

Yangi ta'lim tizimi uchun kurash: 1905-yilgacha Turkistonda inkor etish siyosati, ruslashtirish va jadidchilik

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The Struggle for a New Education System: Politics of Denial, Russification, and Jadidism in Turkestan before 1905

The 'politics of denial' started by General Kaufman in Turkestan in the 1870s was continued by his successors until 1905 and finally aimed at the destruction of local Muslim institutions and at the Russification of its Muslim population. The education system played a central role in the implementation of this "civilizing process". Yet, replacing and regulating the local education system turned out to be not as straightforward as Russian officials in Turkestan thought it would be. The colonial education system was challenged by Tatar reformists and by the local intelligentsia and educators, who proposed an alternative Muslim education system. This article shows the ideological struggle between Russian officials and the Jadids on the issue of creating a new educational system in Turkestan.

Rossiya Turkiston o'lkasini bosib olgandan keyin mahalliy ta'lim muassasalarini o'ziga qarshi tura oladigan kuch sifatida ko'ra boshladi. Shu sabab, birinchi navbatda, chor ma'muriyati mahalliy aholini ruslashtirish siyosatini amalga oshirishda ta'lim muassasalariga alohida e'tibor qaratgan holda dastur ishlab chiqishga kirishdi.¹

Turkistonning birinchi general-gubernatori Konstantin Petrovich fon Kaufman boshlab bergan "inkor etish" siyosati keyingi general-gubernatorlar tomonidan ham izchil tarzda amalga oshirila bordi. Inkor etish siyosati musulmonlarga tegishli bo'lgan barcha muassasa va tashkilotlarga davlat tomonidan hech qanday e'tibor qaratmay, ularni o'z holiga tashlab qo'yish orqali "jonsiz" holatga olib kelishni maqsad qilgan edi. Bundan tashqari, rus ma'muriyati bu siyosat doirasida mahalliy musulmon ta'lim muassasalariga tegishli bo'lgan vaqf mulklarini turli sabablar bilan musodara qilib, tortib olingan mulkni

¹ Sodiqov, Hakim va boshq. 2000, 253.

yangi tashkil etilayotgan rus muassasalari ixtiyoriga o'tkazib berish ishlarini ham amalga oshira boshladi. Bu ham yetmaganday, hukumat yangi vaqflarni ta'sis etilishiga ham to'siq qo'yuvchi qonunlar qabul qildi. Bu, albatta, mahalliy maorif tizimini izdan chiqishiga, ko'plab maktab va madrasalarning haroba holga kelishiga zamin yaratdi.

Kaufman yuritgan siyosat mahalliy aholini turmush tarziga ko'ra ikkiga ajratdi va ushbu ikki guruhga nisbatan maqsadli ish ko'rdi. Birinchi guruhni asosan ko'chmanchi holda choravchilik bilan shug'ullangan qirg'izlar (qozoqlar) tashkil qilgan bo'lsa, ikkinchi guruhga esa shahar va qishloqlarda o'troq yashagan, ruslarning ta'biri bilan aytganda, "siyosiy jihatdan o'ta xavfli" bo'lgan aholi kiritildi. Kaufman yaratmoqchi bo'lgan yangi maorif tizimi ko'chmanchi aholini o'troq musulmonlar ta'siridan olib chiqish va tez orada ularni ruslashtirishni maqsad qildi. O'troq aholiga nisbatan esa bu siyosat boshqacha yo'l tutishi kerak edi va shu maqsadda Qozondan mashhur missioner Nikolay Il'minskiyning shogirdlari Nikolay Ostroumov va Mixail Miropiev Toshkentga chaqirib olib kelindi.

Ostroumov va Miropiev, garchi ular mahalliy musulmonlarni nasroniylashtirish orqali ruslashtirish va shu yo'l bilan ularni rus xalqi bilan birlashtirishga qaratilgan takliflarni ilgari surganiga qaramay Turkiston ma'muriyati bunday siyosatni amalga oshirishga botina olmadi. Turkistonda mahalliy maorif tizimini tartibga keltirish rus ma'murlari o'ylaganchalik oson ish emas edi. Kaufman aytganiday, ruslar Turkistonda mustahkam asosga ega maorif tizimiga duch keldilar.

Boshqa tarafdin ruslarning "g'ayrijins"larga nisbatan olib borgan mustamlakachilik siyosati natijada ularga qarshi turuvchi mahalliy ziyolilarning yetishib chiqishiga turtki berdi. Shunday shaxslardan biri qrimlik Ismoil Gasprinskiy edi. Gasprinskiy mahalliy musulmon maktab va madrasalar ta'lim dasturiga rus tili va rus tarixiga oid fanlarni kiritish orqali yangicha maorif tizimini yaratish dasturi bilan Turkiston rus ma'muriyatiga murojaat qildi. Gasprinskiyning bu tashabbusi Ostroumov va Miropievlar tomonidan juda katta qarshilikka duch keldi. Albatta, bu missionerlar Gasprinskiy taklif etgan dasturning asosiy maqsadi va natijasi nimaga olib kelishini juda yaxshi tushunganlari bois uni umuman inkor etdilar.

Gasprinskiyning dasturi turkistonlik mahalliy ziyolilar tomonidan juda yaxshi qabul qilindi va ular asta sekinlik bilan ushbu dasturni amalga oshira boshladilar. Chor hukumati mahalliy aholi orasida yuzaga kelgan bunday yangiliklarga befarq qarab turmadi. Ushbu yangilikning manbalarini qidirish, ularni imkon qadar yo'q qilishga kirishdi va buning uchun qator ishlarni amalga oshirdi.

Shu bilan bir qatorda, siyosiy maydonga yangi kirib kelgan jadedlar maorifning milliy tizimini yaratish barobarida xorijiy tillar, jumladan rus tilini o'rganishni taraqqiyotga erishishning vositalaridan biri sifatida qaradilar. Shuningdek, ular millatning taraqqiyotga erishishida adabiy tilning muhim rol o'ynashini hisobga olgan holda, uni shakllantirish borasida ham amaliy harakat qildilar. Adabiy til borasida jadedlar bir-biriga qarshi fikrlarni o'rtaga tashladilar va umumturkiy adabiy til borasida kelisha olmadilar.

Rossiyaning Turkistonga tajovuzi oqibatida olib borilgan ruslashtirish siyosati oxir oqibat tanazzulga yuz tutdi. Buni o'z vaqtida rus ma'murlari va missionerlari ham e'tirof etdi. O'lkaga Gasprinskiy dasturi bilan kirib kelgan jadedchilik ruslashtirishga qarshi katta kuch sifatida maydonga chiqdi.

Inkor etish – ruslashtirishning bosh g'oyasi

1867-yilda Turkistonning bosib olingan hududi doirasida Chor hukumati Turkiston general-gubernatorligini tashkil qildi va birinchi gubernator sifatida Konstantin Petrovich fon Kaufmanni (1818-1882) tayinladi. Yangi general-gubernatorlik markazi etib Toshkent tanlandi.

Turkiston general-gubernatorligini boshqarish bo'yicha 1867-1886-yillarda amalda bo'lgan Muvaqqat Nizom general-gubernator faoliyatida keng siyosiy erkinlik berishni nazarda tutmagan bo'lsada, general Kaufman Peterburg bilan maslahatlashmagan holda Turkistonga qo'shni davlatlar bilan mustaqil tarzda turli muzokaralar olib borish, shuningdek o'lkaning byudjetini tasdiqlash, turli soliq va yig'imlar hamda rus sub'ektlari uchun imtiyozlar berish kabi ishlarni amalga oshirishi mumkin edi. Rossiya Imperiyasining hech qaysi general-gubernatorligi Turkiston general-gubernatorligiga berilgan imtiyozlarga hamda markazdan mustaqil harakat qilish vakolatiga ega bo'lmagan.

Kaufman ma'muriyati Turkistondagi faoliyatini mahalliy xalqlar o'rtasida "sivilizatsiya g'oyalari"ni singdirishdan boshladi va yangi bosib olingan hududlarda Yevropaning "sivilizatorlik missiyasi"ni o'z yelkasiga oldi. Jef Sahadeoga ko'ra, ruslar koloniyaga aylantirilgan Toshkentda qo'llay boshlagan "sivilizatsiya" so'zi, biroz ma'nosini o'zgartirgan va Yevropada ko'p ishlatiladigan "madaniyat", "taraqqiyot"ga yaqinroq edi.² Bundan tashqari, ruslar Turkistonda shunday qizg'in jamiyat va iqtisodiy holatga duch keldilarki, bu ularning Osiyoning qotib qolgan va qoloq holdagi tasavvurlariga butunlay to'g'ri kelmas edi.³

Rus ma'muriyati Turkistondagi "sivilizatorlik missiyasi"ni o'zlari uchun "muhim ahamiyatga molik ish" bo'lgan maktabdan boshladilar.⁴ Kaufman ma'muriyati yangi siyosat doirasida Turkistondagi maorif tashkilotlarini o'ziga bo'ysundira boshladi. Ular siyosiy vaj sababidan barcha mahalliy maktablarni yopib tashlay olmasdilar. Shu sabab ham ruslar ushbu muassasalarni inkor etish va moddiy ta'minotdan mahrum qilish yo'lini tanladilar.⁵

Kaufman yo'lga qo'ya boshlagan siyosat birinchi navbatda mahalliy ta'lim muassasalarining moddiy ta'minotchisi bo'lgan vaqf institutini taqiqladi. Endi maktab va madrasalarga vaqf mulki berish yoki vaqf mulkini yangidan tashkil etilmaydigan bo'ldi.⁶ Kaufman bu yo'lda hatto "1867-yilda tasdiqlangan Muvaqqat Nizomda ko'rsatilgan yangi vaqf mulklarni tashkil etish va hadya qilish"⁷ bandini inobatga ham olmadi. Ko'plab vaqf mulklari turli tazyiqlar va ayblovlar ostida musodara qilindi.⁸

Chor hukumatining mahalliy aholi uchun ta'lim tili rus tili bo'lgan maktablarni ta'xis qilishiga sabablardan biri, bu ruslashtirish siyosatining asosi bo'lgan "rus manfaatlari" edi. Ushbu manfaatdan kelib chiqqan holda, chorizmning Turkistondagi ta'lim siyosati mahalliy xalqni ruslashtirish orqali uni Rossiya Imperiyasiga mahkam

² Sahadeo, Jeff 2007, 8.

³ Sahadeo, Jeff 2007, 12.

⁴ Proyekt 1881, 430-436.

⁵ Proyekt 1881, 438; Ostroumov, Nikolay 1910, 139.

⁶ Istoriya Samarkanda 1969, 240-241.

⁷ Proyekt 1881, 240.

⁸ Sahadeo, Jeff 2007, 75.

“bog’lash”ga yo’naltirildi. 1870-yili Xalq ta’limi vazirligi “Vatanimiz sarhadlarida istiqomat qiluvchi barcha g’ayrijinslar⁹ning ta’limidan ko’zlangan asosiy maqsad ularni ruslashtirish va rus xalqi bilan birlashtirish”ga qaratilganligi haqida axborot berdi.¹⁰

Kaufman yurita boshlagan umumta’lim siyosati natijasida rus va g’ayrijinslar bolalari birga ta’lim oladigan hamda diniy fanlar o’qitilmaydigan maktablar tashkil etilishi kerak edi. Bunday maktablar, Kaufmanga ko’ra, ko’chmanchi xalqlarni o’troq hayot kechiradigan g’ayrijinslarning diniy ta’siridan uzoqlashtirishga va ajratishga xizmat qilishiga mo’ljallangan edi. Ayni shu siyosat arab alifbosini kirillcha bilan almashtiradigan rus harflarini joriy etishni ham ko’zda tutgan edi.¹¹ Bu usul Volgabo’yi tatarlari uchun Nikolay II’minskiy tarafidan ko’llanilgan va samara bergan edi.¹² Umuman olganda, Kaufman taklif qilgan maorif loyihasi Turkiston o’lkasida birinchi navbatda aynan ko’chmanchi qozoq bolalari uchun rus maktablari ochishni maqsad qilgan. Bu yo’l bilan ularni tezroq ruslashtirish va ruslashtirish siyosatining g’oyalariga to’g’ri kelmaydigan o’troq musulmonlarning ta’sir doirasidan butunlay ihotalash mumkin edi.¹³ Albatta, Kaufman bu siyosatni shakllantirishda Sharq tarixi bo’yicha yirik mutaxassis Vasiliy Grigorev (1816-1881) va Nikolay II’minskiy tavsiyalariga qattiq amal qildi.¹⁴

XIX asrning 80-yillari boshida Kaufman podshoh Aleksandr III ga yo’llagan hisobotida o’lkaning yangi ma’muriyati xalq ta’limini yo’lga qo’yishda amirlik va xonliklar hududlarida “juda yaxshi tashkil etilgan va shakllangan xalq ta’limi tizimiga qarshi” kurashishga to’g’ri kelganini yozgan edi.¹⁵ Kaufman ma’muriyati, yuqorida aytilganidek, bu ta’lim muassasalariga o’ta ishonchsizlik bilan qaragan va imkon qadar ularning faoliyatini cheklashga uringan. Shu bilan bir qatorda, diniy ta’lim yoki musulmon huquqiy tizimiga aralashmaslik haqida rasman e’lon ham qilgan edi. Bu esa, Sahadeoning ta’kidlashicha,

⁹ G’ayrijins borasida, qarang: Slocum, John 1998, 173-190.

¹⁰ Istoriya narodov Turkestana 1947, 263-264.

¹¹ Projekt 1881, 436.

¹² Sbornik materialov 1869; II’minskiy, Nikolay 1891; Znamenskiy, Pyotr 1899.

¹³ Ostroumov, Nikolay 1899.

¹⁴ Ostroumov, Nikolay 1910, 141.

¹⁵ Projekt 1881, 433.

