the nineteenth century Bukharan emirate. It may be pointed out that in 1867 when the Governor General of Turkestan established the education on traditional Muslim lines on high scale, the establishment of this nature by Governorate General of Turkestan under the stewardship of Kauffman was probably made to underscore the influence of Muslim education. It was generally felt that it would be nice to create Russian schools where Central Asian children should be admitted. In Kauffman's view it was likely to give double advantage as on the one hand the Muslim children may be drawn from Muslim schools and on the other it would bring Muslim and Russian children together. In this connection a Commission was formed in 1871 and a project was started for creating Russian schools having limited number of vacancies for local children, which gradually came into force from 1875 onwards. It is evident that the attempt to create Russian schools by Kauffman with ulterior motives was not a success altogether as the local entrants in the new schools could not have been more than four to five per cent. The Russians ascertained the cause for this failure as unpreparedness of the local population for the newly conceived European system of education. But Wheeler
suggests that the real cause was different. Here it may be said that the European system of education was altogether a failure because it was not in tandem or in accordance with the curriculum and subject matter of the old school and that according to Russian rule, only orthodox religious institutions could impart school curriculum whereas the Islamic tradition says that religion should not only be a part of education but it is indispensable in every walk of life. Consequently, Muslim children could not gather religious instructions in the new schools. Therefore the Muslim parents objected vociferously that a school without religious education could be called anything but not school. Another reason attributed to failure of newly found schools was the fact that it had made its base only in the urban area’s population and not among nomads and rural folks. The Russian schools gained same momentum in Qazakh and Qirghiz areas which were unaffected by the Islamic educational tradition.

According to Kanffmain's system two more schools came into being. The first was Russke tuzemnayashkola (Russo-native school) mainly for the Muslim children with the clear objective to bring them into the fold of Russian culture through medium of their own language and with little elements of Russian language and culture. The force behind
this system was said to be Saiyid Azim, a Tashqand merchant who had trade links with the Russians and who was also an admirer of Russian culture. Another school was opened in the nineteenth century, which became a part and parcel of the Jadid Movement with the object to bridge the gulf between Muslim traditions and the requirements of modern life. It appears that the new school was soon found in competition with Russo-native schools as they were also opened in towns where they gained much success than the former. This new method schools received more opposition by the orthodox clergy in Bukhara. However, it is to be opted that the first school of its kind was opened in 1908 but soon got closed in 1910 at the behest of clergy. There are some more references of opening more schools in Bukhara in the year 1912-13 but all of them were closed by the order of Amir Alim Khan in 1914. The authorities apprehended the risks involved in such activities. The growing influence of Jadid Movement during the last years of Czarist regime began to take interest in the madrasahs. In this pursuit, the madrasahs were placed under official administrative and financial control. This phase was described by Barthold as an alliance between Russian conservatism and old-style Islam. However, the natives remained reluctant to take educational advantages offered by the Russians. On account of their close connection
with their madrasahs as centres of their religious learning the Muslims shunned from the madrasahs. To accelerate entry of natives in newly founded Russian schools, various measures had been taken by the authorities. In this process Muslim theologians were appointed to teach Arabic language and basic principles of Islam to the students. The so-called translation method was used to get the student acquainted with the Russian language. But it did not yield any fruitful result. The Russian government was in a fix as to which local languages should be the medium of instruction. However, the regulation which was passed in 1907 says that the primary education was to be in a local language but it is worth mentioning that the four years programme that was passed in the same year by the government failed to mention the official medium of instruction and it appears that Russian retained its position as official medium of instruction.

The seed of reform regarding education in Bukhara was sown very late. Though, Amir Abdul Ahad had given some tacit support to the reformists who had insisted upon the need for reformed school. In October 1908 the Amir had authorised the creation of a reformed school for his subjects with the focus on Persian (Tajik) as medium of instruction despite opposition from theologians. During Abdul Ahad's reign we find considerable debate on education. On the one
hand there were *ulema* who were having slight majority against the reformed school and on the other there were Bukharan merchants and businessmen who, being influenced by the Jadids, became capable of arguing the truth to influence the Amir on its decision. It is also alleged that in Bukhara the Russian authorities in the name of reformed schools wanted to weaken the theologians who have had great influence on the subjects in the past. It is also to be noted that the insistence on Russian language to be the medium of instruction in reformed schools was deliberate so as to reduce the influence and hostile attitude of Muslim conservatism against Russia.\(^6^1\) It is said that the Jadid movement got its roots deeper and stronger with Russia's assistance and it was too conspicuous and obvious in Bukhara for a brief time. It is interesting to note that as soon as the Russian authority felt that the Jadids, in the name of education, were turning their heads towards a movement of indigenous emancipation and social reform the Russians ceased to support them.\(^6^2\) In order to reform the *maktabs* of Russia the Tatar texts were used but somehow it was not acceptable to Bukhara inhabitants on account of its form and content. In this span of time, we find that there was the formation of an association by the local intellectuals called the *Shirkat-i-Bukhara Sharif*\(^6^3\) (Union of Holy Bukhara) by the men like
Usman Khoja Oghli, Ahmad Jan Makhdum, Haji Rafiq, Abdul Wahid Munzim, Sadruddin Aini who led the future Young Bukharan Party to find the way for reforms in education. During his reign, Amir Alim Khan is said to have agreed to reforms and due to political implications, promised to bring about reforms in madrasahs and tried to preserve his power and his country's freedom through the promises of reforms. He, therefore, entrusted Qazi Kalan (Chief Qazi) for the fulfilment of the project. Since 1910 the Amir under the influence of theologians used to carry on measures to check and limit the instructions regarding reforms. In this period, the Qushbegi (Chief Minister) in Bukhara used this favourable condition to transfer the Tatar school from the capital as the Tatars were supposed to be the Russian subjects living in Emirate. Henceforth under the influence of reactions all sorts of reform including madrasah education were abandoned during Alim Khan's reign.