Kaufman yuritgan siyosatga “inkor etish siyosati” maqomi rasman berilganligini tasdiqlaydi.¹⁶

Birinchi general-gubernator Kaufman boshlagan maorif siyosatini davom ettirgan keyingi gubernatorlar ta'lim muassasalariga yanada qattiqroq shartlarni qo'ya boshladi. Musulmonlarga bo'lgan ishonchsizlik yanada kuchaydi. Turkiston o'lka rus ma'muriyati Peterburgdan Turkiston musulmonlari diniy mahkamasini ta'xis qilish borasida bildirilayotgan takliflarga ham qarshi chiqdi. Aslida Peterburg ushbu mahkamani ta'xis qilish orqali o'lkadagi barcha musulmon tashkilotlarini nazorat ostiga olishni rejalashtirgan edi. 1898-yili general-gubernator Sergey Duxovskoy (1838-1901) Rossiya Imperiyasi Harbiy vaziriga yozgan ma'lumotnomasida o'lkada chor hukumatini yanada mustahkamlash uchun xalqning ma'naviy-axloqiy jihatiga katta ta'sir o'tkazuvchi Turkistondagi barcha musulmon tashkilotlari, xususan madrasa hayotiga ko'proq aralashish taklifini bildirgan edi. U Turkiston musulmonlari diniy mahkamasini ta'xis qilinishiga qat'iy qarshi chiqdi. Duxovskoy bu mahkama ta'xis qilinadigan bo'lsa, u faqat mahalliy musulmonlarni birlashishiga va rus davlatchiligiga qarshi faoliyat olib boradi degan fikrda edi. Bundan tashqari, u barcha mahalliy musulmon maktablarini Turkiston ma'muriyati tasarrufiga o'tkazish; barcha musulmon muassasa va tashkilotlarini qayta ro'yxatdan o'tkazish; va eng asosiysi, musulmon maktabi muallimlari har yili dars berish huquqini beruvchi guvohnoma olishlari kerakligi borasida takliflar berdi. Duxovskoy o'z ma'lumotnomasi so'ngida general-gubernator vakolatiga siyosiy jihatdan nomaqbul deb topilgan istalgan mahalliy musulmon muassasasini yopish vakolatini berishni so'raydi.¹⁷

Ko'rinib turganidek, Turkiston ma'muriyati mahalliy ta'lim muassasalarida nima va qanday o'qitilayotganidan qattiq tashvishga tusha boshlagan. Duxovskoy musulmonlar diniy mahkamasi o'rniga barcha musulmon muassasalari boshqaruvini bekor qilish va ularning vazifalarini umumiy ma'muriyatga o'tkazishni nazarda tutuvchi loyiha ishlab chiqish va amalga oshirishni ham taklif qildi.¹⁸ O'sha vaqt Harbiy vazir, 1916-1917 yillarda Turkiston general-gubernatori bo'lgan Aleksey

¹⁶ Sahadeo, Jeff 2007, 33.

¹⁷ Ostroumov, Nikolay 1910, 147.

¹⁸ Arapov, Dmitriy 2001, 294.

Kuropatkin (1848-1925) ham Duxovskoyning bu taklifini qo'llab-quvvatlagan yirik siyosiy shaxslardan biri edi. Kuropatkin musulmon ulamosi faoliyatini qat'iy nazoratga olish va "ruslashtirish" siyosatini kuchaytirish tarafdori sifatida tanildi. Lekin Turkiston musulmonlari diniy mahkamasi masalasi o'z yechimini topmadi. Turkiston o'lkasida boshqaruvchilik qilgan gubernatorlar musulmonlarning ahvolini tartibga keltirishni u qadar muhim masala deb qaramadilar.

Islom va uning tashkilotlarini inkor etish siyosatiga qarshi chiqqan shaxslardan biri Nikolay Ostroumov edi. U, aksincha, musulmon umumta'lim muassasalari bo'lgan maktab va madrasani qattiq nazorat ostiga olish tarafdori edi. Ostroumov maktab va madrasani eng katta xavf deb hisobladi va ularni butunlay inkor etishni siyosiy xato deb talqin qildi. Turkiston ma'muriyatining bu siyosati, uning fikricha, "ko'chmanchi qirg'izlarni o'troq sartlar va tatarlar ta'siridan chiqara olmadi; bundan buyon ham ruslar o'troq sartlarni o'z ta'sirida ushlab turishga qodir emas; ish shunday davom etsa, musulmon maktabi taraqqiyot va butun dunyo musulmonlari bilan birlashishga intilayotgan yangi tatarlar, yosh tatarlar ta'siriga tushishi aniq"¹⁹ edi. Ammo uning bu sohadagi faoliyati faqat taklif berishdan nari o'tmadi. Rus siyosatchilari Turkiston musulmonlari va ularning muassasalariga nisbatan olib borgan inkor etish yo'li orqali ularni o'z-o'zidan yo'q bo'lib ketishini to'g'ri deb bildilar.²⁰

Ta'lim ruslashtirilish siyosati xizmatida

Ichki Rus viloyatlaridagi musulmonlar orasida XIX asrning oxirida yuzaga kelgan va tez yoyila boshlagan islohotchilik harakatining uchqunlari XX asr boshlariga kelib Turkistonda ham ko'rina boshladi. Nikolay Ostroumov bu harakatga ta'rif berar ekan, quyidagicha yozadi:

"Imperiya qo'l ostidagi mahalliy xalqlar hayoti sekin asta bo'lsada rivojlanishga yuz tutdi. Bu holat nafaqat tabiiy, balki sun'iy ta'sirlar asosida paydo bo'ldi. Ikkinchi ta'sir o'tgan asrning (XIX asrning – A.Z.) 70-yillarida paydo bo'ldi va ziyoli rus tatarlaridagi bu uyg'onishni rus amaldorlari sezmadilar. Bu guruh mahalliy ta'limni (maktab va madrasa) egallab olishni va unga o'z yo'nalishini berishga harakat qildi"²¹.

¹⁹ Ostroumov, Nikolay 1910, 159-160.

²⁰ Radzhabov, Zarif 1970, 155.

²¹ Ostroumov, Nikolay 1910, 148.

Nikolay Ostroumov Turkistonda rasmiy hukumatning maorif masalalari bo'yicha mas'ul shaxsi sifatida musulmon ziyolilarining milliy maorifni *"egallab olish"* va unga *"o'z"* yo'nalishini berishiga o'zi *"hukmron"* bo'lgan Turkistonda yo'l bermaslikka harakat qildi. Uning bu harakatiga uzoq vaqt o'z qobig'ida o'ralib, tashqi dunyo bilan deyarli aloqasi uzilgan, iqtisodiy qoloq, ijtimoiy-siyosiy jihatdan chuqur inqirozga yuz tutgan Turkistonning ahvoli ham bir darajada yordamchi bo'ldi. Yana bir katta sabab, bu Turkistonda asrlar davomida shakllangan o'ta konservativ din siyosati va tushunchasi jamiyatda har qanday islohot o'tkazishga eng katta to'siq edi. Turkiston rus ma'muriyati o'lkada olib borilayotgan kolonial siyosatdan kelib chiqqan holda konservativ fikrlovchi diniy qatlam, xususan ulamo kuchidan unumli foydalandi. Ichki Rossiya musulmonlari orasida boshlangan yangilanish va islohotchilik harakatining Turkiston o'lkasiga kirib kelishi va yoyilishi shu sababdan ham ancha kech, XX asr boshlariga to'g'ri keldi. Tabiiyki, jadidchilik nomi bilan tarixga kirgan ushbu harakatning boshida turgan qrimlik Ismoil Gasprinskiyning faoliyati, xususan uning Turkiston o'lkasi bilan bog'liq harakatlari mahalliy rus ma'muriyatining doimiy nazoratida bo'ldi.

1881-yili Ismoil Gasprinskiy Simferopolda *"Russkoe musul'manstvo"* (Rossiyada musulmonchilik) nomida broshyura nashr qildi. Unda Gasprinskiy hokim millat, ya'ni rus hukumati qo'l ostidagi musulmonlarga nisbatan, ularning tili, dini, ta'limiga doir qanday siyosat olib borishi kerakligi haqida fikr yuritadi va bu yo'nalishda o'z takliflarini ham ilgari suradi.²²

1882-yili 30-avgustda Turkiston O'qituvchilar seminariyasining yillik yig'ilishi bo'lib o'tadi. Bu yig'ilishning boshqa yig'ilishlardan biroz farqli jihati bor edi. Begali Qosimovning ta'kidlashicha, mazkur yig'ilish seminariya o'qituvchilarga o'quv yili boshlanishi oldidan an'anaviy tarzda bir yo'llanma berish sifatida o'tkazilgan bo'lsa-da, asosiy maqsad Ismoil Gasprinskiyning *"Russkoe musul'manstvo"* broshyurasida bildirilgan fikrlar va taklif etilgan g'oyalarning muhokamasigaga bag'ishlangan edi.²³ Majlisda asosiy ma'ruzachi sifatida seminariya

²² Gasprinskiy, Ismail 1881.

²³ Qosimov, Begali 2002, 19-20.

o'qituvchisi, missioner Mixail Miropiev²⁴ so'zga chiqdi.²⁵ Miropiev oradan 2 yil o'tgandan so'ng bu yig'ilishda qilgan ma'ruzasining nomini biroz o'zgartirib "Rus" jurnalining 1884-yilgi 17-sonida chop etadi.²⁶ Maqolaning nomi Turkiston O'qituvchilar seminariyasida 1882-yili bo'lib o'tgan yig'ilish aynan Ismoil Gasprinskiyning "Russkoe musul'manstvo" broshyurasi tahliliga yo'nalganini yanada aniqlashtiradi.

Miropiev ma'ruzasining asosiy g'oyasi Rossiya hududidagi musulmonlarning ta'limi faqat ruslashtirish siyosatini amalga oshirishga qaratilishi kerakligi va bu g'oya ushbu yo'nalishning bosh va asosiy prinsipi sifatida qabul qilinishi kerakligidan iborat edi. Unga ko'ra, *"musulmonlarimiz ta'limi asosiga birinchi va eng asosiy prinsip sifatida ularni ruslashtirish qo'yilishi kerak"*²⁷.

Gasprinskiy broshyurada Rossiyaning Sharqda, xususan Turkistondagi *"buyuk sivilizatorlik missiyasining mazmun-mohiyati qozini uezd boshlig'i bilan, noibni pristavo, bekligni oblast va gubernya"* va hokazolar bilan almashtirishdan nari siljimayotganligi ochib berish maqsadida imperiyaning turli yerlarida rus hokimiyati tomonidan olib borilayotgan siyosat va ushbu siyosat natijasida amalga oshirilayotgan ishlarni misol sifatida keltiradi. Gasprinskiy bu boradagi fikrlarining xulosasi sifatida ruslarning sivilizatorlik missiyasi *"musulmonlarni taraqqiyot va sivilizatsiyaga olib bormayotganligi, chindan ham, afsuslanarlik emasmi?"* degan so'rovni o'rtaga qo'yadi.²⁸

Miropiev Gasprinskiyning bu iddaolarini tan olgan holda *"biz buyuk tarixiy ahamiyatga ega bo'lgan ish, Yevropa sivilizatsiyasini Osiyo dunyosiga ko'chirish ishiga qattiqroq kirishishimiz vaqti keldi"*²⁹, deydi. Uning ta'kidlashicha, hukmron millat qo'l ostidagilarni hech qachon qo'ldan chiqarmasligi va doimiy nazoratda ushlab turishiga, bir tarafdin rus vatandoshlarning to'kilgan qoni, ikkinchi tomondan esa ichki va tashqi

²⁴ Miropiev Mixail Alekseevich - (1852-1919), XIX asr oxiri XX asr boshlarida Turkistonda va Kavkazda faoliyat olib brogan rus pravoslav missioneri. U islom dini hamda Rossiya hududidagi musulmonlarni xristianlashtirish borasida qator asarlar yozgan. Batafsil ma'lumot uchun, qarang: Dowler, Wayne 2001, 178, 206.

²⁵ Miropiev, Mixail 1883, 134-145.

²⁶ Miropiev, Mixail 1884, 24-41.

²⁷ Miropiev, Mixail 1883, 141.

²⁸ Gasprinskiy, Ismail 1881, 4-6.

²⁹ Miropiev, Mixail 1883, 136.

xavfsizlik masalasi majbur etadi.³⁰ Miropiev ruslarning va rus hukumatining sivilizatorlik missiyasini mahalliy aholini nasroniylashtirish orqali davlat birligini ta'minlashda ko'radi.³¹

Miropievning bu fikrlari rus hokimiyatining Turkistondagi faoliyati Gasprinskiy broshyurada taklif etgan hamkorlik siyosatiga emas, unga aks bo'lgan assimilyatsiya siyosatiga asoslanganligini yana bir bor isbotlaydi.³²

Gasprinskiyning broshyurada bildirgan asosiy takliflaridan biri bo'lgan milliy maktablarni isloh qilish masalasiga kelganda, Miropiev *“ziyoli musulmonlar taklif qilayotgan islom qoidalariga asoslangan ta'lim”* tizimi Rossiya davlatchiligi siyosatiga umuman to'g'ri kelmasligini yuqoridagi kabi fikrlari bilan inkor etadi.

Miropiev Rossiya imperiyasi hududida musulmon ta'lim tizimiga rus pedagoglari va ularning rahbariyati tarafidan taklif qilingan ta'lim usuli joriy qilinishi kerakligini ta'kidlaydi. Miropiev ta'kidlagan bu usul tahlil qilinsa, uning g'ayriuslar, xususan musulmon ta'lim tizimini tamoman ruslashtirishga qaratilgan bo'lib, ish, eng avvalo, islom dinini inkor etishni nazarda tutadi. Miropiev ushbu usulni tatbiq qilish tarafdori sifatida *“g'ayrius bo'lgan musulmonlar ta'limiga oid siyosatning ikkinchi asosiy prinsipi islomni, qisqacha qilib aytganda, umuman musulmonlarning butun diniy faoliyatlarini inkor etish bo'lmog'i kerak”* degan taklifni ilgari suradi.³³ Turkistonda mahalliy maktab, madrasa va musulmonchilikni inkor etish siyosati turli talqinlarda 1905-yilgacha davom etdi.³⁴

Chor imperiyasi davrida Markaziy Osiyo bo'yicha eng yirik mutaxassislardan biri bo'lgan Vasiliy Bartol'd rus missionerlarining musulmonlarga nisbatan tanlagan yo'li va ilgari surayotgan siyosatiga izoh sifatida *“Rossiyada nasroniylik endigina ildiz ota boshlagan vaqtda islom Turkiston aholisi qoniga singib bo'lgan edi. Misionerlar (bu yo'lda) biror ishni amalga oshirishlari o'ta mushkul”*³⁵, deb yozgan edi. Bartol'd o'zining bu xulosasi bilan mahalliy aholini nasroniylashtirish orqali ruslashtirish

³⁰ Miropiev, Mixail 1883, 136.

³¹ Miropiev, Mixail 1883, 137.

³² Batunskiy, Mixail 2004.

³³ Miropiev, Mixail 1883, 141-145.

³⁴ Ostroumov, Nikolay 1910, 139-160; Qabul-i islam 1910; Milli maishat 1911.

³⁵ TsGARUz. 04.03.1911.

siyosatini inkor etadi. Darhaqiqat, missionerlarning bu faoliyatlari Turkistonda umuman amalga oshmadi. Aksincha, Rossiyadan Turkistonga ko'chirib kelingan ruslarning bir qismi ko'p o'tmay islom dinini qabul qila boshladi.³⁶

Rossiya hukumat doiralarida Nikolay Il'minskiy va uning izdoshlari bo'lgan Nikolay Ostroumov va Mixail Miropievlar taklif qilayotgan ruslashtirish siyosatini ma'qullamaydigan amaldorlar ham bor edi. Ular chorizmning millatchilik siyosatini qo'llab-quvvatlasalar-da, qa'tiy ravishda ruslashtirishga qarshi edilar. Ulardan biri Sergey Vitte³⁷ edi. U Rossiya imperiyasining qo'l ostiga o'tgan Osiyodagi mahalliy xalqlarga nisbatan qo'llanilgan ruslashtirish siyosati o'ta samarasiz ekanligi, aksincha rus hukumati ularning kundalik hayoti va dini mohiyatidan kelib chiqib harakat qilishi tarafdori ekanligini yozadi.³⁸

Yangi maktab – yangi tartib

Gasprinskiy Turkistonga rasmiy yo'l bilan jadid maktabini olib kirish uchun Qrimda qo'llagan usuldan foydalanishga harakat qildi. Gasprinskiy boshlang'ich maktablar va u bilan bir qatorda ayrim madrasalarni isloh qilish haqidagi takliflarini Turkiston general-gubernatori baron Aleksandr Vrevskiy³⁹ga⁴⁰ yubordi. Gasprinskiy bu ishda, Miropievdan farqli ravishda, boshlang'ich maktabda islom diniga oid asosiy ta'limot beruvchi fanlar saqlanib qolinishini va qo'shimcha ravishda rus tili fanini dasturga kiritilishni asosiy omil sifatida ko'rsatdi. Gasprinskiy maktubda yerli aholi o'z diniga mudoxala qilinsa umuman o'ziga yot bo'lgan narsani hech qachon qabul qilmasligi borasida general-gubernatorni ishontirishga urindi.⁴¹

³⁶ Kaufmanskii sbornik 1910, 153.

³⁷ Vitte Sergey Yul'evich (1849-1915) – Moliya vaziri (1892-1903), Rossiya Imperiyasi vazirlar Kengashi raisi (1905-1906). U 1905-yil Manifesti muallif-laridan biri. U haqda batafsil ma'lumot uchun, qarang: *Istoriia Rossii v portretakh* 1997, 285-308.

³⁸ Vitte, Sergey 1997, 73-74; 78.

³⁹ Vrevskiy Aleksandr Borisovich (1834-1910), baron; Turkiston General-Gubernatori (1890-1898).

⁴⁰ Lazzerini, Edward 1973, 30. Lazzerini Konstantin Bendrikov fikriga tayangan holda o'sha vaqtdagi General-Gubernator sifatida Nikolay Rozenbaxni ko'rsatadi. Vaholanki u 1899-yili Peterburgda vafot etgan va o'rniga Vrevskiy tayinlangan edi. Ayrim tadqiqotchilar Lazzeriniga tayangan holda ushbu xatoni takrorlaydi (Saray, Mehmet 1993, 35; Devlet, Nadir 1988, 63).

⁴¹ Gasprinskiy, Ismail 1893.

Gasprinskiy rejasini amalga oshirishda maktab va madrasa dasturlariga rus tilini kiritishni oldingi planga chiqardi. U rus tilini maktab va madrasa dasturiga kiritish orqali rus ma'muriyati ishonchini qozonish va takliflarini amaliy jihatdan qo'llab-quvvatlanishini maqsad qilgan edi. Gasprinskiy Turkiston ma'muriyatini "*... rus tilini musulmonlar orasida joriy qilish masalasi maktabda o'qitishni soddalashtirish yoki boshqacha aytganda, oson yo'lga solishga borib taqalishi*"⁴²ga e'tibor qaratishga va ushbu usul mahalliy aholini ruslarga, xususan ularning madaniyati bilan tanishiga yo'l ochadi degan fikrni o'rtaga tashladi. Gasprinskiy ta'limni isloh qilishdagi "*oson yo'l*"ni amalga oshirish uchun quyidagilarni taklif etadi:

- 1) o'qituvchilar uchun yangi usulga asoslangan o'qish va yozishga o'rgatish qo'llanmasini tarqatish;
- 2) yangi usulga asoslangan jadid maktablarini ommalashtirish;
- 3) ushbu maktablarga o'qituvchi yetishtirish uchun mavjud madrasalardan ayrimlarini "*oliy*" toifaga aylantirish uchun ularni isloh qilish;
- 4) "*oliy madrasa*" talabalariga harbiy majburiyat bo'yicha imtiyoz berish hamda diniy boshqarma qoshidagi imtihonlardan ozod qilish;
- 5) "*oliy madrasa*" dasturi rus tili, rus qonunlari va pedagogikasini yetarli darajada o'rgatilishiga asoslanishi kerak.

Gasprinskiyga ko'ra, bu ishlar amalga oshgandan keyin yangi usul maktabiga tayinlanadigan o'qituvchilar mahalliy o'quv yurtlari direksiyasi va musulmon diniy boshqarmasi vakillari huzurida imtihon topshiradi. Bu o'qituvchilar bir vaqtning o'zida ham musulmoncha, ham ruscha o'qita oladi. Ishni bu tartibga qo'yilishi va rus-tuzem maktabidagi o'qituvchining mahalliy aholidan bo'lishi musulmonlarni islom dinining buzulmasligiga ishonchini ortiradi. Gasprinskiy Turkiston general-gubernatoriga shu yo'l bilan musulmon maktablarida o'qitishni soddalashtirish va yangi usulni joriy qilishni taklif etdi.

Gasprinskiy yangi usulning asosiy mohiyati shu paytgacha joriy 6 yillik boshlang'ich maktablarni ikki yilga tushirish, qolgan muddatda rus tili va madaniyatini o'rgatishga yo'naltirilganiga urg'u beradi. Faqat bu ishni yerli ziyolilar qo'lga topshirilishi lozimligini ta'kidlaydi.

⁴² Gasprinskiy, Ismail 1893.

Gasprinskiyning maqsadi puxta o'ylangan va amalda Qrimda sinovdan o'tkazilgan edi. Turkiston ma'muriyati Gasprinskiyning asosiy maqsadi nima ekanligini juda yaxshi bilar edi. Shu sababdan ham general-gubernator Vrevskiy bu masalani hal qilishni ta'lim sohasiga mas'ul bo'lgan Nikolay Ostroumov va o'lka bo'yicha mutaxassis hisoblangan Vladimir Nalivkin⁴³ga topshiradi.

Nikolay Ostroumov, xat bilan tanishib chiqib, Gasprinskiyning ruslarga aql o'rgatayotganligidan taajjubda qolganligini va *"...bu masalaning (musulmonlarning ta'limi – A.Z.) Turkiston tub aholisiga bevosita aloqasi yo'q, noma'muriy shaxs tomonidan muhokama qilinishi yo'l qo'yib bo'lmaydigan ish"*, - deb baholaydi. Shuningdek, *"...o'quv mahkamasi uchun ham, Turkiston o'lkasida mahalliy maorifni tashkil etishda ham qo'llanma sifatida qabul qilinishi mumkin emas"*, degan xulosa beradi.⁴⁴

Ostroumov Gasprinskiy takliflarini tahlil qilar ekan, masalaning mohiyati, ya'ni Turkiston mahalliy aholisini qaysi usulda o'qitishni Gasprinskiydan ko'ra o'lka o'quv mahkamasi yaxshiroq bilishini ta'kidlaydi. Turkiston maktablarida o'qitishni faqat yerli ziyolilar qo'lga topshirilishini esa umuman amalga oshirib bo'lmaydigan ish, sifatida ko'radi.⁴⁵ Ostroumovning fikricha, rus tilini rus muallimisiz keng yoyib bo'lmaydi. U Gasprinskiyning barcha harakatlari musulmonlarni ruslardan ajratishga qaratilgan deb izohlaydi. Ostroumov maslakdoshi Miropievning fikrlarini davom ettirgan holda, tarixda hokim millat o'ziga yaqinlashish masalasi ishini bo'ysundirilgan g'ayrijins millat qo'lga ishonib topshirgani haqida misol yo'qligiga urg'u beradi. So'zining oxirida esa, *"o'lkaning mustamlakaga aylantirilishi Turkiston aholisining ruslashtirilishiga xizmat qilishi kerak. Bu esa ularni rus xalqi va Rossiya bilan yaqinlashtirishning eng qulay va to'g'ri vositasi"* degan xulosa beradi.

Vladimir Nalivkin ham o'z navbatida maslakdoshi Nikolay Ostroumov fikrlarini ma'qullagan holda, *"Turkistonda o'quv sohasida olib*

⁴³ Nalivkin Vladimir Petrovich - (1852 - 1918), ko'zga ko'ringan rus sharqshunos olimi va amaldori. Turkistonda kechgan 40 yillik hayoti davomida o'lka musulmon maktablari inspektori, XX asr boshlarida Turkiston general-gubernatorligining maxsus ishlar bo'yicha mas'ul xodimi, Farg'ona viloyati harbiy gubernatori yordamchisi bo'lib xizmat qilgan.

⁴⁴ Holboyev, Sotim 1995, 42.

⁴⁵ Holboyev, Sotim 1995, 42.

*borayotgan siyosatimizda Gasprinskiy kabi bir odamning fikrlariga rag'bat qilinsa, rus hukumati bundan pushaymon bo'ladi", - deb yozadi. "Gasprinskiyga ishonib bo'lmaydi, chunki u o'zi chiqarayotgan "Tarjimon" gazetasi orqali rus siyosatiga qarshi fikrlar bildirmoqda"*⁴⁶, degan so'zlar bilan o'z fikrini yakunlaydi. General-gubernator Vrevskiy yuqoridagi ikki rus ma'murining bergan xulosalarga asoslanib, Gasprinskiy maktubini javobsiz qoldirdi.⁴⁷

Adib Xolidning fikricha, Gasprinskiyning taklifi yaxshi qabul qilinmaganligiga ikki sabab bor. Birinchidan, Gasprinskiy Turkistondagi ijtimoiy-siyosiy holatdan yetarli darajada xabardor emasligi bo'lsa, ikkinchidan uning jadid maktabi uchun yozgan darsligi Turkistonda deyarli qo'llanilmas edi.⁴⁸ Bizningcha bu fikr qisman to'g'ri. Gasprinskiy Turkistondagi asl holatni yaxshi bilmasligi mumkin, lekin o'lkada yangi usul maktablari yetarli darajada yoyilmasdan uning darsligi qo'llanilmasligi ham aniq. Gasprinskiyning avval yangi usul maktablarini tashkillashtirishga umid bog'lagan edi. Darsliklariga kelsak, maktablar tashkili yo'lga qo'yilgandan keyin ular ham bir shaklda tatbiq qilinishi kerak edi. Keyinchalik Gasprinskiyning darsligi Turkistonning ayrim yerlarida, xususan Buxoroda Mulla Jo'raboy Pirmastiy tarafidan 1897-yili forschaga tarjima qilindi va mahalliy maktabda o'qitila boshlandi.⁴⁹

Musulmon masalasi chor politsiyasi nazoratida

Turkistondagi Chor ma'muriyati Gasprinskiy taklif etayotgan ta'lim tizimiga boshdan qarshi chiqdi va bu masalada qat'iy siyosat olib bordi. Rossiya ichki ishlar vazirligi 1900-yilga kelib imperiya musulmonlari orasida kechayotgan yangilanish harakatidan o'ta xavotirlana boshladi. Shaxsan ichki ishlar vazirining tashabbusi bilan jadidchilik harakatining mohiyati, musulmonlarning kayfiyati va faoliyatlari haqida ma'lumot yig'ish boshlanadi. 1900-yil 31-dekabrda Turkiston general-gubernatorligiga Rossiya ichki ishlar vazirligidan 13444-raqamli maxsus so'rovnoma kelgan. General-gubernator so'rovnoma bo'yicha Turkiston bo'yicha yangi usul maktablari ochayotgan, ularda dars berayotgan, matbuotda chiqayotgan barcha kishilar xususida

⁴⁶ Lazzerini, Edward 1973, 31.

⁴⁷ Qosimov, Begali 2002, 23.

⁴⁸ Khalid, Adeeb 1998, 179.

⁴⁹ Ismail 1897.

materiallar to'plab, shaxsan ichki ishlar vaziriga ma'lum qilish vazifasini Nikolay Ostroumovga topshirdi.⁵⁰

Politsiya Departamenti yig'ilgan ma'lumotlarga asoslangan holda, tatar (musulmon) adabiyotda butunlay yangi yo'nalish paydo bo'lganligi va bu holat imperiyadagi 14 million musulmon aholisining asrlar davomida kelayotgan hayot tarzini o'zgartirib yuborishi xavfi borligini markaziy hukumatga bildiradi. Politsiya ma'lumotnomasida bu yo'nalish birinchi marotaba 1884-yili Qrimda, Ismoil Gasprinskiy-ning yevropacha tovush usuliga asoslangan va musulmon maktablarida o'quv jarayonini qisqartirishga mo'ljallangan "Xojai sibyon" nomli kitobi nashr etilishi bilan boshlanganligi ta'kidlanadi. Politsiya Departamentiga ko'ra, bu kichik kitob ta'sirida musulmonlar orasida taraqqiyotchilik harakati paydo bo'lgan va musulmonlar jamiyatini eskilik va yangilik tarafdorlari bo'lgan ikki sinfga ajratib yuborganligi hamda bu guruhlar o'rtasidagi kurash tobora kuchayib, milliy, madaniy va ijtimoiy tus olmoqda edi.⁵¹

Politsiya Departamenti tomonidan tayyorlangan axborotnomada jadidchilik harakatining asosiy tamoyillari ta'riflanadi va jadidlar eskilik tarafdorlari bo'lgan mullalar ustidan g'olib kelsa, o'zlari yashab turgan hududlarni Rossiya imperiyasidan ajratish harakatiga tushishlari mumkinligi taxmin qilinadi. Bu kurashda qaysi guruh g'olib kelishidan qat'i nazar, musulmonlar orasidagi har qanday harakat diqqatlik bilan kuzatilishi va bunga dalil sifatida 1898 yilgi Andijon voqyealari misol keltiriladi.⁵² Shu sababdan ham musulmonlar orasida kechayotgan bu ijtimoiy-siyosiy jarayon asosli ravishda o'rganib chiqilishi viloyat gubernatori zimmasiga yuklatiladi.