During the second decade of twentieth century we find tremendous change in Bukhara's educational pattern as a spate of reforms started. In 1910 the Jamaiat-i-Tarbiat-ul-Atfal (society for the education of youth) was founded headed by Chief of the Union of Holy Bukhara. The society had tacit relations with the secret organisation emerging out in Bukhara. It is said that the society that flourished in
provinces had increased its number outside the capital as well, though it remained only a clandestine affair. However, the impact of society on the population was great and moreover it affected the political, administrative and financial structure of the population on the religious and ethnic lines. It appears that under conservative pressure the Bukharan merchants closed down all the reformed maktabs but it is however, significant that the students who were under the influence of reformist ideology had deep patriotic consciousness of nationality and deep sense of humiliation with respect to Russia.

It is said that at the time of revolution only three per cent Bukhara people were literate. It might be correct in the formal western sense. There was traditional Islamic learning and instruction right from the earliest days of hoary past. It is important to note that right from early nineteenth century there was increasing interest among the population in education. Early authors and later travellers write about the number of madrasahs and students getting education in it. Fazil Khan writes there were eighty madrasah, each having forty to three hundred rooms. Each room accommodated two students. Alexander Burnes reports that there were three hundred and sixty six colleges in Bukhara. In these colleges "students assembled from not only out of all parts of Central
Asia but students arrived from India, Afghanistan, Russia and China to study." Similar view is held by the author of 'Turkistan Solo'. The number of students was reported to be 20,000. Gustav Krist records this number as 21,000. Devendra Kaushik on the authority of A.A. Gordiyenko tells "the army of mullah's in Bukhara numbered 40,000." No doubt in these madrasah curriculum was mostly dominated by religious teachings, but rhetoric, oratorical art, poetry and logic were part of the curriculum. Besides cleanliness and good manner was also taken into account as told by Polovtsoff. Thus to say that literacy was very low is merely denial of fact. Further keeping into view the increasing interest of populace in education in which Russian authorities and Muslim reformists both played an important role, there is reason to believe that a sharp increase in literacy as well as movements towards the introduction of higher education was bound to occur whether there was revolution or no revolution.
References

1. *Istoriya Uzbekistana* Tashkent, 1967, pp.675-676

2. Bajuwani, p.75.


10. Ibid.


15. Alworth, pp.406-7

16. For detail see Sadruddin Aini Namuna-i Adbiat-i Tajik, Moscow, Tsentrizdat, 1926.

17. Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil had achieved a reputation as a remarkable poet of classical literature of India. Many poets of Central Asia in general and Bukhara in particular were supposed to be influenced by Bedil's style of poetry, its form and content. Sadruddin Aini in his book Namuna-i Adbiat-i Tajik written in 1200 H, says that writers and poets of Bukhara and Transoxiana region were copying Bedil's style. Aini further says that the form and content of the poetry being written in that period had much resemblance with Bedil's style. Jerry Becka, Tarikh-i Adbiat-i Tajikistan, tr. by Kabir Ahmad Jaisi, Delhi, pp.65-66,77; Richard C. Foltz, Mughul India and Central Asia, London, New York, Karachi, p.XXVII.

18. Cited in Jerry Becka.

19. It was written in 1823-24, published from Tashqand in 1905.


22. Ibid. p.354.


27. Ibid.

28. If Danish is to be believed this sort of poetry was in fashion in the court of Amir Muzaffar, see *Risala*, p.109.


31. Ismail Bey Gasprinskii (1851-1914) was a Crimian Tatar reformer, educator and publicist he was regarded as an architect of modernism among Muslim Turkic subjects of the Russian Empire.

32. Kaushik, pp.75-80.

33. Kunitz, pp.64-66.


36. Ibid., op.cit., p.76.
37. Ibid., p.76-77.
39. Ibid., pp.204-5.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Allworth, p.200.
44. Saiyid Alim was born in 1880. He had close familiarity with Russian life as he spent four years in Nikolaevskii Cadet Corps in St. Petersburg. His Library was full of books of Russian authors. He was a frequent visitor to Russia. Becker, p.207.
45. Becker, p.207.
46. Ibid. p.208
47. Ibid,
51. Khanikoff, p 294, Kunitz, p.11
52. Allworth, p.351.
53. Ibid. p.354.
54. Ibid
56. Ibid
57. Ibid, p.201.
60. Allworth, p.194.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid. p.196.
64. Ibid. p.198.
65. Ibid. p.198.
66. Kunitz, p.11; Kanshik, p.75.
67. Fazil Khan, p.23.
70. Kaushik, p.75.