⁵⁰ Sodiqov, Hakim va boshq. 2000, 260.

⁵¹ Turdiev, Sherali 1998.

⁵² Turdiev, Sherali 1998.

۱۳۰۰ سنه
(جائدى الاخر) ۱۵
غزىتەك بىر باقى بوجىتە حنى الله دوت رولەندى
آلىنى آلىنى ابى رولە الله الى كايكىد
ساۋادە برومرو اون كايكىد
اعلامك هر سطرىندى برسانن اوزره اولدندە دوت
ابى اسان اوزره الى كايك آلور
غزىت آلدندە اولور اسسە فى ابى قاندر *

تەرجىمان

۱۸۸۳ سنه
(آپریل) ۱۰
غزىتە ادارەسى نىجه سىز ايله ددر *
درج ونسرا اولغى ايجون چىر بلان كاشد اولوراق
يازىچىك ادرەسى وامضاسى الله اولى . بولر كرك
حالىتە قشقه آلور ونسرا اولغىان حالده بوجىتە ايله
كرى چىر بلان *

تەرجىماننىڭ مەقسىتى ۋە مەزمۇنى

الله ، ابىكچى * نام بوغزىت نىشەنە باشلاشپىر
ايىسەدە - بازقار لاسون - چوق وقت دوام
ابدەدى ۰۰ ۱۸۷۹ دە ساعدو جابلانى زاده
چىترلىرى نە ازىر بىجان تركىسى ايله - تەفلىسەدە -
ضيا - فاقەتازى بە غزىت نىشەنە باشلاپ بوكونە
كاشىپە نىش اولدندەدە در بىراك باشنىدىن دىخى
ابىنى زاده مولاد اساسىيە وادىيە بە منقل آيدەر
كشكول ، نام مجموعه نىشەنە توتوب مجموعه نامك
ابىرىنى نامت فائىدە نماندالەقى ماملول اولدندەددر
هر تىدر بىرچ - نەدەن بىر بوغزىتە دىخى نىشەرىات
كرك اولدنىنى بايوب كلكسكە ارباب مظلالمەبە
التحق بوردسە بزنجى نومرونى تەقدىم ايلەمك
قىست ايشى *

اخبار محليه

- قىرغك اعالي اسلاى طرفىن مونسقووادە
بادشاهىزك ناچ كىم سلاطنتدە قىرغك مەتبىسى كىناز
على بك خوتكافوف حىسرتلىرى بولە چىقارلار *
- مەق چىسرتلىرىك غزىنى تىكلەش كورە بادشاهك
ناچ كىم كولى جەلە قىرغك بايەم شىر باغرىدە وخصوص
چەدە چامەلەرىدە بادشاهىزك مەقدس ذامىلەزى الله
ساقەللىرى وروسسىەك ابىروملى ايجون خىر دىگار
اولدندەددر * مذكور تىكلىف نامە اول اواع كويە
اسلاملار خىروخىرايدە اولغىلىرىنى فصىحت لىدىچى *
- طرطردىن نىشەرىاتنى باغجىزك وھارلك كاشىتە كورە
پوسنە بوجىتە زىئىرە ومىوا برىكائى اميد اولغندەددر
- تونوجىك ابى قات آردىغىنە سىكورە چوق ال
تونوجى برىش اولدندەن ابىھى بىشوب كوشىلان
غابت جالى اولدغىنى ماملول اولدور *
- سوانسىلەسكى لىستوك نام غزىتەك يازدغىنە كورە
۱۸۸۲ سنەسى سوانسىلەسكى اجنى مەلكەلەرىنى ۱۶۵ كىمى
وبارخود كاپوب شىش مىليون رولەندىن چوقچە ايجون
مال كوزمىلار . كلش مالان چوقچىسى جى بوقق اولور
مەصدردن وامرىشاندىن كىكەلەندىر - اول سنەدە
سوانسىلەسكىن اجنى ۱۷۶ كىمى وبارخود كىدوب
اون مليونە قدر مال آلور كىشەندەددر چوقچىسى زىئىرە
واون ايشى *

بىسوردوب ورحىلى اقامت ايلەكلىرى الله قىرغى
نىختار ايلەش بادشاه ايمىرانوزلەرك دىخى حىسن
نظارىنى كىب ايلەشدر *
يارادىن خدایە ومخبر صادق پىنە برىزە وانئندە
اولان حكمدارەزە ودوغوب اوستكىز وطمە پورنە
اطاعات ومجبت ايلەك قاعدە اسلامىيەدە
اولدنىندىن غىرى بوزسەدەن بىر نائل اولدندىن
التفات مخصوصە ومعاملە عدلە بوكون ساسار
ابنا ، وطن ايله بار قىرغك اسلاملىرىك دىخى شاد
اولمەلىرىنە بسبب مەجىدەر *
روسىدەدە اوتورجى اسلاملىرىك اجراى دىلە لىرى
مەرىت اولوب وشىرىتلىرى قانۇنە مەخفظ
اولەكلىشىدر * جەلمزك غىرى روسىە ايلەركى
خدمتە وصالنە - تىجارت وكسە - مامورىيە
ومەرقنە حقوقىز ودرىجر اولدنىندە ناغدا بعض
امتياز مخصوصارمىز دىخى اولوب نىچە ، رتەل اولوغ
بادشاهلىرىك التىفات وكرام شاهانەلىرىنە نائل
اولمشدردر كە بوكون شادانىق زارە مخصوص
دىلىك جا ئوردە باقىلاردىن قورقاردىن قوتلۇب
راحت ايشاب اوتورب بويىندە قرەد واروماندە
امنىت بولدىنمىز كويىدن بوزسە كچەندى كون
آپرىل سىز كويىدەر *

روسىدەدە مطبوعات اسلامىە

اوتورما نۇما طرطازىدە اولان تركستان ولاىتى روسىە
الە كچەسى ايله بار بىرلى اعالي اسانجە نىشەرىاتك
فائىدەلى اولدىنى اگلاشايوب حكومت مەلىمەك
افكارى الله ولايت غزىتە علاوہ اولدوقىدىن
سارت دىلى اوزدە غزىت نىشەرىتە قازىر بولۇپ
اون شىش يىلدىن بىر آيدە ابىى مەرىتە تاشكەندە
* تركستان كوتى * نىشەرىاتقەددر بوشىرىات
روسىەدە اسلانجە اول چىقان غزىتدر *
۱۸۷۵ سنەسى باكو غنازاسىنىك مەاملەندىن
- حىسن بك مەقرىف - باكو دەرە ازىر بىجان تركىسى

مىندىجات - ادارەدەن * بو زىل ايشى * روسىەدە
مطبوعات اسلامىە مناجات * (ادارە مەكتوبىن)
* اخبار ضلە * اخبار داخلىە * اخبار خارىجىە
* اعلايات *

ادارەدەن

غزىتە مەزك نىشەرىتە باشلاپغىزدەن اوقو بىسرتە
ابدەدەن اولدور كە روسىە سىندە قوللانمىز اعالي اسان
ترىك لىسانىك شىووسە اسلاملىرىك مطبوعات حىقنە
اولان ايجىتلار نە كىمى قىز اولدوغىدەر * بولك ايله
بىر مەجىت مەدىنەدەن قاشمىلى اخبار وافكار بىانى
اولور قانۇنە مەزىنەدەن بىر روسى خىبر اولمك
* تىرچاك * باشلەپ خىمىنى اولدغىنى معلوم ايلەنلور
مىسكىمىز زور و اواج اولدىنىنى بايوب خىلدار ساندن
بىرچىنى صاحب مطبوعات و اجلاق بىر حىسن كوكلەن
ومەلۇن لازىمەند تاشمىز ابدەلى نىلى ايلەمكە بىر
آقەسجد وغزىنى نىشەرىشك دار المەلۇن ناظرلىرى
قزازوجىر ناوسى حىسرتلىرى - معلومانلى اسلاردىن
- مەق زادە وىجى اولورق - وعلماى كرامەدن
بعض مىدرس مەعاونت قىلىدەدە بولمە سوز دىكارلىرى
كئال مەنوبت الله اخبار ايلرى *

بوزىل

آپرىل سىز كوردە - قىرغك روسىە دولئە
قوشلەبىنى بوزىل اولور ۰۰۰ نام بوزىل بوزى
- ۱۷۸۳ سنەسى آپرىل سىز كوردە - قان دوكوملار
ايله ناچار توب نىلما - سزاق - بواسىتە قنار ايله
بىشاشا نانىش اولانچى خالق مەلك كى سىووك
دولئە قوشايوب كوجى حكومات وعدل قانۇنار
ايله قورچانوب راجتى بولمشدەر *
اول كون جەلە روسىەلىرىك قانۇنچى و نىشەرى كوفى
اولمشدردر قىرغك روسىەدە قوشامسىلە ممالك
* چىو بىدە وشىرىقىدە غوسبە چوق بىرلىكلىشىدر *
قىرغك اياقتىلى بىرلىرى مېوچ بوزاز دىكارلىرى
ساقلىقى ھەربى بىكلى مېوچ داراننى روسلارىك
اكا خصوصى برىجىنى قزاندقلى كى نىشەرىت

Rossiyadagi musulmonlarning rus istibodidan qutulishi uchun 1883 yildan 1918 yulgacha kurashgan "Tarjimon" / "Переводчика" gazetasining 1-soni (turkiy va rus tillari).

ПЕРЕВОДЧИКЪ

СЕНЕДЕЛЬНАЯ

ГАЗЕТА

Редакция и контора помещаются въ Бахчисараѣ. Статьи присылаемы для напечатанія должны быть подписаны и съ адресомъ автора. При надобности статьи сокращаются и неудобныя къ печати по почтѣ не возвращаются.



№ 12,963

ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ, ОТЕЧЕСТВЕННОЙ И ИНОСТРАННОЙ ЖИЗНИ.

Условія подписки: за годъ съ пересылкой 4 руб.; за полгода 2 руб. 50 коп.; номеръ въ продажѣ 10 коп. Объявленія для насъ принимаются съ платой по 4 копѣекъ строки (4 квад.) на одну строчку и по 6 коп. на двухъ строчкахъ. Впередѣ текста плата двойная.

ОТЪ РЕДАКЦІИ

Приступая къ изданію нашей газеты, просимъ читателей имѣть въ виду, что русскій текстъ соображается съ оборотами турской рѣчи и понятіями мусульманъ въ отношеніи снотости и серьезности всего печатнаго. За тѣмъ считается нужнымъ сказать, что «Переводчикъ» будетъ служить по мѣрѣ силъ переводникомъ трезвыхъ, полезныхъ свѣдѣній изъ культурной жизни въ среду мусульманъ и обратно знакомить русскую съ ихъ жизнью, взглядами и нуждами.

Сознавая всю важность и трудность взятой на себя задачи, редакция укрѣпляетъ себя надеждою, что среди общества найдется не мало почтенныхъ, сведущихъ людей, кои не откажутъ ей въ сочувствіи и помощи своими трудами. Намъ пріятно заявить, что инспектора татарскихъ семинарій въ Симеонполь и Горь-г. г. Касаи и Черниговъ и изъ образованныхъ мусульманъ г. г. Мути-Заде, Ягъ Узановъ и некоторые почтенные ученые мудрецы уже обещали намъ свое сотрудничество.

Такиимъ образомъ, приступая къ дѣлу во имя Аллаха, беремъ за перо, чтобы служить правдѣ и просвѣщенію. Насколько «Переводчикъ» будетъ отвечать своей цѣли - тому судъ впередѣ и судью быть не намъ.

СТО ЛѢТІЕ

8 Апрѣля - кончилось одно и началось другое столѣтіе, какъ Крымъ присоединенъ въ Россію. Ровно сто лѣтъ назадъ, 8 Апрѣля 1783 года маленькое ханство, измученное беспорядками и кровопролитіями сдѣлалось частью величайшей имперіи міра и получило условіе подъ покровительствомъ могучей владыки и охраной сиверодавскихъ законовъ.

День этотъ, день радости для всѣхъ русскихъ, ибо съ присоединеніемъ Крыма въ Россію много увеличилась сила и обшье ея въ странахъ Юга и Востока.

Давноисысканы мѣстности Крыма; незамерзающее море; здоровый, теплый климатъ; плодородіе почвы; обиліе всякихъ

плодовъ и прочее заслужили ему любовь всѣхъ русскихъ и вниманіе Государей, осчастливившихъ своимъ поощреніемъ или пребываніемъ нашу богатую одаренную страну.

Празднуя сегодняшний день вмѣстѣ съ другими народностями, крымскіе мусульмане, не могутъ не вспомнить всѣхъ благодѣтелей, коими они пользуются уже сто лѣтъ.

Въ силу сильной между нами Вѣры нашей, мы обязаны любить и почитать Аллаха, Который насъ создалъ; Пророку, который насъ оповѣстивъ; Нарю, который насъ охраняетъ и Родимъ, въ коимъ мы живемъ. А какъ мусульмане живутъ въ Россіи, пользуются полной свободой исповѣданія; обшчаютъ и перигать намъ покровительствуютъ законамъ; воі мы имѣемъ обще-русскія права на трудъ, ремесла, торговлю, службу, образованіе и даже имѣемъ нѣкоторыя особые льготы, не разъ бывъ осчастливлены особыми вниманіемъ Государей, - то праздникъ 8-Апрѣля былъ по примѣству намъ праздникъ. Вотъ уже сто лѣтъ, какъ избывши съ отъ безпорядковъ, грабъ ж-я, мы можемъ безопасно трудиться и жить гдѣ угодно, безопасно отдыхая и дома, и въ полѣ, и въ лѣсу.

МУСУЛЬМАНСКАЯ ПЕЧАТЬ ВЪ РОССІИ

Съ переходомъ Туркестанскаго Края подъ власть Россіи, мѣстныя администрація признала полезность печатнаго органа на туземномъ языкѣ; вслѣдствіе чего уже пятнадцатый годъ въ Ташкентѣ при мѣстныхъ вѣдомствахъ издается «Туркестанская Газета» на сартскомъ нарѣчьи. Это первая газета на мусульманскомъ языкѣ въ предѣлахъ Россіи. Въ 1875 г. учитель гимназіи Асанъ-Бекъ Меликовъ предпринялъ въ Баку изданіе ежедневной газеты «Земледѣль» на азербайджанскомъ нарѣчьи, но, къ сожалѣнію, она просуществовала не долго. Съ 1879 г. въ Ташкентѣ на томъ же нарѣчьи издается бр. Усики-Заде газета «Лучъ Баскака» и съ начала этого года начато изданіе ежемѣсячнаго литературно-политическаго журнала «Сборникъ», обшчающаго быть серьезнымъ изданіемъ.

Уже нѣсколько лѣтъ, какъ нами была сознава современность начатого

сегодня изданія, кому, значить, было суждено народиться вмѣстѣ съ новымъ сто лѣтнимъ Крымомъ.

МОЛИТВА

(изъ письма въ редакцію)

Дай Богъ, чтобы «Переводчикъ» былъ службой истинны и зеркаломъ вѣры.

Пусть, проповѣдая правду и вѣстность, будетъ онъ работою просвѣщенія и яслуствъ. Да узнаемъ мы, наконецъ, нашу сниту родину! Пусть одной расказатъ намъ «Переводчикъ».

Да освоятся русскіе мусульмане съ мудростно вѣры. И молитвы наши за Царя-да переводятъ «Переводчикъ».

Вѣдь нашъ - чудный вѣкъ; надо намъ понять его. Пусть, въ направленіи исповѣданъ, да адресуется молодой «Переводчикъ».

Мустафа.

МѢСТНЫЯ ИЗВѢСТІЯ

Въ Москву на священное коронованіе ИХЪ ИМПЕРАТОРСКИХЪ ВЕДИЧЕ. СТУБЪ сестороны крымскихъ мусульманъ и ихъдуховенства пойдти Таурическій Муотій Бя Али бей Хунзадовъ.

— Пастырское посланіе г. Муотія устанавливаетъ въ день свщеннаго коронованія и торжественнаго молебствія, во всѣхъ приходскихъ и соборныхъ мечетяхъ Крыма о здравіи и многолѣтнѣ ГОСУДАРЯ со всей АВГУСТЫЙШЕЙ ФАМИЛІЕЙ и о благоденствіи Россіи.

Мусульмане приглашаются ознаменовать этотъ день добрыми дѣлами, облегченіемъ участи немощныхъ и страждущихъ.

— Давняя, представляемая погодой и въ особенности садами, настрадавшимися въ прошломъ году отъ гусеницъ, даютъ надежду на хороній урожай фруктовъ.

— Выду удвоившагося производства табану, требующаго обыкновенно много, оядается недостатокъ ихъ, весьма высокой заработной платѣ рабочимъ.

— По свѣдѣніямъ, сообщаемымъ Севастоп. листкомъ, въ 1882 г. прибыли въ Севастополь изъ заграници 165 судовъ и пароходовъ, на коихъ привезено разнаго товара болѣе чѣмъ на пять миліоновъ руб. Главныя привозной товаръ хлопчатая бумага - сирецъ. Заграници

Ichki ishlar vazirligi Turkiston general-gubernatoridan qo'shimcha tarzda quyidagi savollarga javob tayyorlash vazifasini topshiradi:

- 1) mahalliy musulmonlardan islohotchilik fikrlari bilan matbuotda ishtirok etayotganlarni aniqlash;
- 2) ular haqida batafsil ma'lumot yig'ish, jamiyatdagi o'rni va aloqalari, mol-mulki hamda qaerda tahsil olganligini o'rganish;
- 3) ushbu harakat vakillarining Yosh Turklar bilan aloqasi bor-yo'qligi, Turkiya yoki boshqa islom markazi tarafidan yordam olish-olmasligini aniqlash;
- 4) yangi usul maktablari qaerda, kim tarafidan tashkil etilgani va kim tarafidan boshqarilishini aniqlash.⁵³

Ostroumov so'rovnomaga javob tayyorlar ekan, birinchi navbatda turkistonlik mahalliy ziyolilarning tatarlar, ayniqsa Gasprinskiy bilan bo'lgan munosabatlariga katta ahamiyat qaratadi. Unga Turkiston viloyatining turli yerlaridan kelgan ma'lumotnomalar, xususan Sirdaryo viloyati harbiy gubernatorining maxfiy chaquv qog'ozi diqqatga molik. Unda yozilishicha: *"Tarjimon" gazetasining jonkuyar targ'ibotchisi general-mayor Jo'rabekdir⁵⁴. U yangi usul bilan qiziqmoqda. Gasprinskiy Toshkentga kelganda u bilan uchrashgan⁵⁵"*.

Albatta, Gasprinskiy birinchi marotaba Turkistonga 1893-yil qilgan sayohati davomida Toshkentda ham bo'lib, mahalliy ziyolilar bilan uchrashganini va kimlarning uyida mehmonda bo'lganligini Ostroumov juda yaxshi bilgan. Gasprinskiy Ostroumovning o'zi bilan ham hamda o'sha vaqt Turkiston general-gubernatori bo'lgan Vrevskiy bilan ham ko'rishgan edi.⁵⁶

Turkiston general-gubernatorlari fon Kaufman boshlab bergan siyosatni, ya'ni o'lkada islomni butunlay inkor etish siyosatini izchil davom ettirganliklari uchun ham Turkistonda bu katta kuch o'z holicha harakat qilardi.⁵⁷ Lekin Turkistonda amalga oshirilgan 1898-yilgi Dukchi eshon qo'zg'oloni nafaqat Turkiston ma'muriyatini, balki Ichki

⁵³ Turdiev, Sherali 1998.

⁵⁴ Jo'rabek Qalandar og'li (?-1906), amir Muzaffariddin davrida Kitob shahri-ning hokimi. Batafsil ma'lumot uchun, qarang: Schuyler, Eugene 2007, 75, 84-86.

⁵⁵ Yusupov, Sharif 1995, 86.

⁵⁶ Ismail 1893.

⁵⁷ Vladimir Lenin Nilokay Ostroumovning fikrlariga tayangan holda shunday xulosa bergan edi: Lenin, Vladimir 1962, 513.

ishlar vazirligini ham tashvishga qo'ydi.⁵⁸ Ichki ishlar vaziri Dmitriy Sipyagin 1900-yil 31-dekabrda so'rovnomasini Tashqi ishlar vazirligiga ham yuboradi. Bu esa yuzaga kelgan vaziyatning jiddiyligini anglatadi. Rus olimi Dmitriy Arapovning fikricha, bu bilan hukumat mamlakatda kechayotgan voqealarning sabablarini chet eldagi "dushman markazlari"dan qidirishga intilgan.⁵⁹ Sipyagin bu so'rovnomasiga o'sha vaqtda Rossiyaning Turkiyadagi elchisi Ivan Zinovev⁶⁰ javob tayyorlagan. Zinovev o'z javob maktubida Rossiya musulmonlari orasida kechayotgan yangilanish harakati va turli jarayonlar "hech qanday tashqi kuchdan ta'sirlanmay, mahalliy sharoit ostida o'zi paydo bo'lgan"ligini tushuntirishga harakat qiladi.⁶¹

XIX asr oxirlaridagi rus hukumatining amalga oshirgan harakatlari musulmonlarning kayfiyatlaridan ancha xavotirga tushganligini ko'rsatadi. Bu ma'muriyatning qidiruv-tekshiruv ishlarining boshlanishi edi. Albatta, imperiya musulmonlari orasida yangilanish g'oyasini ilgari surayotgan Gasprinskiy va uning "Tarjimon" gazetasi bu qidiruv ishining diqqat markazida turgan. 1904-yilga kelib hukumat mamlakatdagi musulmonlarga oid yangi tartiblar ishlab chiqish harakatiga tushdi⁶² va buning natijasida 1905-yil 17-oktyabrda qabul qilingan "E'tiqod to'g'risidagi qonun"ning katta bo'limi musulmonlarga qaratildi.⁶³ Dmitriy Arapovning ta'kidlashicha, hukumat amalda ko'proq rus tilini joriy qilishga intilib, milliy chegaralanishni yo'q qilish niyatida din ishlariga kamroq aralashishga harakat qilgan.⁶⁴

Bu siyosat ortidan Ichki ishlar vazirligi Politsiya departamenti 1907-yili Turkistonda o'z hududiy qidiruv bo'limini tashkil qildi va mahalliy ziyolilar ortidan kuzatuvni kuchaytirdi. 1910-yil dekabrda Turkiston hududiy qidiruv bo'limi boshlig'ining Buxoroda islomchilik harakati kuchaymoqda degan axborotnomasiga javoban Ichki ishlar vazirligi Politsiya departamentining maxsus bo'limi barcha hududiy

⁵⁸ Litvinov, Pyotr 1998, 68-69.

⁵⁹ Arapov, Dmitriy; Kotiukova, Tatyana. 2004.

⁶⁰ Zinovev hayoti va faoliyai uchun, qarang: *Ocherki Ministerstva* 2002, 446-447.

⁶¹ Arapov, Dmitriy; Kotiukova, Tatyana. 2004.

⁶² Arapov, Dmitriy 2001, 175.

⁶³ Arapov, Dmitriy 2001, 175-182.

⁶⁴ Arapov, Dmitriy; Kotiukova, Tatyana. 2004.

bo'linmalarga ushbu harakatning mohiyati va uning a'zolari ortidan kuzatuv usullari bayon etilgan yo'riqnoma yuboradi.⁶⁵

Turkistonda jadidchilik harakati rivojlanar ekan, Rossiyaning boshqa joylaridagi kabi unga qarshi kuch o'rtaga chiqdi. Chor hukumati esa mahalliy ziyolilar o'rtasida yuzaga kelgan bu qarama-qarshilikdan o'z manfaati yo'lida foydalandi. Hukumat eskilik tarafdorlari bo'lgan qadimchilarni o'ziga ishonchli kuch hisoblab, yangilik tarafdorlari bo'lgan jadidlar ustidan norasmiy kuzatuvchi va axborot yetkazib beruvchi sifatida qo'lladi.⁶⁶ Bu ikki toifa orasidagi kurash, ayniqsa Buxoroda juda avj oldi va bir muddat qadimchilar jadidlar ustidan butunlay g'olib keldi.

Jadidlar: rus tili taraqqiyot uchun, adabiy til millat uchun

Turkiston ma'muriyati olib borgan ruslashtirish siyosatining yakuniy bosqichi til bilan bog'liq edi. Bu mavzuda, ayniqsa XX asrning boshlarida rus matbuotida maqolalar ko'rina boshladi. Ismoil Gasprinskiyning "Turkestanskiya Vedomosti" gazetasida noma'lum muallif tarafidan chop etilgan Turkistondagi mahalliy millat tili va adabiyotiga oid maqolasiga bergan javobi masala ancha jiddiylashganini ko'rsatadi. Noma'lum muallif sartlar tili va adabiyoti haqida bahsga kirishib, u haqda shunday yozadi:

"Turli foydali ma'lumotlar va ilmiy asarlarni sart tiliga tarjimaga xojat yo'q, foydadan ko'ra ko'proq ziyon keltiradi. Sart tili o'ta sodda, turli terminlarni ifoda etish imkoniyati yo'q, shu sababdan ham ilmiy va adabiy tarjimaga yaroqli emas".⁶⁷

Gasprinskiy noma'lum muallifga ma'lumot tarzda, u fikr yuritgan sart tili Chig'atoy turkiysining mahalliy shevasi ekanligini aytadi. U sart tilining yaroqsizligi borasidagi xulosani Alisher Navoiy, Bobur va boshqa turkistonlik adiblarning adabiy meroslari namunalari bilan inkor etdi. Gasprinskiyning fikricha, "sart tili boshqa "taraqqiy" etgan millatlar tili kabi u qadar keng yoyilmagan bo'lsada, mahalliy aholiga mo'ljallangan turli ma'lumot va broshyuralar uchun yetarli darajada yaroqli. Buning yorqin namunasi esa, 30 yil davomida Toshkentda nashr bo'layotgan rasmiy mahalliy gazeta".⁶⁸ Gasprinskiy "rasmiy mahalliy gazeta" deganda

⁶⁵ Arapov, Dmitriy 2002, 127-134.

⁶⁶ Bartol'd, Vasiliy 1966, 136.

⁶⁷ Turkestanskiya Vedomosti 1900.

⁶⁸ Ismail 1900.

Nikolay Ostroumov muharrirligida chop etilgan “Turkiston Viloyatining Gazeti”ni nazarda tutadi.

XIX asrning oxiri, yana ham aniqroq aytadigan bo'lsak, 1883-yildan boshlab, ya'ni “Tarjimon” gazetasining ilk sonidan Ismoil Gasprinskiyning turkiy xalqlar uchun yagona adabiy til, Ingeborg Baldauf iborasi bilan aytganda, “*murosa shevasi*”⁶⁹ yaratish fikrini ilgari surdi. Gasprinskiyning turkiy xalqlar uchun “umumadabiy til” yaratishga qaratilgan harakati uning “millat” va “milliylik” konsepsiyasi hamda ushbu konsepsiya talqinining mahsuli, deb hisoblash mumkin. Gasprinskiy tilga oid e'lon qilgan ko'psonli maqolalarida o'quvchilarni yuqoridagi “millat” konsepsiyasini tushuntirishga qaratadi. Unga ko'ra, “*millat – bu din va til birligi. Ushbu ikki narsadan biri yo'qotilsa*” millat o'zligini yo'qotadi, inqirozga yuz tutadi.⁷⁰ Gasprinskiyning ta'kidlashicha, barcha millatlarning o'tmishi, kelajagi din va tilga asoslangan. Din birligi qanchalik muhim bo'lsa, adabiy jihatdan til birligi ham shu qadar muhim va bevosita taraqqiyot vositasi hisoblanadi.⁷¹ Gasprinskiy til birligini o'ta muhimligini ko'rsatish maqsadida, hatto uni boshqa barcha birliklarning boshi va negizi darajasiga olib chiqdi.⁷²

Turkistonda “jadid” nomini olgan ziyoli qatlam XX asrning birinchi 10 yilligida shakllandi. Turkiston jadidchiligining asoslarini tadqiq etgan amerikalik tarixchi Adib Xolid, uning paydo bo'lishini Markaziy Osiyo jamiyatining transformatsiyasida hamda rus bosqini va uning Islom olami doxil butun dunyoni qayta taqsimlashga bo'lgan harakati natijasida zamonaviylikka zamonaviy “*javob*” sifatida shakllangan, deb hisoblaydi. Xolid jadidcha ma'rifat yoyish orqali “*zamonaviy va shu bilan bir qatorda musulmonchilikni mahkam ushlagan va Turkistonga sodiq bo'lgan yangi elita*”⁷³ yaratishga va buning natijasida zamonaviy dunyoda mintaqaning manfaatlarini himoya qilishga harakat qilgan turkistonlik jadidlar va ularning izdoshlarini ajratib ko'rsatishga urinadi. Xolidning ta'kidlashicha, Turkiston jadidchiligi aksar holatlarda Qrim va Volga-

⁶⁹ Baldauf, Ingeborg 2001, 38.

⁷⁰ Ismail 1905a.

⁷¹ Ismail 1905b.

⁷² Ismail 1906.

⁷³ Khalid, Adeeb 1993, 218.

Ural tatarlari fikrlarini inkor etgan va maktab ishi, adabiy til va boshqa masalalarda mintaqa voqeligiga mos yo'llar topishga harakat qilgan.⁷⁴

Shunday bo'lsa-da, turkistonlik jadidlar muhim masalalarni hal qilishda Ichki Rossiya musulmonlari, ayniqsa jadidchilik haraktining asoschisi bo'lgan qrimtatar Ismoil Gasprinskiy fikr va g'oyalariga ko'proq tayanganini aytib o'tish lozim.

Turkistonliklar orasida birinchi bo'lib Behbudiy Gasprinskiyning til birligi g'oyasini keng targ'ib qildi va quvvatladi. Behbudiy bu masala yuzasidan Turkiston shaharlarida o'ziga xos so'rovnoma va tajriba ham o'tkazdi. Behbudiy o'zining sotsiologik tadqiqoti davomida umuman gazeta o'qimagan, boshqa turkiy xalqlar tilidan xabari yo'q oddiy odamlarga turli gazetalarni o'qitib eshittirdi va shu yo'sinda Turkistonning turli hududlaridan gazetalarning "tili" bo'yicha fikrlarni jamladi, umumiy xulosa berdi. Behbudiy o'tkazgan tajriba va so'rovnomasi asosida turkistonliklar uchun Gasprinskiyning "Tarjimon" gazetasi, sibirlik, asli buxorolik tujjorning avlodidan bo'lgan, XIX asrning oxiri va XX asrning boshlarida Abdurashid qozi nomi bilan tanilgan Abdurashid Ibrohimovning "Mir'ot" jurnali hamda "Ulfat" gazetasining tili ko'proq tushunarli, degan xulosaga keldi. Va *"chorak asrdan beri millatimizga til, qalami, qalb quvvati bilan xizmat qilgan, yangi matbuotimiz raisi ham otasi janob Ismoilbek hazratlariga til bobida ergashmoq Rossiyadagi hamma muharrirlarga lozim"* ekanligini tavsiya qildi. Bu bilan Behbudiy ham Gasprinskiy kabi Rossiya musulmonlari birligining asosi va negizida til birligi bo'lishi kerakligini ta'kidlaydi.⁷⁵

Behbudiy Turkiston uchun turkiy bilan bir qatorda forsiy tilning "o'rta sheva"sini ilgari suradi. Bu taklifning amaliy natijasi sifatida 1913-1915-yillarda Samarqandda Behbudiy tomonidan nashr qilingan "Oyina" jurnalini ko'rsatish mumkin. Baldauf Behbudiyning bu tashabbusini o'z o'quvchilari bilan hamfikir va hammaslak ekanligini bildirish va ko'rsatish deb baholaydi.⁷⁶

Turkistonda ikki tillilik masalasini Behbudiy "Oyina"ni chiqarmasidan ancha ilgari, 1909-yili "Tarjimon"ga yo'llagan

⁷⁴ Khalid, Adeeb 1993, 23, 181-182, 262-328.

⁷⁵ Behbudiyning ushbu maqolasi "Ulfat" gazetasining 1906-yil 20-sonidan olib bosilgan: Mahmudxo'ja bin Behbudxo'ja 1906.

⁷⁶ Baldauf, Ingeborg 2001, 40.

maqolasida⁷⁷ ko'targan edi. Behbudiy turkiy va forsiy tilning turkistonliklar uchun ahamiyatli ekaniga e'tibor qaratmoqchi bo'ldi va ikkala tilning maktab tahsiliga kiritilishi tarafdori ekanligini ilgari surdi.

Behbudiy maqolasining so'ngida o'zi keltirgan isbot va dalillarga tayangan holda Turkiston maktablarida ham turkiy, ham forsiy birga o'qitilishi maqsadga muvofiq degan xulosa beradi.⁷⁸

Behbudiy (umum)turkiy tilni "Tarjimon" gazetasi vositasida o'zlashtirganligini bayon qilar ekan, "ona tilim forsiydir, yozgan turkchamni ruhoniy xojam "Tarjimon" sahifalaridan tahsil etdim"⁷⁹, degan fikri bilan o'rtoqlashadi. Bu esa Gasprinskiy taklif qilayotgan (umum)adabiy yoki (umum)turkiy til ma'lum ma'noda yaratilganligidan darak beradi. Shuningdek, Gasprinskiy tarafidan nashr qilingan "Tarjimon" gazetasining Turkiston o'lkasidagi e'tiborini "usuli jadida nomi bilan isloh qilingan va ochilgan maktablar muhtaram "Tarjimon" ta'sirida alifbodan oxiriga qadar turkcha dars berib, Turkistonda turkchaning yoyilishiga xizmat qilgan"ligida⁸⁰ ham ko'rish mumkin. Bu so'zlar ham Behbudiyga taalluqli. "Tarjimon" va Gasprinskiy faoliyati Behbudiy e'tiroficha, Turkistonda juda katta ta'sirga ega bo'lgan. Behbudiy Turkistondagi "barcha muallim, ustod va muovinlar "Tarjimon" yordamida" turkiy tilni o'rganganliklarini hamda "Tarjimon" vositasida chorak asrdan beri "zamonaviy yangi adabiyot" bilan tanishish, "madaniy ehtiyoj"larini to'la qondirish imkoniga ham ega bo'lganliklarini ta'kidlaydi.⁸¹ Behbudiy turkiy til deganda Gasprinskiy taklif etgan "umumturkiy adabiy til"ni nazarda tutadi.

Begali Qosimov imperiya musulmonlari, xususan, Turkiston o'lkasining taraqqiy millat qatoriga qo'shilishi va oxir-oqibat mustaqillikka erishish yo'lidagi kurashda Behbudiyini Gasprinskiy bilan bir maslakda bo'lganini ta'kidlaydi. Bu maslak Gasprinskiy taklif etgan "murosa yo'li" bo'lib, ruslarning hamda ularning madaniyati yutuqlari yordamida ma'rifatga erishish, va eng asosiysi, bu yo'lda milliy xususiyatlarni yo'qotmaslikni talab etadi.⁸² Behbudiyning rus tilini

⁷⁷ Mahmudxo'ja bin Behbudxo'ja 1909.

⁷⁸ Mahmudxo'ja bin Behbudxo'ja 1909.

⁷⁹ Mahmudxo'ja bin Behbudxo'ja 1909.

⁸⁰ Mahmudxo'ja bin Behbudxo'ja 1909.

⁸¹ Mahmudxo'ja bin Behbudxo'ja 1909.

⁸² Qosimov, Begali 2005, 42.

o'rganish va rus madaniyatidan istifoda etish borasidagi fikrlarini uning ko'plab maqolalarida uchratish mumkin.⁸³ Xususan, uning "Oyina" jurnalining ilk sonida chop qilingan "Ikki emas to'rt til lozim"⁸⁴ maqolasida turkistonliklar zamon bilan hamnafas bo'lishlari, zamona ilmlaridan, fikrlaridan bahramand bo'lishlari uchun "turkiy, forsiy, arabiy va rusiy" tillarini bilishlari, ularda bemalol muloqot qilish darajasiga yetishishlari lozimligi ta'kidlanadi. Behbudiy bu maqolada "turkiy" til deganda mahalliy xalqning aksariyati so'zlashadigan "o'zbekiy" tilni nazarda tutadi. Unga ko'ra, to'rt tilning o'rganishga sabablar kuyidagilardan iborat:

- 1) "turkiy, ya'ni o'zbekiy" – Turkiston xalqining aksariyati so'zlashadigan til;
- 2) "forsiy" – "madrasa va udabo tilidur. Bukung'acha Turkistonni har tarafindagi eski va yangi maktablarinda forsiy nazm va nasr kitoblari ta'lim berilib kelgandur";
- 3) "arabiy" – madrasalarda o'qitiladigan barcha shar'iy kitoblar ushbu tilda;
- va 4) "rusiy" – "zamon tijorat ishi, sanoat va mamlakat ishlari, hatto dini islom va millatga xidmat" qilishga yararlik zamona ilmini o'rganish uchun.

Behbudiy til o'rganishga sabab bo'ladigan omillarni ko'rsatar ekan, turkiy va forsiy mahalliy halq uchun ikkisi birday ona tili bo'lganligi uchun "bizg'a saodat" ekanligi va ushbu tillarni har bir turkistonlik "tahsilsiz" ham yaxshi bilishini ta'kidlaydi.

Behbudiy uchun rus tilini o'qish va o'rganish qanday ahamiyat kasb etgan va turkistonliklar uchun qanday naf berar edi? Unga ko'ra, millat o'zini boshqa xalqlar tomonidan butunlay yo'q bo'lib ketmasligi uchun ular ham tijorat, ham sanoat, ham siyosatda boshqa taraqqiy etgan xalqlar bilan bir qatorda, yonma-yon harakat qilishi kerak. Turkistonliklar orasida hatto millat va Vatan manfaati uchun G'arb tillarida, jumladan rus tilida yuqori minbardan turib gapirishga qodir biror kishi topilmaydi. Bu qusurlarni yo'q qilish uchun esa rus tilini o'rganish, Rossiya universitetlarida tahsil olish hamda barcha qonunlardan xabardor bo'lmoq kerak. Behbudiy yuqorida tilga olingan rus tilini o'rganish masalasini siyosiy masala sifatida ko'tarib chiqdi va Vatan manfaati yo'lida xizmat qilishga qodir ziyolilarni shakllantirishga yo'l ochishiga ishonadi.

⁸³ Samarqand dorulqazo muftilaridan Mahmudxo'ja bin Behbudxo'ja 1911.

⁸⁴ Mahmudxo'ja 1913.

Behbudiy ayni masalani, ya'ni rus tilini o'rganish turkistonliklar uchun ne qadar muhim ekanligini Abdurauf Fitratning "Munozara" asariga yozgan taqrizida ham ko'targan edi.⁸⁵ Aksaran mutaassib bo'lgan turkistonliklarga Behbudiy xorijiy tillarni o'rganishni payg'ambar ham buyurganlari haqida hadis-i sharif ham keltiradiki, bu aholining "kofir⁸⁶ bo'lmasligiga" eng asosiy dalil edi.⁸⁷

Behbudiyning adabiy til borasidagi qarashlari uning 1915-yili yozgan "Til masalasi"⁸⁸ nomli maqolasida aks etgan. Ushbu maqola turkiy xalqlar uchun yagona, soddalashtirilgan adabiy til yaratish masalasiga bag'ishlangan. Behbudiyning ta'kidlashicha, u ushbu masalani yoritishda "betarafona" yondoshishiga harakat qilgan. Behbudiy sheva va lahja bilan "adabiy til" o'rtasidagi farqni ko'rsatish uchun Volgabo'yi tatarlari, Kafkaz xalqlari bosib o'tgan yo'lni tahlil qilishdan boshlaydi. Unga ko'ra, tatarlar va ozarbayjonlar nashr qilayotgan matbuot "tili" "ko'cha tili" dan "necha daraja oliy" ekanligi har bir gazeta o'qiydigan ziyoliga ma'lum. Hatto "Vaqt" gazetasi va "Sho'ro" jurnalining tili ular nashr bo'la boshlagan yildan, ya'ni 1908-yildan 1915-yilga qadar "jaridalarining avvalgilari ila hozirgisini taftish qilinsa, hozirgilarini adabiyiligi zohir" bo'lib tobora "oliylashmoq" yo'lida harakat qilmoqda edi. Albatta, Behbudiyning tatar va ozarbayjon matbuoti tili borasida bunday xulosaga kelishi, uning bu yo'nalishda ma'lum tadqiqotlar, izlanishlar, kuzatishlar hamda tahlillar qilganini ko'rsatadi. Behbudiyning bu kabi izlanish va tadqiqotlar olib borganini o'sha vaqtda o'ta muhim masalalardan biri bo'lgan (umum)adabiy til yaratish yoki qabul qilish borasidagi qarashlarini bildirish, o'z pozitsiyasini ko'rsatish bilan bog'liqlikda o'rganishni talab qiladi.

Yuqorida qayd etilganidek, Behbudiy Turkistonning avom xalqi qay gazeta tilini yaxshi tushunishi va qabul qilishi borasida o'tkizgan

⁸⁵ Samarqand dorulqazo muftilaridan Mahmudxo'ja bin Behbudxo'ja 1911.

⁸⁶ Mutaassib musulmon ulamosi jadidlarning maktab doirasida qilgan barcha islohotlarini islom diniga to'g'ri kelmaydi deb hisoblagan. Bu yo'nalishda faoliyat olib borgan jadidlarni va ularga ergashgan kishilarni ulamo "kofir"likda ayblagan. Bu borada batafsil ma'lumot uchun, qarang: Fitrat. *Hindistonda bir farangi ila buxoroli bir mudarrisning bir necha mas'alalar ham usuli jadida xususida qilgan Munozarasi*. Mutarjimi: muallim Hoji Muin ibn Shukrulloh Samarqandiy. Noshiri: Turkiston kutubxonasi. Birinchi tab'. Tashkent, Tipo-Litografiya V.M.Il'ina, 1913.

⁸⁷ Mahmudxo'ja 1913.

⁸⁸ Mahmudxo'ja 1915.

sotsiologik so'rovnomasi va tadqiqotining asosiy sababi ham "Tarjimon" yoki "Ulfat" gazetasi tilini (umum)adabiy til darajasiga ko'tarish edi. Behbudiy o'zining bu qarashini quyidagicha izohlaydi:

*"Dunyomizni(ng) ilm-u fanidan xabardor bo'lmoq uchun rus, nemis, faransaviy, anglis, itoliyoli, arabiy, jopuniy tillaridan birini bilmoq kerak va alarni bilmaganda Kafkoz va yo Qrim lahja-i adabiyasini bilgan kishini dunyodan xabarlik bo'lushig'a vosita bo'lur"*⁸⁹.

Albatta, Behbudiyning adabiy til borasidagi bu kabi qarashi o'z davrida ham katta qarshiliklarga sabab bo'lgan. Uning eng yaqin safdoshlaridan bo'lgan Hoji Muin Behbudiyning adabiy til borasidagi fikrlariga qarshi chiqqan edi. Hoji Muni mahaliy tilni soflashtirish va begona (arabcha va forsha) so'zlardan tozalash orqali uni adabiy til sifatida shakllantirish tarafdori edi.⁹⁰ Bundan tashqari, Hoji Muin Behbudiy taklif qilgan ikkitillik, ya'ni butun Turkistonda turkiy bilan bir qatorda forsiyni ham ishlatish fikrini ma'qullamaydi. Ingeborg Baldaufning ta'kidlashicha, Hoji Muin o'z qarashlarining amaliy tatbiqini Behbudiy safarga chiqqan vaqtda "Oyina" jurnaliga vaqtincha muharrir bo'lgan vaqtda amalga oshirshga qisman muvaffaq bo'lgan. Baldaufga ko'ra, Hoji Muin qisqa muddat ichida ikkitillik bo'lgan "Oyina" jurnalini sof turkiy tildagi jurnalga aylantirishga ulgurgan.⁹¹

Behbudiy "Til masalasi" maqolasining so'ngida hech qaysi bir til faqatgina o'z so'z boyligi bilan taraqqiy eta olmasligi, boshqa tillardan yangi so'zlar qabul qilish hisobiga rivojlana olishini ta'kidlash bilan bir qatorda, tilni soflashtirish bilan vaqtni bekor sarflamasdan uning o'rniga *"kelar zamon uchun hozirlanayluk, o'tgan zamon uchun emas"* degan fikrni o'rtaga tashlaydi. Bundan tashqari, u Turkistonning turli mintaqalari shevalari orasida farq bo'lgani uchun ushbu shevalarda adabiy asarlar yozish ham maqsadga muvofiq emasligini ta'kidlaydi. Behbudiy (umum)adabiy til yaratish borasidagi asosiy muammo va to'siq sifatida millat onalarning savodsizligida ko'radi. Adabiy til yaratmoq uchun, Behbudiyga ko'ra, birinchi navbatda *"biz avval onamizni o'qutub, anga til o'rgatmoqimiz kerak"*. Adabiy tilning hamda ilm-fanning rivoji millat onalarining bilimiga bog'liq ekanligini ta'kidlagan Behbudiy, birinchidan qiz bolalarni maktablarga ko'proq berish, ularni

⁸⁹ Mahmudxo'ja 1915.

⁹⁰ Hoji Muin ibn Shukrulloh 1914.

⁹¹ Baldauf, Ingeborg 2001, 44.

savodli qilish masalasini ko'targan bo'lsa, ikkinchi tarafdin, bir adabiy til yaratish uchun imkon qadar sodda, boshqa turkiy tillardan keng istifoda qilgan holda yozishni taklif qiladi.⁹²

Xulosa

Rossiya Turkistonni bosib olgan 1867-yildan boshlab o'lkada mustamlaka siyosatini, aniqrog'i mahalliy aholiga nisbatan ruslashtirish siyosatini olib bordi. Bu siyosatining muvaffaqiyatli amalga oshirilishi uchun rus hukumati birinchi navbatda diqqatini mahalliy maorif muassasalariga qaratdi. Maktab ruslashtirishning negizi sifatida qabul qilindi. Kaufman tanlagan yo'l – inkor etish siyosati bo'lib, buning natijasida mahalliy maorif tizimi ham moddiy, ham ma'naviy jihatdan ko'mak olishiga to'siq qo'yilishi va oqibatda ushbu tizim o'z-o'zidan yo'q bo'lib ketishi kerak edi. Kaufman olib borgan siyosatini "sivilizatorlik missiyasi" deb baholadi va bu yo'nalishda izchil faoliyat olib bordi. Qozonlik missioner Nikolay Ilminskiy taklifiga ko'ra, Turkistonga maorif tizimini tartibga keltirib berishga mas'ul bo'lgan Nikolay Ostroumovni olib keldi. Bu ishlarning barchasi g'ayrijins-larning maorifini ruslashtirish siyosatiga moslashtirishga yo'naltirildi. Mahalliy maorif tizimini butunlay bekor qilish orqali ularni tamoman rus ma'muriyati tasarrufiga o'tkazish bo'yicha amaliy ishlar qilinganiga qaramay, "juda yaxshi tashkil etilgan" bu tizimni bo'ysundirish ishlari nihoyasiga yetmadi.

Ichki Rossiya musulmonlari orasida boshlangan islohotchilik harakatining Turkiston o'lkasiga kirib kelishi va yoyilishi rus ma'muriyatining ruslashtirish siyosatiga katta zarba bo'ldi. Nikolay Ostroumov maorif masalalari bo'yicha mas'ul sifatida siyosiy maydonga endigina kirib kelayotgan musulmon ziyolilarining faoliyatlariga to'siq bo'lishga urindi. Bu yo'nalishda u birinchi navbatda Ismoil Gasprinskiy taklif etayotgan "hamkorlik siyosati"ga asoslangan dasturni Turkistonda amalga oshirilmasligiga harakat qildi va uni to'liq inkor etilishiga erishdi. Buning muqobilida o'zining hammaslagi Mixail Miropiev bilan ruslarning va rus hukumatining sivilizatorlik missiyasini mahalliy aholini nasroniylashtirish orqali davlat birligini ta'minlashga qaratilgan dasturini taklif qildi.

⁹² Mahmudxo'ja 1915.

Kaufman boshlagan inkor etish siyosati 1905-yilga qadar davom etdi va ruslarning tanlagan yo'li xato ekanligi aniqlashdi. Bu vaqtga qadar Turkistonda jadidchilik – yangilanish va islohotchilik harakati ildiz otgan va o'z tarafdorlarini topib ulgurdi. Gasprinskiy musulmonlarni ruslar bilan yaqinlashtirishning birdan bir yo'li bu ruslashtirishga muqobil shaklda hamkorlik yo'lini aks ettirgan taklifi Turkistonda inkor etildi. Shu bilan bir qatorda, Chor hukumati imperiya musulmonlari orasida kechayotgan yangilanish harakati va uning oqibatini jiddiy o'ylay boshladi. Hukumat jadid maktablari ochayotgan, ularda dars berayotgan, yangi ta'sis etilgan mahalliy matbuot va xorijiy nashrlarda ishtirok etayotgan barcha kishilar xususida surishtiruv ishlarini keng yo'lga qo'ydi. Turkistonda sodir bo'lgan 1892- va 1898- yillardagi xalq qo'zg'olonlari musulmonlar orasida jiddiy o'zgarishlar yuz berayotgani va vaziyat tobora keskinlashib borayotgani hukumatning mamlakatda kechayotgan voqealarning sabablarini chet eldagi “dushman markazlari” dan qidirishga undadi.

Millatning asosiy belgisi sifatida til birligi g'oyasini ilgari surgan jadidlar rus tilini o'qish va o'rganish mahalliy xalqning iqtisodiy va ijtimoiy jihatdan yuksalishiga olib keladi deb hisobladilar. Shuning barobarida, til birligi uchun kurashgan Ismoil Gasprinskiyning bu yo'nalishdagi harakatlarini Behbudiy boshda turkistonlik jadidlar juda yaxshi qarshi oldilar. Shunday bo'lsada turkistonlik jadidlarning (umum)adabiy til borasidagi qarashlari turlicha bo'ldi. Ayniqsa bu qarshilik tilni soflashtirish, ya'ni turkiychalashtirish masalasida yaqqol ko'zga tashlandi.

1905-yil 17-oktabr Manifesti va buning natijasi sifatida qabul qilingan “E'tiqod to'g'risidagi qonun” hukumatning amalda ko'proq rus tilini joriy qilishga intilib, milliy chegaralanishni yo'q qilish va din ishlariga kamroq aralashishini qonunan mustahkamladi. Bu siyosat ortidan politsiya departamenti Turkistonda mahalliy ziyolilar ortidan kuzatuvni kuchaytirdi.

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List of Contributors

Aftandil Erkinov is a specialist on Turki and Persian manuscripts and Central Asian cultural and literary history (15th-20th century). He is a researcher at the Center for Research of Uzbekistan's Cultural Wealth Located Overseas under the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan. In 1990 he received his PhD in Turkology from Tashkent State University (Uzbekistan) and in 2000 a Habilitation in Turkology from the Institute of Manuscripts of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan (Tashkent). He was a visiting professor at Hokkaido University (Sapporo, Japan), at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, and at the Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme in Paris. *The first time I met Ingeborg Baldauf was in May 1999 (I was on the project "Russian colonialism in Central Asia and the Caucasus" under the direction of Prof. Jürgen Paul). It was interesting for me that she spoke in a "pure" Uzbek language. She did not mix any Russian words in her speech, as we Uzbeks from Uzbekistan do.*

Ahmad Azizy is a PhD candidate in Central Asian Studies at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. His dissertation focuses on the cultural practice of letter writing among ordinary Afghans from late 19th century onwards. He is interested in everyday uses of writing and reading in Central Asia. *The first time I met Ingeborg Baldauf in early 2008 was by pure chance. When I visited the IAAW to have a first impression of the institute and the library, at the entrance I came across Ömer Akakça who insisted to "quickly" meet Ingeborg Baldauf. Her door was open and after two hours of pleasant conversation I was convinced to start studying the BA Asian and African Studies.*

Askar Djumashev holds a PhD in History (from Academy of Sciences, Nukus). He currently works as the head of the History Department of the Karakalpak Research Institute of Humanities of the Karakalpak Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan. He was a fellow researcher at the Central Asian Seminar from 2004 to 2006 (Gerda Henkel) and from 2009 to 2011 (Alexander von Humboldt Foundation). His fields of research are the national-territorial demarcation of Central Asia, national policy, and the repressive policy of the Soviet regime in Karakalpakstan. *I met Professor Ingeborg Baldauf through emails when I was writing a research project for the DAAD in 2002. In October 2003 we met at the Central Asia Seminar. My first impressions were that the professor was Uzbek by nationality, as she spoke the language so purely and without any accent. From our first contact to the present day, I have always been enthusiastic about her commitment to establishing and enabling close relationships and collaboration with scientists and institutions in Central Asia.*

Bert G. Fragner's main fields of research are the Economic and Social History of Iran and Iranian civilizations in the Middle East and in South and Central Asia as well as Cultural Studies in history (Early Modern and Modern Times). In 1970 he received his PhD in Turkology and Islamic Studies from Vienna University. From 1970 to 1985 he worked as a lecturer at the "Oriental Seminar" of Freiburg University (Germany) and from 1985-1989 as a Full Professor at the Institute of Iranian Studies at Freie Universität Berlin. From 1989-2003 he was a Full Professor at the Institute of Iranian Studies of Bamberg University (Germany). In 2003 he returned to Vienna as the founding director of the Research Institute of Iranian Studies (Austrian Academy of Sciences, until 2009). *In spring 1979 I followed an invitation by Prof. Andreas Tietze to spend a visiting term at the Institute for Oriental Studies, University of Vienna. Upon the occasion of a seminary concerning Persian historical documents I made the acquaintance of two highly interested students - one of them was Ingeborg. We continued to remain in contact, and a few years later it happened that she had found her way to Freiburg University. We - my wife and myself - left Freiburg in 1985 for Berlin (Freie Universität). 1989 we decided to leave Berlin in favour of Bamberg - when we arrived at Bamberg, Ingeborg and Gerhard were already there at the Department of Turkology! For a couple of years, the Bamberg area (so-called "Oberfranken") remained to be our "common playground".*

Diliara Usmanova is a professor of Russian History at the Kazan Federal University (Russia). In her PhD she studied the history of the Tatar periodicals press; in the Habilitation she analysed the activity of the Muslim deputies in the Russian State Duma (1906-1916). She was a foreign visiting professorial fellow at SRC Hokkaido University (Japan, 2014). Her research interests include the modern political and visual history of Imperial Russia, the history of Muslims in Russia, as well as the socio-cultural history of Tatars in the late Imperial period. Currently she is researching the history of the Turkic-Tatar emigration in Europe

(Berlin-Warsaw), Central Asia (Xinjiang) and the Far East (Manchuria and Japan) in the 1920s and 1930s. *In my long acquaintance with Ingeborg Baldauf, several stages can be distinguished: 1) the "correspondence" stage, when my father, Prof. Mirkasym Usmanov, was invited to Bamberg for the Turkological Forum (1991); 2) our personal acquaintance in the early 2000s. But the most important stage of personal communication were the three years (2009-2011) spent in Berlin thanks to Ingeborg Baldauf's invitation to participate in the framework of the SFB-640 at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.*

Gero Fedtke is a historian of the Soviet Union and the Russian Empire with a focus on Central Asia. He is especially interested in Muslim Communists. He is also working on Forced Labour under National Socialism and Soviet literature on Nazi Concentration Camps. Gero Fedtke is employed at the professorship for Comparison of European Dictatorships at the Friedrich-Schiller-University of Jena. *My first contact with Prof. Baldauf took place in the late 1990ies, when she helped me find a topic for my M.A. thesis. What followed were not only courses in Uzbek and Central Asian Studies at Humboldt University, but also a correspondence by postcard – the postcards ranging from funny to hilarious to ludicrous, the content always profound.*

Ildikó Bellér-Hann is Associate Professor of Central Asian / Turkish Studies at the University of Copenhagen. She has held positions at Newnham College, Cambridge, UK, the University of Kent at Canterbury, UK, and the Martin Luther University in Halle, Germany. Her main interests span the histories and societies, historical anthropology, social support networks, kinship, and oral and literate traditions of the Turkic-speaking peoples of Xinjiang, Turkey, and Central Asia. *My first direct contact with Inge Baldauf was a brief academic correspondence in the mid-1990s. A few years later, chance brought us together at a seminar in Berlin. We only realised the identity of the person sitting next to us during the round of introductions. Little did we suspect at the time that this would be the beginning of decades of collegiality and friendship.*

Jeanine Dageyeli is Assistant Professor at the Department of Kazakh Language and Turkic Studies at Nazarbayev University in Nur-Sultan (formerly Astana). She was among the first cohort of students of Ingeborg Baldauf at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin from where she also received her PhD degree, and has previously held positions at Martin-Luther University Halle – Wittenberg, BCSMCS, and Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient. Her main research interests include anthropology and history of Central Asia, historical anthropology, labor, human-environment relations, literature, illness, and death. *The personal memory of Ingeborg Baldauf I want to share here is not about an actual meeting. Rather, it attests to her impact, and the academic and methodological freedom she offered us as students. When I did research for my PhD in Uzbekistan in 2007, I talked to a historian who had troubles accessing his archival material. I suggested to him to not waste his time in Tashkent waiting for the permission but travel to his places of interest in the country in the meantime and see if he could get information there by talking to people. He paused for*

a moment, looked at me, then laughed and said: "You are a student of Ingeborg Baldauf, aren't you. This is the Berlin school with its unconventional methods!"

Jürgen Paul is a historian of Muslim Central Asia and Iran in the pre-Mongol and Mongol periods. His main interests are local and imperial power and the interrelation between power-holders. This includes both sedentary and nomadic groups and political entities. He has also worked on Sufi groups, in particular the early Naqshbandiyya in Central Asia. Jürgen Paul held a professorship in Islamic Studies at Halle from 1995 to 2013. After retirement, he joined the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures at Hamburg. *As far as I can remember, Inge Baldauf and I first met at a conference in Bamberg in June 1990, "Bamberger Mittelasiestudien". She must have been a driving force behind that event, but I was a complete novice in the business and failed to notice. Since then, we have cooperated on many projects, though this cooperation was rather onesided recently: I am very much indebted to Inge for the careful reading of my book "Lokale und imperiale Herrschaft" - many thanks once again!*

Klaus Kreiser, after studying oriental and historical subjects, worked at the University of Munich, the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul, and as Professor for Turkish Language, History, and Culture at the University of Bamberg. As a scholar and author for a wider readership, he writes about the world of Islam, the Ottoman Empire and Turkish modernity. *Years ago, I picked up Inge Baldauf at the Bamberg train station. She had a bike with her and came on the recommendation of Professor Tietze ...*

Lucille Lisack works as a music ethnologist on Central Asian contemporary music from not only a musical-analytical, but also political, economic, and social perspective. Her research focuses on Tashkent, where she observes the work of different generations of composers, musicologists, and musicians. She is particularly interested in identity negotiations and political power relations that emerge in the local appropriation of globalized standards of composition. She received her doctorate in 2015 from the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin under the direction of Ingeborg Baldauf and at EHESS (Paris), and has been teaching anthropology at the University of Nanterre since 2018. *The first time I met with Ingeborg Baldauf in 2010, I was submitting a PhD project about contemporary music in Uzbekistan. She accepted to supervise my research, appreciating the fact that it was not about typical traditional Uzbek crafts and music, and kept saying she was excited to see where this research would lead me.*

Lutz Rzehak deals with Iranian languages and cultures of Afghanistan and neighboring regions. He is working as a senior scholar and lecturer for Dari and Pashto at the Central Asian Seminar of Berlin Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. *I met Ingeborg Baldauf for the first time in 1992 in Bamberg at a conference on bilingualism in Iranian cultures, where she gave a lecture on bilingualism Turki-Persian in the Samarkandi magazine Oyina. Soon after she moved to Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

we made our first trip together to Uzbekistan and Afghanistan. When we were traveling together in Afghanistan, people sometimes thought Ingeborg was my wife. To enlighten them about the real circumstances, I replied that she was my boss. People usually saw this as confirmation of their assumption. We didn't care.

Makset Karlibaev holds a PhD in History. In 1992 he graduated from Tashkent State University with a degree in Russian Philology. From 1992 to 2012 he studied and worked at the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Karakalpak Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan. In 2012-2015, he headed the Karakalpak Institute of the Humanities, in 2016 he was Director of the Savitsky Museum of Arts in Nukus. Since 2017 he has been working as Deputy Director of the Karakalpak Institute of the Humanities. He was a fellow of DAAD (2002), INTAS (2004-2005) and Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (2007, 2017). His research interests are history and ethnography, religious life, and culture of Karakalpakstan. *When I arrived in Berlin in September 2002, the academic year had not yet started, but Professor Baldauf was already there. When we met for the first time, I did not know any German, so I started the conversation in English. I was amazed by her reaction: "Bemalol o'zbekcha gapiravering, agar o'zingizga oson bilsangiz" (Do not hesitate, speak Uzbek if this is easier for you). For a long time I could not recover from this "culture shock." Of course, I knew that she was studying the Uzbek language, literature and culture. But I couldn't imagine how well she speaks the language!*

Manja Stephan-Emmrich is Professor of Transregional Central Asian Studies at the Institute for Asian and African Studies at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, with a special focus on Islam and migration. She was among the first cohort of Ingeborg Baldauf's students at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, and later involved in research projects with a focus on Islamic education, Muslim ethics, and youth at Ruhr-University in Bochum and the Max-Planck-Institute for Social Anthropology in Halle before returning to the Institute for Asian and African Studies as Junior Professor of Islam in Asian and African Societies. *I remember a very early encounter with Ingeborg Baldauf in one of her Uzbek lessons, Monday morning at 8 am! Studying Central Asian Studies in Leipzig at that time, I had just returned from my first language study trip to Uzbekistan when I heard about her excellent Uzbek lessons at the newly established Central Asian Seminar. My hunger for language learning brought me to Berlin and right after the first lesson I knew: I will stay here, there's even a proper grammar unit here (in Leipzig I had created my own grammar unit to learn Uzbek systematically). Her well-structured lessons had impressed me so deeply that getting up early on Monday morning was no trouble at all.*

Michael Kemper trained in Arabic and Islamic Studies at Ruhr-University Bochum and then worked as assistant professor of Central Eurasian history at St. Lawrence University, NY. Since 2007 he is Professor of East European History at the University of Amsterdam. In his PhD he studied nineteenth-century Arabic

and Tatar manuscripts on Islamic law, theology, and Sufism from the Volga-Urals region; in his habilitation he analysed the Daghestani tradition of anti-colonial jihad. Kemper also conducts research on religion policies and Oriental Studies in Russia and the USSR, and on the interaction of Islamic and Orthodox languages. *I met Inge Baldauf for the first time in the mid-1990s, when the Volkswagen Foundation invited scholars to Hanover to brainstorm about a possible program dedicated to the study of Central Asia and the Caucasus.*

Mohammad Saleh Rasekh is Professor of Literature at Balkh University, and in charge of the Master's degree programs at this university. From 1983 to 1992, he worked at Kabul University, and since then he teaches Literature at Balkh University in Mazar-i Sharif. In 2011, he was awarded an Erasmus Mundus scholarship, and became a PhD student the Central Asian Department of Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Under the guidance of Professor Baldauf he successfully defended his doctoral dissertation on "The Turkmen dialects of Northern Afghanistan" and received his PhD in October 2016. *Until 2004 I had only heard the name Professor Ingeborg Baldauf, but had not seen the well-known Turkologist behind the name. In the same year a large seminar on the future development of Uzbek and Turkmen languages in Afghanistan was held in Mazar-i Sharif. At the seminar, a medium-sized, black-haired woman was sitting in the first row. She had a thoughtful face, an Asian appearance, and a penetrating glance, and was very well respected by the organizers of the seminar. I thought she might be the guest of a Turkish scientist. But when the woman began to speak, she did so in eloquent Uzbek, the hard Uzbek of Afghanistan. When I heard her talk, I was surprised. I turned to the man next to me and asked him if she was from Uzbekistan? He denied and said that she was Professor Ingeborg Baldauf from Germany. I did not believe it. I said, "no, a foreigner whose mother tongue is not Uzbek cannot speak our language as eloquently and fluently." The seminar lasted three days, and apart from the official agenda of the seminar I tried to ask her questions whenever possible (especially during the breaks). Our cooperation and friendship started on that very day.*

Olaf Günther is a researcher in Central Asian Studies. His research is dedicated to several field sites from the Altai Mountains to the north of Afghanistan. *My first encounter with Ingeborg Baldauf was on her first day of teaching in Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin when she was welcoming the students of first and more advanced semesters to the newly formed Mittelasienswissenschaften at the Institute of African and Asian studies. I thought she was a student and spoke to her as if she would be one of my friends. This moment of a sudden feeling of friendship still prevails until today.*

Peter Zieme worked until 2007, and since then as a senior researcher, at *Turfanforschung*, a long-term project of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences, on the edition of the ancient Uighur Turfan texts. These materials, created from the time of the West Uyghur Kingdom of Qočo to the end of the Yuan dynasty, are unique sources for researching religions, literature, and

numerous facets of the life of the ancient Uyghurs in medieval Central Asia. *It must have been shortly before or shortly after the reunification (Wende) of Germany that I arrived in Bamberg. Although there is no exact date, there is a gathering at Ingeborg's place firmly anchored in my rusting memory. I was welcomed with open-heartedness and friendliness. Even after more than 30 years this is still the case!*

Robert D. Crews is Professor of History at Stanford University. His research explores the history of Russia, Central Asia, Afghanistan, and global Islam. *I first had the privilege of meeting Ingeborg Baldauf in 1999 in Berlin, where she kindly offered a warm and generous welcome and a very supportive, engaging, and inspiring environment for post-doctoral research.*

Sigrid Kleinmichel studied Turkology and did her doctorate at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin in Linguistic Studies on the old Ottoman Marzubān-nāme. At the Academy of Sciences of the GDR she researched the literature of the Uzbeks and Kazakhs in the 20th century. Teaching Uzbek, the reception of Chaghataic poetry in the 20th century, and the interrelationships between Alīšīr Nawā'ī and Ottoman poetry were among her fields of activity in the Scientist Integration Program (1992-1994) and at Freie Universität Berlin. *My first encounter with IB happened by mail. Peter Zieme who had already met her gave me the address. I remember him saying that she might not be able to answer that quickly because she was expecting a child. I wrote her anyway because - as my colleague said - she had asked for me. It was less than a month after the birth of her second child, when I received the kindest reply with an apology for the delay.*

Thomas Loy studied with Ingeborg Baldauf and Lutz Rzehak and received his PhD in Central Asian Studies from Humboldt Universität zu Berlin. From 2010 to 2019 he was a Research Assistant at the Central Asian Seminar. In 2020 he worked at the Institute for Iranian Studies at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Since March 2021 he is research fellow at the Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague working on Judeo-Persian periodicals in Central Asia and the Jewish networks and connections between Palestine, Iran, Afghanistan, and Turkestan. His main research interests include Oral (and written) history and memory in Central Asia, as well as Tajik and Bukharan Jewish language and literature. *I met Inge for the first time in autumn 1996 in a consultation hour for beginning students. I had just come to Berlin from a Bavarian village. With a pan into dialect, she stopped my pathetic attempts to speak High German. I felt at home straight away.*

Wolfgang Holzwarth, after studying Ethnology and Iranian studies, worked as a lecturer and research assistant in Berlin (Freie Universität, Humboldt-Universität), Bamberg (Otto-Friedrich-Universität) and Halle (Martin-Luther-Universität, Max-Planck-Institut für ethnologische Forschung) on history, society and culture of Central Asia, Afghanistan, and Northern Pakistan. *I met Ingeborg*

Baldauf in 1992 at the University of Bamberg when I was giving a lecture on "New Images of History in Northern Pakistan". She then started a small talk with the question: "And? What do we learn from it?" When I hesitated, she said with a laugh: "Don't believe anything, neither the spoken nor the written..."

Zaynabidin Abdirashidov has completed his PhD in Central Asian Studies at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Ingeborg Baldauf. His research interests are centred on the late 19th and the beginning of 20th centuries Turkestan and early soviet Uzbekistani history. He is currently working on intellectual history and the development of postcolonial thought and intellectual change in Turkestan. He was awarded the international prize of Bekir Chobanzade (2012) and the international Ismail Gasprinski Prize (2015). Currently he is a vice-rector for science and innovation of Alisher Navo'i Tashkent State University of the Uzbek Language and Literature. *My first contact with Prof. Dr. Ingeborg Baldauf was in 2002. On 9th June, I wrote her a mail and asked for a letter of recommendation for the DAAD scholarship. She immediately sent her positive response.*

Zeynep Aydoğan studied history at Boğaziçi University and received her PhD (in Central Asian Studies) from Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Her research interests include the cultural history of Anatolia and the Balkans from 11th to 15th centuries, the popular accounts of Turkish religious-heroic literature, and the formation and early historiography of the Ottoman state. Currently she is a postdoctoral researcher at the Institute for Mediterranean Studies, in Rethymno, within the framework of the Project GHOST: Geographies and Histories of the Ottoman Supernatural Tradition. *The first time I "met" Prof. Baldauf was during my phone interview with BGS MCS. Even though at that time I did not have a face attached to that vigorous and kind voice on the other end of the line, it is one of the most vivid memories that I have about a first encounter. This was partly more so when I realized that Prof. Baldauf was accompanied by 7 other professors who one by one asked me challenging questions. Within this "terrifying" situation I remember Prof. Baldauf's expression of genuine interest in my proposed subject of study and her enthusiastic questions, which made me leave the interview feeling positive about myself no matter what the outcome would be.*